The Urban Coalition / Federal Bar Building West / 1819 H Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. / 20006

Steering Committee Co-chairmen: Andrew Heiskell / A. Philip Randolph

October 28, 1967

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your clip on the Atlanta Coalition. I understand that the situation is scheduled to improve with the addition of other people to the steering group.

Keep me posted.

Cordially,

John Feild
National Coordinator

National Coordinators: John Feild / Ron M. Linton
Telephone 293-1530

National Steering Committee

I. W. ABEL, *President, United Steelworkers, Pittsburgh*

THE HONORABLE IVAN ALLEN, JR., *Mayor of Atlanta*

ARNOLD ARONSON, *Executive Secretary, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.*

ROY ASH, *President, Litton Industries, Beverly Hills*

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH M. BARR, *Mayor of Pittsburgh; President, U. S. Conference of Mayors*

THE HONORABLE JEROME P. CAVANAUGH, *Mayor of Detroit*

FREDERICK J. CLOSE, *Chairman of the Board, Aluminum Company of America, Pittsburgh*

THE HONORABLE JOHN F. COLLINS, *Mayor of Boston*

THE HONORABLE RICHARD J. DALEY, *Mayor of Chicago*

THE MOST REV. JOHN F. DEARDEN, *Archbishop of Detroit*

GILBERT W. FITZHUGH, *President, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York*

DR. ARTHUR FLEMMING, *President, University of Oregon, President, National Council of Churches, New York*

HENRY FORD II, *Chairman, Ford Motor Company, Detroit*

THE HONORABLE MILTON GRAHAM, *Mayor of Phoenix*

ANDREW HEISKELL, *Chairman of the Board, Time, Inc., Chairman, Urban America Inc., New York*

JOSEPH D. KEENAN, *Secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Washington, D.C.*

THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., *President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta*

THE HONORABLE JOHN V. LINDSAY, *Mayor of New York*

GEORGE MEANY, *President, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.*

J. IRWIN MILLER, *Chairman, Cummins Engine Company, Columbus (Indiana)*

THE HONORABLE ARTHUR NAFTALIN, *Mayor of Minneapolis*

GERALD L. PHILLIPPE, *Chairman of the Board, General Electric Company, New York*

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, *President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, New York*

WALTER REUTHER, *President, United Auto Workers, President, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, Detroit*

DAVID ROCKEFELLER, *President, Chase Manhattan Bank, New York*

JAMES ROUSE, *President, The Rouse Company, President, Urban America Inc., Baltimore*

RABBI JACOB P. RUDIN, *President, Synagogue Council of America, New York*

THEODORE SCHLESINGER, *President, Allied Stores Corporation, New York*

ASA T. SPAULDING, *President, North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, Durham*

DAVID SULLIVAN, *President, Service Employees International Union, Washington, D.C.*

THE HONORABLE JAMES H. J. TATE, *Mayor of Philadelphia, President, National League of Cities*

JOHN WHEELER, *President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, President, Southern Regional Council*

ROY WILKINS, *Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York*

WHITNEY YOUNG, JR., *Executive Director, National Urban League, New York*

JOHN FEILD, *U. S. Conference of Mayors, National Coordinator*

RON M. LINTON, *Urban America Inc., National Coordinator*

The Urban Coalition / *Federal Bar Building West* / *1819 H Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.* / *20006*

Steering Committee Co-chairmen: Andrew Heiskell / *A. Philip Randolph*

December 29, 1967

Dear Friend:

You have already received an invitation to attend the one-day planning conference on Mobilization of Urban Coalitions which The Urban Coalition is convening on January 12, 1968 at New York University-Loeb Student Center (566 LaGuardia Place, Washington Square, New York City).

The program will include the following:

8:30-9:30 am — Registration - Loeb Student Center

9:30-10:15 am — Opening General Session

Presiding: Andrew Heiskell

Speaker: James F. Oates, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Equitable Life Assurance Society

10:15-12:00 pm — Mobilization Workshops

All workshops will deal with the same series of topics. The morning workshops will deal with methods of organizing local coalitions.

12:15 pm — Luncheon Session

Presiding: A. Philip Randolph

Speaker: Honorable John V. Lindsay
Mayor, City of New York

National Coordinators: John Feild / *Ron M. Linton*
Telephone 293-1530

2:00 pm	Mobilization Workshops The afternoon workshops will deal with the development of task force activity at the community level in counterpart to the national level task forces on specific urban problems.
4:15 pm	Concluding General Session
5:00 pm	Adjournment

Chairing workshops and acting as resource panel members will be leaders from business, labor, civil rights, local government, and religion such as Andrew Biemiller, Legislative Director, AFL-CIO, Arnold Aronson, Executive Secretary, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Dr. Kenneth Wright, Vice President-Chief Economist, Life Insurance Association of America, and Gloster B. Current, Director of Branches and Field Administration, N.A.A.C.P.

To assist us in completing conference arrangements, we would appreciate your notifying us via the enclosed card if you will be attending. We need to receive such notification no later than Tuesday, January 9, 1968.

We hope to see you in New York.

Sincerely,

Andrew Heiskell

Andrew Heiskell
Co-Chairman

A. Philip Randolph
Co-Chairman

Encl: RSVP Card

EASTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE
"MOBILIZING URBAN COALITIONS"
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, Loeb Student Center
566 West Broadway, Washington Square, N.Y., N.Y.

( ) I will attend the Conference on Friday, January 12, 1968.

NAME: _____

FIRM: _____

ADDRESS: _____

_____

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agency file - URBAN COALITION

The Urban Coalition / ACTION REPORT

Federal Bar Building West / 1819 H Street, N.W. / Washington, D. C. / 20006
National Coordinators: John Feild / Ron M. Linton

January 2, 1968

The Urban Coalition ends 1967 -- and the first four months of its existence -- with a feeling of solid accomplishment and a high degree of optimism for the future. The Washington office has been established and staffed ... Task Forces, manned by many of the country's most talented and concerned people, are already producing effectively ... Local coalitions have been formed, or are being organized, in many critical areas ... press and public support of the concept of the Coalition and its goals are strong. For many people the Coalition has become a symbol of hope; others remain skeptical. Everyone is waiting to see if the powerful forces represented in the Coalition can indeed "turn the country around" and solve the crisis in the cities. We think they can, and will. We can report that in the dead of winter the individuals who came together in a common commitment in the heat of August have lost none of their concern, determination and sense of urgency. The hard work of program building goes on. The country watches -- and waits.

PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

More than 200 participants met in Atlanta on December 13 for a very successful one-day session on private employment. Businessmen from eastern and southern states had been invited to exchange information and practical program ideas. They heard Gerald L. Phillippe, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company and co-chairman of the Task Force deliver a forceful address on the responsibility of private business in providing jobs and training for the so-called "unemployables". Other general session speakers included Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. of Atlanta, William Flynn, director of the STEP Program for the National Association of Manufacturers, Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, executive director of the Opportunities Industrialization Center Institute of Philadelphia, and Augustus H. Sterne, president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

A similar regional meeting will be held in Phoenix, Arizona on January 17. The meeting date for the regional meeting in Kansas City, Missouri has been changed from January 24 to February 21.

PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT AND URBAN LEGISLATION

Millions of people tuned in to President Johnson's television interview on all three major networks on December 19 heard the President

make a strong plea for job opportunities for all Americans through a combination of private and public programs. We thought you would be interested in comparing the President's statement with the goal contained in the Urban Coalition's Statement of Principles adopted at the Emergency Convocation:

The President	Coalition Goal
There are some half million unemployed, hard-core unemployed, in our principal cities. We just have to go and find jobs for them. I am going to call in the businessmen of America and say one of two things have to happen: You have to help me go out and find jobs for these people, or we are going to have to find jobs in the Government for them and offer every one of them a job. I think that is one thing that could be done. I think that will have to be done, as expensive as it is.	Government and business must accept responsibility to provide all Americans with opportunity to earn an adequate income. Private industry must greatly accelerate its efforts to recruit, train, and hire the hard-core unemployed. When the private sector is unable to provide employment to those who are both able and willing to work, then in a free society the government must of necessity assume the responsibility and act as the employer of last resort or must assure adequate income for those who are unable to work.

The press interpreted the President's statement as an important new policy position on the government's responsibility. At a press conference the following day, Rep. Carl D. Perkins (Ky.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee said he would support whatever bill in the field of employment the President sends to Congress next year. Providing jobs for those who can't find private employment, he said, "is the proper role for government".

EDUCATIONAL DISPARITIES

Despite bad weather that closed the Detroit airport for several hours on December 18, seven members of the Educational Disparities Task Force were able to get together for a scheduled meeting. They held a spirited discussion of the problems which exist in this area and began concentration on those which they felt the Coalition could effectively combat. The Task Force will meet again at 2:30 p.m. on January 8 at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington.

LOCAL COALITIONS

Encouragement and assistance in the formation of local urban coalitions continues to receive high priority. During December Washington

D. C., Boston, Baltimore, Plainfield, N. J., Stanford and Bridgeport, Connecticut announced plans for local coalitions.

Washington Mayor Walter E. Washington said in a public announcement that citizens have called for the organization of a local coalition "in terms of urgency" generated by the August Emergency Convocation. He emphasized that the local effort must have the support and participation of the Virginia and Maryland suburbs.

The next regional mobilization conference will be held in New York City on January 12 -- at New York University's Loeb Center.

EQUAL HOUSING

Plans are in progress for a National Action Session on Equal Housing Opportunities to be held in Chicago at the Conrad Hilton Hotel on January 18. The Task Force has concentrated on the completion of program development papers.

COMMUNICATION AND PUBLIC SUPPORT

Two well-illustrated publications are in the works and will soon be mailed to those interested in the work of the Coalition. The first is a report, including the texts of major addresses, on the Mobilization Conference held in Chicago on October 17. The second will be a similar publication reporting on the Private Employment Conference held in Atlanta on December 13.

HOUSING, RECONSTRUCTION AND INVESTMENT

Progress continued on the major working paper being prepared by the Task Force as a guide for the Coalition in the development of a long-range program.

STEERING COMMITTEE

Unavoidable scheduling problems for several of the principals on the Steering Committee resulted in a postponement of the meeting scheduled for December 18 in Detroit to January 8 in Washington, D. C. The meeting will begin at 7:30 p.m. in the Mayflower Hotel.

(agency) URBAN COALITION

Vol. 1 • No. 6 • February 1968

THE URBAN COALITION ACTION REPORT

Published by The Urban Coalition • Federal Bar Building West • 1819 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Coalition Urges Congress

Move Now on Urgent City Problems

Andrew Heiskell (center) answers question at Washington press conference. Other Coalition participants were (left to right): Arnold Aronson, executive secretary, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Joseph D. Keenan, secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Norman Hill, representing Coalition Co-Chairman A. Philip Randolph; Mayor James Tate of Philadelphia; and Christian Herter, Jr., chairman of the New York Urban Coalition and vice president of Mobil Oil Company.

Spokesmen for The Urban Coalition urged the Administration and Congress last month to "move without delay" on a wide range of programs to ease the crisis in the cities.

Coalition Co-Chairman Andrew Heiskell, chairman of the board of Time, Inc., called a Washington press conference to emphasize 1968 legislative goals.

In a statement, also signed by Co-Chairman A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO, Heiskell said "the needs are massive and urgent, the hour is late, and the times are perilous."

In response to a question on where Congress would find money for needed programs, Heiskell said; "It would be cheaper to do it now than to wait for the cities to to blow next summer."

Text of Statement

The text of the legislative statement follows:

"Specifically, we call upon the Congress and the Administration to move without delay to provide solutions to urgent problems in the following areas:

"Definite steps should be taken now to assure a job for every citizen able and willing to work. We endorse and strongly support a three-part approach to this national challenge:

"(1) Private employers must greatly expand their efforts to employ and train the so-called "unemployables." The Urban Coalition will intensify its efforts to enlist business and industry in this effort.

"(2) The federal government and private employers acting in expanding partnership must provide jobs for the

unemployed and better opportunity for the underemployed. We would support, for example, the President's current proposal to more fully reimburse employers for the additional expense of employing and training the hard-core unemployed. We emphasize, however, that this measure is only a partial solution to the problem and that much more must be done.

(3) Congress must pass legislation in this session to provide government-generated employment to every citizen able and willing to work but unable to find private employment—not make-work but meaningful, socially useful jobs, which would provide public services now lacking in hospitals, libraries, recreation programs and other civic services.

The Administration's Open Housing legislation should be enacted into law now.

The Administration's Safe Streets and Crime Control Act and Juvenile Delinquency amendments were drastically altered in the House of Representatives last year to channel the programs and funds through a state planning and allocation process which would delay and frustrate their effectiveness. The original Administration version of these bills should be passed by the Senate so as to mount an efficient and effective attack on the root causes of violence, crime and delinquency, coupled with the development of improved local law enforcement.

A supplementary appropriation bill should be immediately introduced and enacted to fund fully the anti-poverty programs as authorized for this fiscal year.

"The needs are massive and urgent, the hour is late, the times are perilous"

Programs for low and moderate income housing, urban development, model cities, mass transportation and community facilities should be extended, expanded and adequately funded now.

The repressive welfare program amendments enacted last year, penalizing children born into one-parent homes and shifting the financing burden to local government, should be repealed immediately.

We know these legislative aims are more easily stated than accomplished. But we also know the needs are massive and urgent, the hour is late, and the times are perilous.

The substantial number of communities forming counterpart Urban Coalitions in all parts of the country is strong evidence that the citizens of our urban areas share the Urban Coalition's concern and its commitment.

With the commitment of its citizens, this nation has the capacity now to resolve its urban problems. A reordering of priorities and a renewal of national commitment to the well being of all citizens is overdue. We pledge our full support for the legislative action required.

300 Attend National Action Conference On Open Housing

Daley

Young

Cook

More than 300 people attended a National Action Conference on Equal Housing sponsored by the Coalition in Chicago last month.

Major speakers were Mayor Richard J. Daley, James W. Cook, President of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company, and Whitney Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League.

Concurrent workshop sessions were devoted to Fair Housing Legislation, Suburban Housing Development for Low and Moderate Incomes and the Role of Voluntary Programs to Achieve Fair Housing.

At the concluding afternoon general session, the Conference adopted recommendations from the Workshops to:

★ Express support for Fair Housing legislation now before the U.S. Senate (S. 1358), and for state and local Fair Housing legislation.

★ Urge The Urban Coalition to call on Congress to expand funding for rent supplements and use them in conjunction with Federal low market rate interest programs.

★ Urge the Federal government, in cooperation with state governments, to pass legislation to permit funding of tax abatements, with the Federal government assuming up to 50% of the tax abatements necessary to develop 221 (d) (3) housing.

★ Urge federal and state governments to provide seed money to non-profit entities to initiate housing development, and seek waiver of "Workable Program" requirements for suburban developments.

★ Urge The Urban Coalition to call on federal and state governments to adopt legislation modifying zoning laws to permit construction of low and moderate income housing in the suburbs.

The Action Conference was coordinated by Edward Holmgren, executive director of the Chicago Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities.

Executive Committee to Meet in New York City

The new Executive Committee of the Coalition Steering Committee will hold its first meeting on February 9 in New York City.

The Steering Committee action in establishing the Executive Committee specified the proportionate representation of each segment of the Coalition, but permitted each group to select its own individual members.

The Steering Committee also stated that each of those designated to serve on the Executive Committee should subscribe to three methods of solving urban problems: What the private sector can do on its own; what the private sector can do in concert with government; and what the government must do to meet needs beyond the reach of private efforts.

The Executive Committee was instructed to consider the permanent organizational structure and program of the Coalition and make appropriate recommendations to the Steering Committee.

Following are the individuals designated to date to serve on the Executive Committee:

Business: Joseph H. Allen, president, McGraw-Hill Publications; Frederick J. Close, chairman of the board, Aluminum Company of America; J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the board, Cummins Engine Company; and Theodore Schlesinger, president, Allied Stores Corporation.

Labor: George Meany, president, AFL-CIO; and Walter Reuther, president, United Auto Workers.

Church: Dr. Arthur Fleming, president, National Council of Churches; two additional church representatives are to be named.

Civil Rights: Arnold Aronson, executive secretary, Leadership Council on Civil Rights; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League.

Local Government: Mayor Joseph M. Barr of Pittsburgh; and Mayor James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia.

The Co-Chairmen of The Urban Coalition, Andrew Heiskell and A. Philip Randolph, are *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee.

"*In his* NEW YORK TIMES *column of February 1, Tom Wicker described The Urban Coalition as "A group of the most powerful and public-spirited private interests in the nation." He added that the Coalition "is certainly on sound ground in urging immediate, emergency action to cope with the hard-core unemployed."*"

Coalition Holds Meetings In New York and Phoenix

Mayor John Lindsay addresses luncheon session at New York meeting. At left is Vernon Jordan, session chairman and executive director of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project.

In New York City last month, at a regional meeting on mobilizing local urban coalitions, three nationally-known leaders in different fields made striking statements on the urgency of city problems:

James F. Oates, Jr., chairman of the board, Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States: "Now is the time to act. Decisively. To cut through red tape. When human lives hang on whether or not there is a roof or shelter, how can we, the richest people in the world, let more time run by."

Mayor John Lindsay of New York: "It will make little difference what we do abroad, what we do about balance of payments, what we do in Vietnam, if the country is burning down at the edges."

Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League: "As important as is our pledge, far more important will be our performance. It will not be our promises that history will hold us accountable for. It will be our deeds."

The New York meeting attracted leadership from 82 cities in 21 states, despite near-zero weather.

In Phoenix the following week 175 people registered for a Western regional action meeting on expanding private employment. During the concentrated one-day session businessmen from seven states exchanged experiences and probed for answers to the problems of hiring and training the so-called "unemployables".

The Phoenix meeting was the second in a series of three dealing with private employment. The first was held in Atlanta on December 13 and the third will be held in Kansas City on February 21.

"The Country Watches . . . *And Waits*"

At the beginning of last month, The Urban Coalition National Coordinators, Ron Linton and John Feild, began their weekly report to the Steering Committee with the following evaluation:

"The Urban Coalition ends 1967—and the first four months of its existence—with a feeling of solid accomplishment and a high degree of optimism for the future. The Washington office has been established and staffed . . . Task Forces, manned by many of the country's most talented and concerned people, are already producing effectively . . . Local coalitions have been formed, or are being formed, in many critical areas . . . Press and public support of the concept of the Coalition and its goals are strong.

"For many people the Coalition has become a symbol of hope; other remain skeptical. Everyone is waiting to see if the powerful forces represented in the Coalition can indeed 'turn the country around' and solve the crisis in the cities.

"We think they can, and will. We can report that in the dead of winter the individuals who came together in a common commitment in the heat of August have lost none of their concern, determination and sense of urgency. The hard work of program building goes on. The country watches—and waits."

The Administration's decision to cut $75-million from last year's program for providing summer jobs for youth in the slums was announced on the same day the Youth Opportunity Conference sponsored by the President's Council on Youth Opportunity opened in Washington.

COALITION STAFF CHANGES

The Coalition has announced two staff changes, effective February 1.

John Feild, who has served as one of the two National Co-Coordinators, resumes his full time duties as Director of the Community Relations Service of the United States Conference of Mayors. Feild had been on loan to the Coalition from the Conference.

Ron M. Linton, will continue to serve as National Coordinator.

Christopher Mould becomes Deputy National Coordinator and Staff Director. Mould, who holds a Doctor of Law degree from the University of Chicago, joined the Coalition staff in September, 1967 as Associate National Coordinator.

Local Coalitions Being Organized In 27 Cities

Local urban coalitions have been organized, or are in the process of being organized, in 27 cities. Many other cities have expressed active interest and have requested information and help.

These are the 27: Atlanta, Ga., Baltimore, Md., Boston, Mass., Bridgeport, Conn., Dayton, Ohio, Denver, Colo., Detroit, Mich., Fresno, Calif., Gary, Ind., Huntsville, Ala., Indianapolis, Ind., Joilet, Ill., Kansas City, Kan., Kansas City, Mo., Los Angeles, Calif., Minneapolis, Minn., New York, N.Y., Norfolk, Va., Oakland, Calif., Pasadena, Calif., Plainfield, N.J., Riverside, Calif., Saginaw, Mich., San Diego, Calif., Stamford, Conn., Tacoma, Wash., Washington, D.C., and Winston-Salem, N.C.

THE URBAN COALITION ACTION REPORT

Federal Bar Building West
1819 H Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20006

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THE URBAN COALITION ACTION REPORT

Published by The Urban Coalition • Federal Bar Building West • 1819 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

John Gardner New Head of Urban Coalition

Former HEW Secretary Takes Executive Post

Co-Chairmen Andrew Heiskell and A. Philip Randolph announced last month that John W. Gardner had accepted the Executive Committee's request that he become chief executive officer of the Urban Coalition.

Mr. Gardner, who recently resigned as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, assumed his Coalition duties on March 1. He will serve concurrently as a consultant to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, with offices in Washington, but will be on loan to the Coalition, to which he will devote a major portion of his time.

In their announcement, the Co-Chairmen said the Coalition's Executive Committee agreed "enthusiastically and unanimously" to ask Mr. Gardner to take the new position. Of Mr. Gardner, they said: "Only a man with the exceptional stature and the rare combination of executive ability, intellect and idealism of John Gardner can provide the leadership needed to achieve the Urban Coalition's goals."

Mr. Gardner said he had discussed the new position with President Johnson and "he urged and encouraged me to accept." The day following the announcement, the President said he was "gratified" by the new appointment and had assured Mr. Gardner of White House cooperation.

The new Coalition executive was president of the Carnegie Corporation at the time of his appointment to the Cabinet by President Johnson on July 27, 1965. A native Californian, he holds A.B. and M.A. degrees from Stanford University, a Ph.D. degree from the University of California, and honorary degrees from a number of other colleges and universities. Before World War II he taught psychology at the University of California, Connecticut College for Women and Mount Holyoke College.

Mr. Gardner has been chairman of a number of Presidential task forces and commissions. He holds the U.S. Air Force Exceptional Service Award and the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civil honor in the United States.

He is editor of President John F. Kennedy's book *To Turn the Tide*, and is the author of the books *Excellence* and *Self-Renewal*.

John W. Gardner

TEXT OF GARDNER STATEMENT

Mr. Gardner issued the following statement after accepting the Urban Coalition position:

"The hour is late. It is time for a major mobilization of private sector leadership to cope with the troubles that afflict the Nation.

"Every serious American understands the gravity of the problems confronting our cities today. Every thoughtful person comprehends the social consequences of violence and destruction on the scale of last summer's riots.

"Turning our backs on the problem won't help. Business as usual won't help. Neither hatred nor coercion on either side of the conflict will move us toward a solution.

"The cities cannot solve their problems without better mobilization of the talent, resources and leadership that exist in the cities themselves. We need new forms of collaboration between the various leadership elements in the city—city hall, business, labor, minority leadership and so on. The most significant effort to produce such collaboration today is the Urban Coalition."

President Johnson Proposes Multi-Billion Dollar Urban Program

On February 22—Washington's Birthday—President Johnson sent his "Crisis of the Cities" message to Congress. It called for a multi-billion dollar program to attack basic city problems.

The heart of the President's message was a proposal for enactment of a "Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968". This Act would set as a national goal the construction of 26 million new homes and apartments over the next 10 years.

Six million of these would replace what the President called "the shameful substandard units of misery where more than 20 million Americans still live". This would be 10 times the replacement rate of the last 10 years.

The President asked for authorization for only the first five years of the program—covering the construction and rehabilitation of 2.35 million units with $2.34 billion of contracting authority.

For fiscal 1969, 300,000 units benefiting one million people would be authorized. (See table for a breakdown of these units by type.)

Breakdown of 300,000 low and moderate-income housing units projected for fiscal 1969 in President's Message on the cities, Feb. 22, 1968.

Home ownership		
Proposed new interest rate subsidy sales program, Sec. 235:	85,000	
Rehabilitation loans and grants	15,000	
	100,000	100,000
Public Low-rent Housing:		75,000
Rent supplement housing:		35,000
Rental		
Existing below-market interest rate program, FHA:	38,000	
Proposed new interest rate subsidy rental program, Sec. 236:	40,000	
Direct loans for elderly:	12,000	
	90,000	90,000
		300,000

An estimated 54,000 units would be through rehabilitation, the balance through new construction.

Private Sector Involvement

Most of the proposals in the Act are keyed closely to the cooperation of the private sector.

The President called for "a new partnership between business and Government" and called the commitment of the life insurance industry to set aside one billion dollars of investment funds for low-cost housing a "first outline" of that partnership.

The government's role, the President said, is to stimulate private energy and local action, provide capital where needed, guarantee financing and offer other assistance.

The message also asked Congress to authorize:

- $2 billion for fiscal 1970 and 1971 for model cities grants. The model cities request for fiscal 1969 is only $500 million.
- $1.4 billion for urban renewal projects in fiscal 1970, with an increase of $350 million in fiscal 1969 for urban renewal related solely to model cities programs.

Other Features

The President again asked for passage of his temporary tax surcharge proposal, strongly supported his funding request for the Office of Economic Opportunity, and again asked for passage of fair housing legislation.

One of the new proposals in the message called for the establishment of a cooperative federal-state-industry program to provide adequate "inner city" insurance protection.

The President also covered urban transportation problems in the message. He recommended an authorization of $230 million for fiscal 1970 "so cities can begin now to plan the improvement of their mass transit systems and service to the people."

He said he would shortly submit a reorganizational plan transferring to the Department of Transportation the major urban transit grant, loan and related research functions now in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This plan, however, would retain HUD responsibility for transportation planning at the local level.

Despite the scope, cost and complexity of the proposals, the President did not claim they would cure the ills of the cities.

He said: "no one can say how long it will take, or how much of our fortune will eventually be committed."

COALITION PLANS NATIONAL CONFERENCES

The Urban Coalition is making plans for a national conference of local coalitions in Washington on April 2, with tentative plans for a national legislative conference on employment the following day.

All cities which have formed local coalitions are urged to send representatives to the first day's conference. It is designed to provide an interchange of information, experience and problem-solving techniques in the development of local coalition programs, and also to provide an opportunity for the locals to select representatives to the Coalition steering committee.

Local coalition representatives will be invited to join those from other segments of the Coalition for the proposed legislative conference.

The theme of the legislative conference would be the necessity of legislation to bring about full employment opportunities. Included in the consideration would be legislative proposals for full-time and summer employment.

Both conferences would be held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington.

Coalition Holds Private Employment Meeting in Kansas City

More than 200 people from 13 states participated in a one-day action conference on private employment in Kansas City, Mo., this week. The meeting was the last in a series of three dealings with private employment problems and opportunities.

J. A. Hosford, general manager of Western Electric Company's plant at Lee's Summit, Missouri, described the imaginative employment program being carried out by the Kansas City (Missouri and Kansas) Urban Coalition. It features pledges by major employers to hire and train "marginally-qualified" people. The goal is about 1000 jobs for such people each year.

Both Hosford and Francis Keppel, chairman of the board of General Learning Corporation, pointed out that there is some degree of risk for business in carrying out such employment programs. But Keppel added: "The disadvantaged residents of the big city ghettos are proving that underneath all of that misery and desperation lies a great deal of intelligence and latent ability just yearning for a chance to express itself."

Mayors Ilus W. Davis of Kansas City, Missouri, and Joseph H. McDowell of Kansas City, Kansas, welcomed the delegates.

J. A. Hosford

Mayor Davis

Francis Keppel

Participants in Kansas City meeting included (left to right): Christopher Mould, the Urban Coalition; Rev. Thomas J. Ritter, Opportunities Industrialization Center; and William Flynn, National Association of Manufacturers.

Action Notes . . .

James F. Oates, Jr., chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States has accepted an invitation to become a member of the Urban Coalition Steering Committee. The press of other commitments has made necessary the resignation of Steering Committee member Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, president, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

* * *

Plans for a "Rural Coalition", described as a counterpart to the Urban Coalition, were discussed at a recent meeting of the newly-organized National Conference of Anti-Poverty Agencies at Columbia University in New York.

* * *

The Boston Urban Coalition reports good progress. At a February meeting, Robert Slater, president, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, was elected chairman, three task forces were named, and a committee appointed to recommend a permanent organizational structure.

* * *

Mitchell Sviridoff, vice president and director of the Division of National Affairs, the Ford Foundation, described the responsibility of foundations in the urban crisis in a recent *New York Times* interview. Foundations, he said, must be "active participants, supplying not only financing but becoming actively involved in new enterprises". He said the Urban Coalition offers "our greatest hope today, not only in the city, but nationally". Mr. Sviridoff assumed the Ford Foundation post on January 1, after serving as New York City's Human Resources Administrator.

Coalition Business Leaders Support Civil Rights Bill

The following is the text of a telegram sent to each member of the Senate on Monday morning, February 26, prior to the vote on the motion to invoke cloture in the civil rights debate:

"URGE YOU VOTE FOR CLOTURE AND SUPPORT PASSAGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS BILL WITH FAIR HOUSING AMENDMENT. OPPOSE ANY EFFORT TO PUT ASIDE BILL BEFORE SENATE HAS OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE ON MERITS."

Signed:
Joseph Allen, McGraw-Hill Publications
J. Irwin Miller, Cummins Engine Company
James F. Oates, Equitable Life Assurance Society
James Rouse, The Rouse Company
Asa T. Spaulding, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Business Members, The Urban Coalition Steering Committee.

The effort of the businessmen gave strong support to other segments of the Coalition who have been leading the fight for civil rights and fair housing.

Co-Chairman Andrew Heiskell addressed a two-day organizational meeting of the Philadelphia Urban Coalition last month and National Coordinator Ron Linton spoke to the Tacoma, Washington, Coalition. Latest city to report the formation of a local coalition is Englewood, N.J.

THE URBAN COALITION ACTION REPORT

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Forming Urban Coalitions

U.S. IMPLEMENTING MODEL CITIES BILL

URBAN PROBLEMS

Communities May Apply for Project Planning Funds

1/12/67

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11—The Administration's major program to improve life in the cities—the Demonstration Cities Act of 1966—got under way today with the announcement that communities may now begin applying for planning funds.

The announcement was made at a news conference called by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Robert C. Weaver.

Mr. Weaver also released detailed guidelines setting forth the aims of the program and the criteria that cities must meet in order to qualify for funds.

The guidelines, which also include instructions on how to prepare a proposal, are being mailed, in the form of a 31-page pamphlet, to 3,500 public officials who have expressed an interest in the program.

Housing officials predicted that applications would begin arriving at the department in early February, and that the housing agency would probably begin approving them in April.

Roughly 350 cities have expressed strong interest in participating in the program so far, and officials are preparing for applications from these and perhaps as many as 1,000 more.

However, the program is geared to accommodate 70 to 80 cities at the outside. These will be selected not on a "first come, first served" basis but on the basis of the excellence of their plans.

H. Ralph Taylor, assistant secretary in charge of the program, emphasized that initial grants would be for planning purposes only.

Congress appropriated $11-million for this purpose for the fiscal year 1967, which ends next June 30. It authorized $900-million covering the fiscal years 1968 and 1969 for "execution" funds to carry out the plans, but so far none of this has been appropriated.

President Johnson said in his State of the Union message last night that he hoped Congress would appropriate the $400-million authorized for fiscal 1968. Congressional observers have predicted that he may have a difficult time getting it, given the somewhat more conservative disposition of the present Congress and the cost of the War in Vietnam.

Under the Demonstration Cities Act—known in Administration circles as the "model cities" program—communities select one or more badly blighted neighborhoods and submit a plan for its rejuvenation.

The plan is supposed to include not only housing for different income groups, with emphasis on those at the lower end of the scale, but also the health, welfare, recreation and other social services necessary to change the total environment of the neighborhood's residents.

The New York Times

KICKS OFF PROGRAM: Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, announced communities could now apply for funds under demonstration cities program.

URBAN PROBLEMS

City Will Relocate Its Business Area

By DICK HEBERT

One major Georgia city is about to uproot its entire downtown business district and plant it back down somewhere else.

The word came from Georgia State College professor Dr. Robert K. Brown in a talk to a day-long meeting of city planners and builders trying to find a way to save the cities of the state.

But Dr. Brown wasn't telling anyone where the Georgia city is, or when it will happen. "I think it's still confidential," he told a reporter. "But I can tell you it isn't a Blakely" — or any other comparable town.

He had used the city-uprooting example to demonstrate the threat of numbers pressing American cities. He said that 225 million Americans will live in cities by the turn of the century, more than double today's number, and these people will need 41 million acres of city land — more than the total acreage of New England.

The South, he said, will get the "greatest absolute increase" in the coming years and not all will come to "the Atlantas, the Houstons, the Jacksonvilles."

He said it is the smaller cities which are blessed by having a chance to prepare for the growth. So far the bigger cities "have been lucky" but can't count on it much longer.

Dr. Brown's was one of a long parade of urgent addresses calling for action to make the downtown at least as appealing as the suburbs now thriving with shopping center activity.

Savannah was repeatedly cited as an example of the best possible city planning when it was planned back in the early 1700s. And by contrast, Marietta was used as one of several examples of "creeping ugliness" by Hubert B. Owens, Landscape Architect Department head at the University of Georgia.

Georgia Tech assistant professor Joseph Smith said city businesses must start offering the same services, accessibility, parking, and "clean, well-lighted" environment that suburban shopping centers do.

Paul Muldawer, an architect and urban designer, said people want to move back downtown from suburbs but must be offered a variety of living spaces and services.

The symposium, at the Marriott Motor Hotel, was sponsored by the Georgia Urban Design Council.

Ben Austin fits another Beltone
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..Hearing Aid..

URBAN PROBLEMS

Metropolitan Detroit Branch

American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan

Policy Statement

RE

DETROIT HOUSING COMMISSION POLICIES

AFFECTING APPLICANTS AND TENANTS

Submitted by Committee on Civil Liberties of Children and Youth, Agencies and Institutions Sub-Committee

Prepared by: Allan Becker, Thomas Melican, Abbie Nevison and Joseph Vileno, jr.

Reviewed by: Adrienne James and David Wineman

Date of Submission: March 29, 1967

Adopted April 11, 1967, ACLU Detroit Board

Statement of the Civil Liberties Issues

There exists a lack of procedural safeguards for persons applying for admission to public housing in Detroit. The rights of applicants and tenants are often ignored in the eligibility process. Applicants do not know the specific criteria necessary for determining eligibility for public housing, other than low-income standard. The tenant selection policy contains conditions governing eligibility in addition to the low-income standard, and these conditions are not known by applicants and are often an unwritten part of housing policy.

Complaints have been taken by this Committee from persons who have been rejected because they have children born out of wedlock. Sometimes a mother with one illegitimate child is accepted for public housing, while a mother with two or more illegitimate children is rejected. The consideration of illegitimacy is a regular, though unwritten, part of public housing policy governing tenant selection. Also complainants allege that a prior juvenile record or adult court record is deemed sufficient to disqualify one for public housing. One section of the tenant selection policy lists a lengthy number of adult offenses which disqualify an applicant from admission. Juvenile records are employed in like manner. Another complainant alleged he had been rejected for housing because of his undesirable military discharge. This complaint has since been adjusted after negotiations with housing officials, who advise that consideration of military records is not an official part of tenant selection policy.

When reasons other than overstandard income are the basis for rejecting an applicant, he is not advised officially of the specific grounds for rejection. Sometimes an applicant or tenant is told "off the record" why occupancy is being denied, while often he is not told at all. The absence of an official reason for denial of occupancy makes it very difficult to appeal the decision. In addition to lack of official notification, there is no opportunity for an impartial review of an unfavorable decision as no appeal machinery exists in the selection process, other than to appeal through the levels of officialdom in the housing commission. The experience in the past, admitted by housing officials, is that decisions made on lower levels are usually confirmed at higher levels. Administrative uniformity in tenant selection decisions usually prevails.

Income considerations aside, admission to public housing in Detroit is dependent on the housing officer's subjective assessment of personal or family histories or characteristics of applicants or tenants, without benefit of fair recourse for the aggrieved party.

There are serious civil liberties implication in much of the policy that is used in judging applicants and tenants for occupancy.

The screening procedures which are used by the housing agency, i.e., contacting social agencies, courts, hospitals, etc., to obtain information ignore privacy rights of the applicant. The application form for public housing does not request that a person grant permission to inquire into family background. Yet social agency information, juvenile court information and even police files information is made available to housing officials upon request. Furthermore, during the application period, improper questioning of applicants often occurs. The complainant whose military record was questioned was required to bring to the housing office a transcript of his military court-martial and was also asked by the housing officer why he thought he had a right to be a concientious objector while in the service. We submit that this line of inquiry and curious invasion of privacy has no place in the eligibility process and tends to make personal belief a condition of eligibility.

Mothers with illegitimate children are placed in the position of self-incrimination by disclosing whether their children are illegitimate, the identity of the father and whether a legal marriage is in effect or not. By admitting illegitimacy, they are depriving themselves of admission to public housing. This denial of housing on the basis of illegitimacy compounds injury already done to a child who is branded as a second class citizen at birth. A mother of an illegitimate child is often told that housing is being denied because she has "socially illegitimate children" or because her family is "morally" or "socially" "unstable".[1] In families where all the children are not illegitimate, the child or children who were born out of wedlock, becomes in effect, the reason for the rest of the family being denied decent housing. By what measure can one determine the psychological damage done to such a child within his own family? The societal prejudice against illegitimate children hardly needs the added weight of public agency censure.

Applicants with illegitimate children, by being denied public housing, are deprived of their right to equal treatment under the law that is guaranteed to all citizens.

From a civil liberties point of view, the tenant selection practices of the Detroit Housing Commission often fail to provide equal protection since they submit eligibility to an arbitrary standard that is unclear. Furthermore, due process considerations are ignored in the eligibility determination process. The specific issues are:

1. Arbitrary and vague criteria is often used by the Detroit Housing Commission in determining eligibility for housing.

2. A rejected applicant is not advised officially (either verbally or in writing) of the specific basis for rejection and the application period often takes months before the decision is made.

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[1]The term "socially illegitimate" refers to a child born to a woman whose legal husband is allegedly not the natural father of said child.

3. A rejected applicant does not have the opportunity for an impartial review and an appeal. (We have recently received assurances from the Detroit Housing Commission that an appeal board would soon be set up.)

4. The investigation process often entails improper questioning and solicitation and gathering of information which constitutes an invasion of privacy rights.

These issues should concern ACLU because they bear directly on the question of rights of persons receiving benefits from government programs. Furthermore, since families with children are beneficiaries of government housing programs, the Committee feels that the civil liberties issues directly involve the rights of children to a decent home. This is especially true in light of the crucial importance of environment in the development of children.

Position of National ACLU

Individual rights to those benefits offered by the government at various levels are of major concern to National ACLU. In June of 1966 at the Biennial Conference held at Stoney Brook, Long Island, the National ACLU in a Plenary Board meeting went on record in opposition to deprivation of rights of beneficiaries of government benefits and applicants for such benefits, including but not limited to:

> The arbitrary deprivation of benefits on grounds of race, size of family, illegitimacy, etc.
>
> Also the lack of procedural safeguards such as:
>
> > Inaccessible regulations
> > No statement of reasons for agency action
> > Lack of fair hearing
> > Denial of appellate review

Some Consideration on Public Housing

Public housing is the difference between decent shelter and sub-standard shelter for many low-income families. Because the poor really have no freedom of choice about the quality of housing they can afford, it is imperative that the precious access to public housing be open to them. Furthermore, the human problems in public housing projects may have been prevented or ameliorated if keener foresight were evidenced in planning housing developments. According to Staughton Lynd, "Some very small changes in Federal regulations regarding physical aspects of public housing projects could make possible some very big changes in their

attractiveness".[2]

Housing officials are sensitive to the public's negative view toward housing projects. But Lynd states that:

> "The deepest reason for the public rejection of public housing lies not in its physical inadequacies--after all these pale beside those of the slum--but in the spirit of its administration. The complex requirements for admission, which in some cities extend to inspection of the applicants housekeeping ability; the reporting of changes of income and snooping into bank accounts; the manager's ability to walk into any project apartment at any time; the tenants' inability to do the smallest remodeling of his apartment without official permission; these make the project tenant feel he is treated like a child. Living in a housing project has become one more badge of inferior low-income status along with the drab waiting room of the public clinic, the overcrowded 'shift' at the local public school."[3]

Apparently, the morale of people in public housing will remain poor until low-income families can feel they will be treated with dignity. There exists now a distrust between many people living in public housing and those responsible for management. The continued use of complicated admission requirements, sometimes extending for a period of months before a decision is made and the continued use of exacting and complicated tenancy requirements, only serve to deepen the existing distrust between tenants and management.

We recognize the heavy responsibility charged to those who manage public housing to maintain the best possible living environment for tenants. But we contend that this responsibility should not conflict with nor be met at the expense of, the needs of many low-income persons and families merely because they have other problems. The poor are not merely without sufficient income. Many have personal and social problems that cannot be ignored if meaningful opportunity is to be made available to them. Refusing housing to them because of their concomitant difficulties is clear evidence of a failure to fully appreciate the life-style of many of America's poor who look to government and the larger society to provide an opportunity for a decent life.

The vague criteria and complicated requirements utilized in determining eligibility for public housing often encourages arbitrary decision making by housing officials when assessing applications.

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[2] Staughton Lynd, "Urban Renewal for Whom", reprint from Commantary (1961) in New Perspectives on Poverty, Shostak and Gomberg, eds., Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1965, p. 116.

[3] Ibid.

Applicants possessing the problem characteristics such as illegitimacy, court records, etc. are often refused merely because they do not fit into the "desirability" pattern which is part of the process of determining who will get along best in public housing projects. This process as noted previously contains arbitrary judgments about personal worth and is not a part of written public housing policy and gives rise to semi-judicial thinking without sufficient evidence.

Furthermore, a tax based public institution can hardly make discriminatory judgments with propriety unless those judgments are supported by hard facts or evidence to indicate that an applicant for instance, for public housing, will be a detriment and danger to his neighbors. The use of a desirability yardstick requires caution and prudence if it is to be used at all, lest it grossly fail to recognize the true needs of those persons whom public housing was initiated to serve and who sorely need decent shelter. At a time when vast urban renewal efforts are forcing many low-income persons into public housing, rigid and inequitable procedures deny occupancy to many.

Mitchell Gordon in his book Sick Cities in speaking of America's urban problems mentioned the St. Louis experiement in screening applicants for public housing. Though St. Louis found fewer social problems were evident because tenants were screened, the editor of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Russell H. Amberg, noted that the practice of screening was questionable. He stated "that public housing should not be selective, that those excluded were after all often in greatest need of shelter".[4] The New York City relocation program demands that public housing should be available to all who qualify on the basis of income and that efforts should be made to assist problem families to qualify by offering service to them. Dr. Harmon Putter, Ph.D., director of Social Services in New York's relocation program writes "there should be a re-examination of the content of the desirability standard for public housing and consideration should be given to an assessment of potential problems if any, and to assure that necessary services are provided. The Department of Relocation staff seeks to identify problems that prevent acceptance to public housing".[5]

While progressive approaches are called for by many persons involved in housing and serving the poor, the "desirability" standard still prevails. Moreover, it is unclear who is desirable for public housing. It appears that public housing agencies strayed from their original purpose, i.e., providing decent housing for those whose income is insufficient to furnish decent private shelter. This failure to meet professed goals, however, is a

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[4]Mitchell Gordon, Sick Cities, MacMillan Co., New York, 1965, p. 392.

[5]"Relocation Demonstration Program", Journal of Housing, vol. #3, March, 1966. A publication of the National Association of Housing and Re-Development Officials.

characteristic of many bureaucracies who as Selznick says "come to consume an increasing proportion of time on internal activities which, from the point of view of actual behavior, are substituted for professed goals".[6] We submit that "substitution of goals" tends to occur in public housing to the point that having tenants with fewer problems becomes more important to managers then providing housing equally to all who need it.

Tenants are often evicted with good cause if their behavior is clearly disruptive to other tenants. We recognize that such evictions are a necessary part of the housing manager's responsibility to maintain an orderly community. Our contention is that some of the reasons for rejecting such as illegitimacy and a possession of a court record should not be invoked as a basis for rejection before they actually prove to be troublesome. It is reasonable for housing commission to expect that tenants should maintain a decent home and be respectful of their neighbor's rights as well as their own but no amount of screening or "weeding out" is a good substitute for meaningful social services to families with problems if project areas are to ever be satisfying communities.

This is perhaps a crucial time for clarifying the rights of persons living in public housing. As more public housing becomes available to fill the existing shortage, an enlargement of the social and legal privileges of tenants should be affirmed now to prevent future violations.

State of Litigation and Preliminary Comments

For the most part, the courts have followed the pattern of agreeing with decisions made by housing officials on the basis that public housing agencies have "a power to protect" tenants already in housing projects from undesirables. The issue is whether "power to protect" necessarily gives "the protector" the right to deprive others not only of their access to enjoyment of benefits but their civil guarantees as well. A question no doubt pertinent to this issue is whether housing officials alone can determine which individuals are a detriment to the safety and morals of the surrounding community.

Of interest in this regard is the case of Richardson vs the Housing Authority of New Bern, North Carolina, (Civil Action #678, E.D.N.C., 1966) in which the Federal District Court issued a temporary restraining order prohibiting further evictions from public housing, pending trial on the merits of the case. The housing authority in this case was charged with denying admission to and bringing eviction proceedings against mothers with illegitimate children. The tenants were required to sign a "covenant" in their leases that provided that 30 days after the birth of an illegitimate child to the tenant or a member of the tenant's

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[6] Philip Selznick, "An Approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy", American Sociological Review, VIII #1, February, 1943.

family, the tenant would have to move from the housing project, would waive all notices required by law and would waive all legal proceedings to recover possession. This covenant was enforced by requiring tenants to either move out or to pay a $50 fine upon the birth of an illegitimate child. When the tenants protested the housing order, the authority removed the fine and announced that automatic eviction would take place in the future.

The attorneys for the tenants and applicants argued that a fair hearing is required before eviction. The housing authority on the other hand asserted that a lack of federal jurisdiction existed as they had not denied any right or privilege guaranteed by the Constitution. This case is an action involving tenants who have actually not been evicted but tenants who have been threatened with eviction and applicants who have been rejected because of illegitimate children. Decision in this case is pending.

In the case of Manigo vs the New York City Housing Authority (Sup. Ct., Spec. Term. Part 1, New York County, Index #2197, 1966) the Legal Services Unit of Mobilization for Youth filed a complaint against the New York City Housing Authority to obtain admission to public housing for a family who claimed that it was found ineligible on account of a prior record of the husband as a juvenile delinquent. The petitioner alleged she was told "off the record" that she would be denied public housing on account of her husband's record of three minor offenses at ages of 10, 15 and 18. Her application was allowed to expire and she received no formal denial by the Housing Authority on her application. The petition further argued that in practice the Authority did not make its determination of ineligibility known to the applicant nor was she given an opportunity to contest the adverse decision. The Housing Authority's right to deny admission was upheld by the New York Supreme Court. An appeal to the New York Court of Appeal's is planned to test whether or not this decision is consistent with the prohibitions in New York Law against forfeiture of any right or privilege because of an adjudication as a youthful offender.

Of timely importance is the case of Thorpe vs the Housing Authority of Durham, North Carolina, now pending review by the United States Supreme Court.[7] Mrs. Joyce Thorpe received an eviction notice from public housing the day after she was elected president of a tenant's council. North Carolina Supreme Court issued an injunction against the Housing Authority preventing eviction until the Supreme Court passes on a petition for writ of certiorari. Attorney for Mrs. Thorpe argued that the case is of great importance due to its effects "on the rights of persons in public housing". They stated in their briefs that the power "to evict without a hearing and for no reason or at the unbridled whim of housing officials, runs directly contrary to the purposes of insuring low-income citizens a decent place to live and of promoting security and stability in the poor families". The brief went on to state "the broader question is involved of the rights of persons receiving any public welfare benefits to

[7] The court has recently granted certiorari in this case, 87, S. Ct. 515 (1966). This is the first case involving rights of tenants in public housing to be heard by the Court.

at least a bare minimum of procedural protection before the necessities of life are taken from them".

Other Legal Implications

The Thorpe Case capsules the contention that denial of adequate appeal or the absence of an adequate appeal procedure is a violation of the guarantees to due process found in the Constitution. It is significant that public housing legislation on the federal level makes no mention of appeal rights but leaves tenant selection up to the local authority. Not so with benefits offered under the Social Security Act, where the rights of beneficiaries are asserted in the Act, and local and state governments are required to develop appeal machinery as a condition to receiving the federal funds. Hence, the decision to terminate or deny occupancy in public housing unlike other federally funded programs, leaves eligibility decisions solely in the hands of local administration. Since the process of termination or denial of public housing consists of determination of factual matters regarding eligibility and applying legal criteria to them, it is a judicial or quasi-judicial function of a government agency. If decisions are then to be made in this semi-judicial setting, it is imperative that persons affected by such decisions have the opportunity to reply and to have the decision reviewed.

See also Williams vs Ypsilanti (Civil Action No. 28936, E.D. Michigan, September, 1966).

Conclusions

1. Tenant policy of the Detroit Housing Commission fails to provide equal protection under the law for all applicants and tenants. The arbitrary decision making in selecting tenants denies public housing to many citizens who need and have a right to it. In order to insure that applicants and tenants know all the eligibility requirements, policy should be clearly spelled out and made available to them.

2. Applicants for public housing and tenants therein should have a right to be officially notified of the specific grounds for denying occupancy. The refusal of such notification by the housing agency violates due process protections and makes appeal difficult, if not impossible.

3. Persons living in or applying for public housing should have a right to appeal an administrative decision that is unfavorable, and an impartial and adequate review procedure should be set up to insure that appellants are fairly considered. The use of the appeal procedure by a tenant or applicant should in no way be construed to mean a surrender on his part of other privileges such as the right to bring counsel or assistance into an appeal hearing.

This position recognizes the public housing agency's right to a tenant policy but also guarantees the rights of applicants and tenants and provides them with safeguards and access to review. This position also expresses ACLU concern for the right

of children to realize their full potential as they are affected by the activities of parents undertaken in their behalf.

The Committee on Civil Liberties of Children and Youth proposes to take the following kinds of actions in order to effect elimination of unconstitutional practices by the Detroit Housing Commission: Make the ACLU position known to the housing commission; process and investigate complaints; negotiate with housing officials and other affected persons or organizations; and, if necessary, represent appropriate persons in court.

Recommendations

The Committee on Civil Liberties of Children and Youth through its Agencies and Institutions Sub-Committee recommends that the Detroit ACLU:

1. Reaffirm the position of the National ACLU (as quoted above) regarding the rights of persons receiving public benefits.

2. Recognizes that there are issues of civil liberty concern in the current practices of the Detroit Housing Commission with respect to selection and eviction of tenants.

3. Authorize the Committee on Civil Liberties of Children and Youth to intervene appropriately.

Maddox Steps Up Fight on City Tax

URBAN PROBLEMS

ATC 7/13/67

By REMER TYSON

Gov. Lester Maddox stepped up his opposition Wednesday to a proposal to allow cities and counties to levy a sales tax, but House Speaker George L. Smith said he hopes a modification of a bill defeated last year will be adopted by the next legislature.

At a speech to the Rotary Club in Summerville, Maddox said, "This is a fight that I am bringing to the people of the state of Georgia today, and this is the beginning."

Smith guided a bill through the Georgia House to permit cities and counties, if they chose to do so, to levy a 1 per cent local sales tax. This local tax would have been collected by the state along with the 3 per cent Georgia sales tax. One per cent of this total would have been refunded to cities and counties in which it was collected.

The Georgia Senate rejected the bill at Maddox's insistence.

Wednesday, Smith proposed that city and county governments be permitted to decide whether to levy a sales tax. The state would collect the local levy, then remit the funds to cities and counties on a per-capita basis.

As part of the bill, Smith proposed that state grants to cities and counties be discontinued. This year the legislature appropriated $12 million to cities and $11 million to counties.

Smith said he thought that if his proposal were adopted by the next legislature, which meets in January, and if the state tightens its financial belt "we might get by the present administration without a rise in taxes."

Atlanta in particular has been pressing for legal authority, which must be given by the state legislature, to adopt a local sales tax.

In his speech, Maddox said:

"It is suggested that the state collect this additional money and return it to local authorities to be spent as they desire, without regard to what produced the tax in the first place.

"That would mean that when you go to Atlanta to purchase

Continued on Page 11, Column 2

Governor Pushes Fight On City Tax

Continued from Page 1

some of your needs, this extra 1 cent would be collected and find its resting place in Atlanta, never to return to your community . . .

"That group in Atlanta seems to think that your local government should be run from Atlanta's city hall, their local newspaper office, and the offices of the financial czars which surround Five Points.

"I want to tell you . . . that this will not happen while Lester Maddox is governor — not by the hair of my chinny, chinny chin."

At a press conference earlier Wednesday, Maddox said he had been unjustifiably criticized as being responsible for a property tax increase in Fulton County.

"It is a new twist to now accuse me of having the responsibility for a tax raise here in Atlanta which was imposed before the governorship was resolved, and before I assumed office."

Speaker Smith said, "I regret that the governor has made such a strong stand (against the local sales tax). I still hope in the next session we can work out a local sales tax."

Of his proposal to remit a local sales tax on a percapita basis, rather than return the actual amount collected in a city or county, Smith said, "It would cost Atlanta some money, but they'd be getting so much more than they're getting now."

Asked if his proposal would not force cities and counties to adopt a local sales tax if state grants were discontinued, Smith said, "It would if they want any money."

COALITION URGES U.S. ACT TO SPUR JOBS IN THE CITIES

URBAN PROBLEMS

Conference of 800 Leaders Calls for New Priorities — Housing Drive Backed

NYT 8/25/67

PRIVATE ROLE STRESSED

Remarks and Statement Hint Delegates' Dissatisfaction With Johnson Programs

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24—A convocation of more than 800 mayors and business, labor, church and civil rights leaders called on the Government today to "reorder national priorities" and develop "an emergency work program" to provide jobs in the nation's riot-torn cities.

The group, which calls itself the Urban Coalition, held a one-day meeting at the Shoreham Hotel here. I sought solutions to the urban crisis and, in the words of its keynote speaker, Mayor Lindsay of New York, to forge "a national coalition of those with a stake in the city and its people."

In a statement of "principles, goals, and commitments," which was adopted by a rousing voice vote shortly before noon, the coalition pledged itself to work for better urban conditions on a variety of fronts.

An Appeal to Washington

The statement also urged Congress and the Administration to do the following:

¶Provide at least one million "meaningful" and "socially useful" jobs immediately, concentrating on "the huge backlog of employment needs in parks, streets, slums, countryside, schools, colleges, libraries and hospitals."

¶Develop a closer-working relationship with the private sector and, through incentives, encourage industry to create vast new programs of job training.

¶Undertake "bold and immediate steps" to provide a decent home for every American, "including the goal of at least a million housing units for lower-income families annually."

Although neither the statement nor the speakers mentioned President Johnson by name the tone of the remarks

Continued on Page 20, Column 4

Coalition Urges Government to Spur Jobs in Cities

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

and the substance of the document strongly suggested that the delegates believed the Administration's response to the urban crisis had been insufficient.

The President has indicated several times in recent days that he plans no major new programs this year, arguing instead that his primary mission is to persuade a reluctant Congress to provide money for programs enacted last year.

But the coalition and its leaders clearly felt that additional measures were necessary now, even if it meant a reassessment of the nation's other commitments.

Mr. Lindsay won the day's biggest applause when he stated that the American commitment abroad "should not be allowed to weaken our resolve at home." Later he added:

"If our defense commitment, our commitment to space, or any other commitment made before our urban areas were beset by agony is blocking a vigorous effort to end those agonies, those commitments should be reassessed."

The statement of principles adpoted this morning declared:

"We believe the American people and the Congress must reorder national priorities, with a commitment of resources equal to the magnitude of the problems we face," the statement said. "The crisis requires a new dimension of effort in both the public and private sectors, working together to provide jobs, housing, education and the other neds of the cities."

The coalition grew out of a yearlong effort by the big-city mayors to overcome what they felt was "citizen indifference" to city problems. But it did not become a reality until July 31, when, in response to the riots in Newark and Detroit, a decision to call today's meeting was made by the National League of Cities, the National Conference of Mayors, and Urban America, Inc., a nonprofit group.

The participants at the meeting today included well-known leaders from nearly every major field.

There were some notable absentees — no governors, no members of the Federal Government, and, with the exception of a small group from Rochester, N. Y., very few of the poor.

'Dial With All Segments'

The absence of the poor themselves was not a matter of public comment until the closing moments of the session when Andrew Heiskell, board chairman of Time, Inc, who was co-chairman of the meeting, invited final comments from the delegates.

The last to speak was Marion Barry, former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Coordinating Committee in the capital, who is now active in other civil rights grounps here. Dressed in a green T-shirt and wearing sunglasses, Mr. Barry, who said he had not been invited, moved to the rostrum and warned the coalition not to overlook the poor.

"You've got to deal with all segments," he said, including those "not accustomed to coming to the Shoreham Hotel and fussing round. They don't understand all this hifalutin talk.

"And when you hold these meetings, please don't have them out here at the Shoreham. Hold them down where the people are, get down there and try to get to the nitty-gritty. When that time comes we'll begin to scratch the surface of the urban problem."

Randolph Is Co-Chairman

The other co-chairman of the meeting was A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Both he and Mr. Heiskell were members of a 32-man steering committee that hammered out the statement of principles in a three-and-a-half-hour session last night.

Other members of the steering committee included Henry Ford 2d, chairman of the Ford Motor Company; David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank; George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers.

Also, Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League; Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Most Rev. John F. Dearden, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Detroit; Rabbi Jacob P. Rudin, president of the Synagogue Council of America, and the mayors of several major cities.

'A Lot of Plain Talking'

In the opinion of many of the participants, the meeting served several useful purposes apart from the fundamental objective of dramatizing the crisis in the cities.

In the steering committee sessions last night and the panel sessions this afternoon, "a lot of plain talking was done and a lot of problems were finally brought out on the table," one participant told a reporter.

Sources reported, for example, that in last night's meeting, which was closed to the press, Mr. Meany and Joseph D. Keenan, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, agreed to make a serious, sustained effort to end restrictive admission practices in the building trades unions and cooperate in promoting new and perhaps quicker methods of construction.

A PAMPHLET URGING VIOLENCE IS MAILED

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 (AP) — A publication of a fugitive American Negro in Communist China that advocates violence in United States cities and advises Negro G.I.'s to "eliminate" their white comrades in Vietnam has been carried in the mails.

The 12-page folder, stating it was published in Peking by Robert F. Williams, contains in the latest edition available here tips for clogging sewer lines and highways, burning public facilities and smashing windows without getting caught.

It also urges that American Negroes refuse to fight in Vietnam. But it says those who are "trapped into" serving should "throw a monkey wrench into those murderous operations."

Postal, Customs and Justice Department officials said their power to police the import of foreign propaganda had been sharply restricted in recent years by Supreme Court decisions dealing with the First Amendment's guarantees of freedom of speech and press.

A Customs spokesman said propaganda was barred at ports of entry only if it was treasonable or advocated overthrow of the Government or assassination of the President.

Williams fled to Cuba six years ago allegedly to avoid a charge of kidnapping during a racial disturbance in his home town of Monroe, N.C.

1967

URBAN PROBLEMS

CITIZENS' ROLE IN ST. LOUIS MODEL CITIES PROGRAM DESCRIBED

A. Donald Bourgeois, *Director, St. Louis Model City Agency, explained the St. Louis approach to citizen participation at an October 10 general session at which H. Ralph Taylor, Assistant Secretary for Demonstrations and Intergovernmental Relations, Department of Housing and Urban Development, gave the federal view on how citizens should be involved in model cities program planning (see page 616). In picture left, Secretary Taylor; session chairman Robert B. Pease, Executive Director, Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh; Mr. Bourgeois*

Citizen participation has come to have a meaning that changes from one part of the country to another. Indeed, the official federal labels differ from one Washington bureau to the next. In the Office of Economic Opportunity, for example, it is "maximum feasible participation of the poor," while the Department of Housing and Urban Development speaks of "widespread citizen participation." In their preciseness, these phrases are rivalled only by that notorious slogan coined by the Supreme Court in 1954 — "with all deliberate speed." In that case, some states moved immediately, while others, 13 years later, are still being "deliberately speedy."

In the same way, there has been a variety of forms of citizen participation across the country. Each variety is associated with a different goal, usually implicit. In my travels, I have visited and seen different forms of citizen participation in different cities. Clearly, all of these cities and all of the programs conducted by agencies with OEO funds are charged with the same kind of maximum feasible participation but, nevertheless, have come out with different kinds of products. I found citizen participation in Chicago quite different from that in Newark; Houston quite different from Syracuse; and San Francisco in a bag all its very own.

I don't expect anyone to come down from the mountain with a new set of tablets detailing in what form citizen participation should be, or the methods by which citizens ought to be involved, or who is to be excluded, or who included, but I do think that exchanging views on what is or what ought to be can go a long way toward establishing a Bible of citizen participation.

Participation Comes in Many Forms

I think that, first, citizen participation differs according to the type and extent of "sponsorship" involved.

Political Sponsorship. One pattern has been to develop citizen participation directly or indirectly sponsored by the political structure of the community. In this case, citizen representatives and groups are supported by elected officials and ward political workers and, therefore, remain loyal to them. The attitudes expressed by these citizen participants may safely be expected to reflect those of an incumbent political machine, rather than those of the neighborhood residents they allegedly "represent." The implied goal of this sort of citizen participation is to provide "grass-roots" legitimacy for the attitudes and plans of elected officials.

Public Agency Sponsorship. Another type of sponsorship is that of public social service agencies. With a specific mandate from OEO to involve the poor, the Community Action Program (CAP) agencies are the most frequent sponsors of this type. Here, the agency seeks to create citizen committees to advise it in its work and, consequently, the committees owe their very existence and sole function to the CAP. Resident leaders are selected out and given "leadership training" by the staff, with the result that they perform in predictable ways.

Elevated to prominence in their neighborhood, the citizen leaders are flattered by the amount of attention they are getting from important people downtown and have less and less time to spend with their neighbors. Never too trusting of public agencies, the neighbors now become suspicious of their representatives and, in rare cases, may even try to replace them in a reform campaign at the next election of advisory committee members.

At this point, however, the agency staff, whose jobs are threatened by an unfriendly advisory committee, give their full support to the incumbent, "cooperative" citizen candidates. In the face of competition with a paid professional staff, backed up by a variety of tangible agency resources, the reform slate is doomed from the start. In future elections, dissident citizens stay home and the agency-sponsored slate is reelected year after year. In return for this support, the advisory committee gratefully endorses every program or progress report put before it by the staff. "Maximum feasible citizen participation" is thus faithfully adhered to and professional jobs and authority remain secure.

The goal implied in the above instance is "maximum feasible *friendly* citizen participation"—sometimes also described as *"responsible"* — which is a middle-class establishment adjective for citizen groups that may be trusted never to challenge or embarrass those whom they are permitted to "advise."

Techniques of Participation

Citizen participation also varies according to what is meant by "participation." Minimally, a questionnaire may be designed and a survey of citizen attitudes conducted. The survey has been a favorite tool of physical planners concerned with freeway construction or urban renewal projects. Thus, monumental urban projects are frequently mounted, with their planners secure in the knowledge that they have been approved by a survey of a 2 percent sample (elegantly designed) of citizens whose lives will be affected.

An alternative procedure for these planners is to hold an open hearing. Though it is more vulnerable to citizen opposition, the public hearing is still a comfortable device for professional planners, since citizens are limited to approving or disapproving a single pre-designed and usually quite complicated plan. The survey and the public hearing are both favored by those who view planning as a highly technical and even mystical labor, to be performed only by duly-certified professionals.

A more recent view of "participation" is that held by most social service agencies, in which citizen representatives are invited to "advise" professional staff. In some cases this takes the form of one or two seats on a 15-member board that meets once or twice a year and participates in agency policy or management about as much as do the stockholders of General Motors Corporation at their annual meeting. Poverty program advisory committees are more daring, meeting usually once a month, and constituted completely of poor citizen-clients. While these committees can and occasionally do "raise a fuss" with professional staff, they have no real power to make policy and are, in any case, usually meek and cooperative before their agency-sponsors. One small fight is about all it takes for these committees to recognize the real limits of their power, in spite of the official verbiage about the neighborhood advisory committee's "central role in the local poverty program."

In both of these types of participation, the goal is primarily to satisfy, at the least possible cost to the public agency or commission, a federal requirement for citizen ratification of any federally funded program. Responsibility for blunders is thus transferred from either the federal or local agency to an amorphous citizenry, who "participated" in the planning.

It is clear that none of these familiar versions of citizen participation has brought citizens very close to the planning or decision-making process. Could this possibly be related to the frequency with which freeway and urban renewal projects are beset by delays, embarrassments, and even total failure? Or to the pitifully few victories in the war on poverty? There is a growing suspicion that the relationship is more than accidental.

St. Louis Approach

The St. Louis Model City Agency also attempts to involve citizens. Our agency has recently celebrated its tenth anniversary, 10 months, that is, for we were organized on December 1, 1966. At that time we, rather naively, believed that it was just a matter of days, weeks at most, when some cities would be named to participate in the federal model cities program and we, hopefully, had included ourselves in the first generation.

We established a planning process that can be best described as a "dumbbell planning process." We call it the top-down and the bottom-up form of planning. The top-down version consists of gathering together the power structure of a particular area of concern, or subsystem, as we call it, and gathering them together to examine what has been done, what needs to be done, what resources are available to carry off the program, and what resources need to be made available.

We gather people on the local level

who are in charge of planning for some specific program. For example, with respect to employment, our subsystem committee consists of the head of the CAP, the director of the Urban League, the work experience program people, and the regional industrial development committee. From the state, we get the employment service and the division of welfare heads and from the regional federal level we get staff from the departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare.

In 14 instances, we have brought such people together for 14 different subsystems—to plan from a top-down fashion what needed to be done.

The bottom-up version of the planning was accommodated by sending into the field interdisciplinary teams of hardware and software planners. We sent architects, real estate economists, social scientists, and community organizers and charged them with the responsibility of serving the people, of being the people's professionals.

To insure that what we got back was genuinely from the people, we have had each professional write out in advance his "ideal" or his optimum neighborhood and then we have sent him forth. These people we call our subcity teams. They are persons required to implement our bottom-up planning.

During the past year, we haven't been just marking time and waiting for the model city money to come. For example, one top-down group developed a program that was funded by the Economic Development Administration to perform a study within the "model city" neighborhood of what needs to be done in order to create new business and industry there. In addition, EDA is about to fund a program designed to put teams of experts right in the neighborhoods to carry out the action portion of the program, that is, creating new businesses and new development companies in the neighborhoods.

Our transportation subsystem group put together a program, which was funded by HUD in the sum of $1,125,000, that will run special bus lines from the ghetto directly to the centers of employment outside the central city.

We have also spun-off a Metropolitan Housing Corporation, a not-for-profit organization designed to provide simultaneous job and housing opportunities for central city residents not included in the designated model city area.

The bottom-up planning has produced certain other kinds of plans: a grass roots organization has developed its own housing program and various other types of programs designed to meet emergency needs have been created.

Participation Goals

There are three distinguishable goals that urban planners today profess.

One, we should involve the greatest number and variety of residents in the planning process.

Two, we should provide a means through which residents' hopes and plans are not merely included in the final plan but are influential in drawing it, in other words, residents should have meaningful access to the final decision-making process in "model city" planning.

Three, we must insure that the impact of "model city" planning upon the target area population is such that residents learn how to control their own environment, to "work the system" in a metropolitan community, with or without the assistance of model city staff or even model city funds.

While our present citizen participation model could probably achieve the first goal, that of involving the greatest possible number and variety of residents, a year of experience with this model has demonstrated to us in St. Louis that it is not at all clear how this model will provide means through which residents' plans can be included in the final plan or insure that the residents do, in fact, learn how to control their own environment. We have thought of our subcity teams as "advocate planners" but no amount of protestations of good intentions can hide the reality of their being on the model city payroll and primarily accountable, therefore, to the Model City Agency. At points where residents' needs and desires conflict with the needs and desires of the agency, it is obvious where the loyalty of the subcity team would ultimately lie. Moreover, the subcity team, so conceived, amounts to yet another injection of outside influence in the ghetto, with or without invitation. Not only do we decide rather paternalistically that the subcity negihborhoods need a subcity team composed of specified professionals, but we also choose the individuals to man the team positions. The team is, then, at a possible disadvantage to begin with, having to spend time gaining the acceptance of people who never asked for them in the first place.

It is not clear, either, just how the plans laid in the subcities are realistically to "influence" the final planning downtown. Resident access to the final decision-making, as provided for in our present plan, smacks of tokenism more than anything else—I refer here to the ritualistic inclusion of a few residents on the subsystem advisory committees and on the steering committee. Even more remote is the systems analyst and his "program-planning-budgeting system," his cost effectiveness analysis, and his single criterion. The danger is very real, in the way our proposal now reads and in the way we describe the planning process to ourselves, that these technical niceties will be used to force decisions and choices on the neighborhood residents that are dictated by us, our agency pals, city hall, and the rest of the establishment.

In any case, the beauty of systems analysis is its very inaccessibility to the nonexpert, most notably our target area residents. As for their advocate planners, the limitations noted above are recalled, plus the fact that there is nowhere in our plan a provision for guaranteeing access of subcity teams to the final decision-making.

In the case of the third goal, that of giving residents control of their environment, target area residents will learn to do no more than participate in model city planning (a very future-oriented, frustrating process) in our present scheme. While policy has favored the support of subcity team-members in short-range, immediate neighborhood programs during the planning year, such programs are going to have to be limited to what the larger community is ready to support. Such projects will most likely amount to activities that are unobjectional to the city fathers and that, therefore, may expect to receive financial support. It is considerably less clear how the advocate planners on the payroll of a city agency can help residents to bargain aggressively with the larger community for the resources so long denied to ghetto neighborhoods.

New Method Under Test

For these reasons, a new model of citizen participation needs to be tested. This model, which the St. Louis Model City Agency endorses, might more descriptively be termed "citizen initiation." Here, neighborhood residents are encouraged to form their own community organization and to incor-

MODEL CITIES REQUIRE NEW APPROACH IN RELATIONSHIP OF PLANNER TO CITIZENS

At the general session at which the citizen participation statement by A. Donald Bourgeois that starts on page 613 was made, H. Ralph Taylor, assistant secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development for demonstrations and intergovernmental relations, discussed the new partnerships between citizens and public agencies that is to be required for model cities planning. Following is a nonverbatim report of Mr. Taylor's remarks prepared by Erwin Farley, executive director of the Richmond, California redevelopment agency and official reporter for this particular session of the conference.

Mr. Taylor's main message was that we should be ready and willing to accept the inevitability of change and that the patterns of relationship between professional planners and residents of any neighborhood require new approaches.

In regard to model cities programs, he said the policy of HUD is to set performance standards, not detailed procedures. Nevertheless, these programs must remain accessible to residents of the model city area in both the planning and execution stages so that residents may join in the decision-making process or leave it when appropriate. Information must also be made available to them so that they may react intelligently to proposals put forth by the professional planners. This does not mean, Mr. Taylor explained, there should be an adversary relationship between residents and planners but rather a self-supporting relationship.

In respect to insuring citizen participation, Mr. Taylor said that HUD expects a sort of "self-policing" of model cities programs, because citizens, especially those in the model city neighborhoods, will know what is going on. In addition, HUD is looking to city hall and top elected officials to become directly involved in the decision making. The department hopes thereby to promote a two-way process by which city hall and the neighborhoods become better able to understand each other's problems. He called this process "understanding in depth."

The key to model cities planning, Mr. Taylor concluded, is that the people in the neighborhoods have to feel a part of it. It's their plan. This active involvement may slow down progress but, said the assistant secretary, if we are to achieve our model cities' goals, it is essential.

porate it for the purpose of going into the neighborhood improvement business on their own. Nonprofit corporate status would enable them to seek and receive funds to design and operate their own programs. In this case, the "advisory" shoe is on the other foot; the neighborhood corporation *hires* professional consultants to provide technical assistance where needed. In such programs, initiative for defining problems and designing solutions is entirely with the citizens. Such programs produce significantly more "bang for the buck." More important, poor people can help themselves, drawing upon a richness of experience and imagination *within* the ghetto.

This approach is dramatically different from the pervasive emphasis upon *deficits* within the ghetto that logically calls for an injection from the outside—the "patronizing dole" model, which is both more expensive in terms of professional staff required and more destructive to the self-image of the target population. Indeed, the latter approach only reinforces the ghetto residents' paralyzing self-image of worthlessness and inadequacy.

The St. Louis Model City Agency is, therefore, altering its citizen participation model in the following manner.

First, we will develop in each of the five subcity neighborhoods a nonprofit, neighborhood corporation that will be representative of the whole neighborhood and all of its existing groups and leaders and capable of receiving funds.

Second, we will seek funds from governmental agencies to supplement our planning grant, to be given to the neighborhood corporations for the purpose of hiring their own technical assistants or professionals, principally, although not exclusively, to be their advocates in the model city planning process.

Third, we will trim our projected subcity team staffs down to one or two liaison persons, accountable to the chief planner, who will "float" among the neighborhoods and assist the neighborhood corporation staffs, as well as coordinate their model city planning efforts.

Fourth, we will provide training for the neighborhood corporation staff and officers—primarily to teach them the rules of our model city planning game.

Fifth, we will provide for numerically equal representation of target area residents on all Model City Agency decision-making committees—possibly officers of the neighborhood

corporation or elected delegates. Although we have to concede that the final approval or veto belongs to the mayor and board of aldermen, minimally we will be willing up to that level to guarantee a major role to our clients (or sponsors)—the poor—in all decision-making.

Problems

Several problems in these suggestions are recognized.

1—How are we going to develop a "representative" neighborhood corporation in each subcity without alienating some groups, leaders, and other agencies? We propose that where there is more than one resident group, the neighborhood corporation should take the form of a "congress" of all groups. In addition, special care will be taken to approach all groups and also all agency sponsors in the neighborhood, for without their support we will only be creating new conflict and cleavages. Church groups must be included, as well as social and fraternal groups. The neighborhood corporation will also be formed around a limited, common-interest goal, such as model city planning, so that it will be less threatening to existing groups whose identity may be based upon some special interest or function over which they claim exclusive rights. The identity of member groups in the neighborhood corporation will be protected, where possible, so that an organization whose special project has been tutoring programs, for example, would be given a leading role in the neighborhood corporation's education planning for the model city program. The neighborhood corporation will be encouraged and assisted to seek funds for well-worked out program proposals of member groups and such groups will be allowed to run their programs, once funded.

We also intend to give the neighborhood corporation all possible support and assistance in achieving some short-range program goal — such as rerouting of bus lines through the neighborhood — so that the special advantages of such a corporation can be demonstrated to residents early in the year. It is important, however, that such short-range goals be broad, neighborhood-wide goals that do not duplicate or preempt the special function of a member group.

2—How do we insure the desired degree of coordination and competency in model city planning, when control over subcity teams is out of our hands?

We can provide each neighborhood corporation with a list of recommendations for the staff they hire. This might best be augmented by some recommendations from other sources, such as HUD or OEO. Through the training we provide their staff and officers, we will be able to insure some standardized knowledge of our planning program. In short, we think we can teach all the neighborhood corporations the rules of our game.

In addition to the training, we will have to communicate honestly and effectively to the neighborhood corporations the potential rewards of the model city program, as well as the fact of competition for these rewards. If we do a good job of training and communicating about potential rewards, we can safely expect that the neighborhood corporations will be highly motivated (for the right reasons) to play and to win our game by our rules. This means they will be seriously concerned about meeting planning schedule deadlines and submitting their plans in the form we recommend. Under these conditions, the failure of any subcity neighborhood to "stay in the game" can most safely be interpreted as a decision of the residents and their paid staff to opt out of our model city program. Most importantly, such a decision would be a well-informed, "realistic" type decision on their part.

Our liaison persons in the field should provide some measure of coordination. They should be able to monitor on-the-spot the progress of each neighborhood corporation, on a daily or at least weekly basis. And they should be able to communicate to each neighborhood corporation its progress relative to the other neighborhood corporations and the overall model city planning program. They will also be responsible for setting up meetings, upon request, between the neighborhood corporations' staff and/or officers and members, between the neighborhood central staff, or between other neighborhood corporations.

3—How will we avoid duplication of effort among neighborhood corporation staff and agencies in the neighborhood and the consequent threat to agency staffs? To reiterate, it will be absolutely necessary to seek the support of agencies in the neighborhood, especially those that sponsor a resident organization or "constituency." Furthermore, there is no reason why the neighborhood corporation, if it chooses, cannot hire some of the staff of neighborhood agencies.

The neighborhood corporation and its staff must be defined in terms of neighborhood-wide needs that are not presently being met or attempting to be met by some other organization or agency. If possible, its staff should be defined to other agency staff as individuals who are free to champion the cause of the neighborhood, to bargain aggressively with city hall and others, thus fulfilling a function that the agency staffs are restrained from fulfilling.

Change Ahead . . .

The above suggestions constitute a fairly simple but admittedly controversial change in our citizen participation model. They are advocated for practical reasons in that our accumulated experience suggests these methods will be more effective in achieving the goals of the model cities program.

They are also advocated for moral reasons. Given the assumption that all of us in the urban development field have the best of intentions, can we really say that we have extended ourselves to realize them. We have been meticulously and realistically thorough in our involvement of and assurances to the establishment in all its manifestations. All facets of the establishment are well represented in all of our decision-making bodies. But when it comes to our clients, our raison d'etre, we have been cautious to the point of being niggardly. We are forever going to "look out for their interests" but it seems we will do this in our way and without much sacrifice. Who, indeed, if not us, is going to look out after their interests? And doesn't this include giving them a voice and a vote on our own decision-making bodies?

Further, with such a fat pot of planning money (don't laugh), shouldn't we seek assiduously to leave a lasting mark upon our target neighborhoods? Planning, per se, will have an impact whether we wish it or not. In view of this, why not seek to use this money to produce, through model cities planning, neighborhood organizations with the savvy and the resources to bargain effectively in the metropolitan community?

If we will do this, we need no longer worry whether implementation money will be sufficient or even forthcoming, for we will have helped to develop organizations in the ghetto that look upon federal money as only one resource among many available to them, just as they view the ephemeral model cities program as one among many programs.

22 Leading Citizens Discuss Answers to Problems of Cities

URBAN PROBLEMS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 31—Twenty-two men representing many facets of American life sat down tonight to seek answers to the problems of cities.

The group, which was called by Mayor Joseph M. Barr of Pittsburgh and Mayor Lindsay of New York, went to work on a nine-point agenda in the board room of the modern home of Urban America, Inc., on Massachusetts Avenue, about six blocks north of the White House.

The meeting was closed to newsmen.

One item on the agenda was "meeting with the President and Congressional leaders." That was an objective that was "being worked on," an official source said.

The agenda also called for an "assessment of the national crisis" by Andrew Heiskel, chairman of the board of Time, Inc., and chairman of Urban America, Inc.

Other items included discussions of long-range goals and immediate measures of immediate demands on Congress and of possible strategies to mobilize public support and to stimulate greater private and government action at local levels.

Those attending were:

I. W. ABEL, president, United Steelworkers of America, A.F.L.-C.I.O.

ARNOLD ARONSON (representing Roy Wilkins), executive secretary, National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

MAYOR JOSEPH M. BARR, president, United States Conference of Mayors.

ANDEW J. BIEMILLER (representing George Meany), legislative director, A.F.I.-C.I.O.

THE REV. WALTER FAUNTROY, (representing the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.), Washington representative, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

JOHN FEILD, director of community relations for the Conference of Mayors.

HAROLD FLEMING, president of the Potomac Institute.

JOHN J. GUNTHER, executive director of the Conference of Mayors.

ANDREW HEISKELL, chairman of the board, Time, Inc., and chairman of Urban America, Inc.

JOSEPH KEENAN, secretary-treasurer, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, A.F.L.-C.I.O.

MAYOR JOHN V. LINDSAY executive committee, Conference of Mayors.

MAYOR ARTHUR NAFTALIN of Minneapolis, chairman, Community Relations Committee, Conference of Mayors.

GERALD PHILLIPE, chairman of the board, General Electric.

WALTER P. REUTHER, president, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, and president, United Auto Mobile Workers, A.F.L.-C.I.O.

DAVID ROCKEFELLER, president, Chase Manhattan Bank.

RABBI JACOB P. RUDIN, president, Synagogue Council of America.

BAYARD RUSTIN (representing A. Philip Randolph), executive director, A. Philip Randolph Institute.

WILLIAM L. SLAYTON, executive vice president of Urban America, Inc.

THE MOST REV. PAUL TANNER (representing The Most Rev. John Deardon), general secretary, National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

JOHN WHEELER, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C., and president, Southern Regional Council.

WHITNEY M. YOUNG Jr., executive director, National Urban League.

sent by Larry Caughron, chm.
Sou. Illinois Student Committee
letter: Research, Gen. requests, Jan. 1963

U + I Gen.

CAIRO ACTION REPORT

August 17, 1962 was a day of anguish for the Negro people of Cairo, Illinois. The events of the day speak for themselves:

Trial for nine Negroes--charged with blocking the entrance to the Cairo public pool on July 14--was delayed from several times set in the morning until one p.m. and was changed to County Court from the police magistrate's office. While these delays were occuring, 13 year old Willie Taylor drowned in the Ohio River. It is ironic that this should happen on the day that people were being tried for the offense of attempting to integrate a place where people can swim safely.

The trial finally got under way at around two p.m., with no explanation of the further delay. It was soon obvious that, although some obstruction of the pool entrance did have taken place, many of those on trial had not taken part in said obstruction, nor had they seen it. But the point made by attorney-for-the-defense Harth was that, according to precedent set by a previous Chicago case, as long as the demonstrators have been quiet and orderly, the alleged obstruction because of discrimination is justified. Also, Mr. Harth pointed out that the "disorderly conduct" ordinance under which the defendants were arrested makes no mention of obstructions of this type. Judge White repeatedly argued that the racial issue is a separate one that must be divorced from the case. At one time he stated, "If we introduce the racial issue, we'll be here all evening." Perhaps the judge's purpose, then, was not to consider that the discrimination was the original breach of the peace and the cause of the problem in question, but to limit the testimony to save time. In this time saving manner, the nine were ruled guilty and fined $35 plus court costs each.

Later in the afternoon, in a meeting of the Cairo Non-Violent Freedom Committee (CN-VFC), it was decided that demonstrations would be carried out as previously planned. A quiet "stand-in" was held at the swimming pool and the Wonder Market was picketed. Plans were continued for demonstrations at the T-Wood Roller Bowl later that evening.

At about 8:40 p.m., a group of thirty-eight students, both Negro and white, arrived at the skating rink to protest the discrimination there. The group arrived in five cars and formed a single line to walk around the front of the building to the entrance, finally forming a single line along the front wall of the building. Charles Koen, 17 year old leader of CN-VFC, was at the head of the line. He reported having heard an older white man in the crowd that was waiting say, "I'm going to get some black meat tonight," as Charles led the group to the entrance.

The line remained in place and was peaceful and very quiet. The usual catcalls and anti-integration remarks were made by the young toughs in the crowd. In a dialogue between two of them one asserted that getting his white shoes dirty would be "almost as bad as integration." Another said, "Leave them niggers and get the whites," referring to Linda Pearlstein, Mary McCollom, and Larry Caughron. The young toughs started to converge around these individuals. The man who had instigated the move said, "Go on and get them; we'll back you up." When nothing happened, he went inside and the doors of the Roller Bowl were closed completely for a period of about ten minutes.

Charles Koen, Charles Neblett, and Willy Bingham explained why they were there in a quiet conversation with some of the whites near the doorway. A few seconds before the attack, an elderly instigator had come back outside and was standing with his hands behind his back. As Koen turned to speak to someone in the line, the man swung a blackjack and struck a vicious blow to Koen's forehead. He then proceeded to "fan" the others, striking Charlene Williams on the head, shoulders, right arm, and back as she placed herself in front of Koen, who had received a gash above the right eye that required thirteen stitches to close.

Linda Pearlstein, who was also near the front of the line, sustained a hard blow on the back. She leaned against a car to recover, and was deliberately struck with a club on the back of the head and again on the back.

The rest of the line dispersed through small spaces between parked cars, while a few were left to try to protect those who were already under attack. The small groups that filtered into the space in the center of the parking lot tried to unify, for unity was their only defense. In attempting to return down the highway to their cars one group of about ten was confronted by an aggressor who pulled a chain from his back pocket. Others were coming from the lot, throwing stones and yelling, "Get that white. . ." This group fled toward the drive-in theatre with the chain-wielding white in pursuit. Debbie Flowers was struck hard on the back of the leg, and when she fell down, her attacker grabbed her feet, twisted her around, and yelled, "I got me a nigger now." He let her loose without harming her further and chased the others for a short distance.

The group that had escaped tried to re-unify to return to their cars, but a car came across the drive-in lot and across the adjacent grass toward them. The group separated, some going up the highway, others through yards.

Charles Koen and Linda Pearlstein were rushed to the hospital by other members of CN-VFC. The Sheriff arrived and was asked by Mary McCollom to help find those who had run away. He replied, "I don't want any woman telling me what to do." Miss McCollom and several others went out on their own and found one person north of the theatre. As they went, several shots, apparently from a .22 rifle, were fired in their direction. Upon returning, Miss McCollom again asked that the Sheriff send some men out to find the boys. After getting the same reply, "You're a woman and I object to your leading this; I'm going to talk to somebody about this," John Lewis also asked for help in the search. The Sheriff's reply was, "I won't send men out on foot." Two of the Sheriff's auxiliary police left in a car and returned shortly. When Sgt. Simons of the State Police was asked to help, her referred them back to the Sheriff, saying, "We can't do anything without Sheriff's orders." The searchers went out a second time, but found no one. A small group of those who had escaped were given a ride back to the scene. With them was Ronnie Hale, who had been hit in the stomach with a piece of pipe and was vomiting. The State Police were asked to help in getting some of the others to the hospital because no other cars were available that were not blocked in by spectators' cars. Their reply was, "You got them here, you get them back." They did offer to call an ambulance. This has been explained as "policy." Also, the Sergeant in charge of the State Police stated that they were there at the request of Sheriff Clutts, and that if he needed them, he'd tell them what to do. Later the Sergeant came over to the group and said, "We're here to preserve the peace,"then returned to lean against his car, watching, but doing nothing.

Many of the attackers went into the Roller Bowl. The Sheriff was asked to get the attackers out and arrest them. He asked for descriptions and went in without witnesses to aid in the identification. There were several bitter complaints against the Sheriff's behavior. He came back out, asked a question, and went back in. Mr. Thistlewood, proprietor of the Roller Bowl, would not admit anyone capable of identifying assailants. The State Police were asked to help get witnesses in and to prevent the escape of assailants through a rear door. They refused, saying that the Sheriff had things well in hand. After some discussion, they did move in the direction of the rear entrance.

When the Sheriff went into the Roller Bowl the second time, a Clifford Jones, who had taken part in the attack, stood at the entrance with a pistol pointed at the group of Negro witnesses who had collected there. When the Sheriff came out and was told this, he replied, "I don't see no pistol," and ignored the incident. He took two men back in with him, about ten minutes after his first entrance, and young Jones again held the pistol on the group. After arresting four men inside, the Sheriff came out and seemed very reluctant to arrest Jones, although the pistol had been in plain sight. He insisted that Jones had no pistol until it was almost picked up and handed to him from where Jones had laid it inside a car. The Sheriff then examined the pistol for some time, completely ignoring

Jones, who was walking around the car. Charles Nebiett called this to the Sheriff's attention; finally Jones was arrested.

Meanwhile, one boy who had returned led some of the demonstrators to a house about three-quarters of a mile away, where they found four more boys hiding. They were taken back to the scene, where they were very eager to do some identifying. Also, while the Sheriff had wasted so much time, the Rev. Blaine Ramsey, of the Ward Chapel A.M.E. Church, arrived with Dr. L. C. Holman, State President of N.A.A.C.P., Mr. Harth, defense attorney for the students in that day's trials, and others who had remained at the church. They were, of course, quite indignant at the complete breakdown of law and order that had taken place. Without their urging, there might have been no arrests of the white attackers made.

A Mr. Lang told the Sheriff that his wife had been "insulted" by several of the demonstrators. This was later changed to "assaulted," when he claimed that his pregnant wife had been brutally dragged from the car and hit several times. There are witnesses to the fact that she got out of the car by herself, and that she had not been touched. The Sheriff, without having seen any of this, was immediately willing to arrest Attorney Harth, even though witnesses contested the accusation. Warrants were sworn out for Harth and two others.

Justifiably angry Negroes, including relatives of some of those who had been injured, massed around Mr. and Mrs. Lang and others of the white agitators, although no effort at aggression was made. They were dispersed by the CN-VFC leaders and placed in cars for their safe return to the church.

Mr. Thistlewood, who had threatened two Negro youths (20 and 17 years old) with murder during the fracas, was regarded by the Sheriff as an objective source of information on the evenings happenings. Later, Mr. Thistlewood put up the bond for the attackers. Said bond was $500 per person, the same amount that had been set for some of the demonstrators who had been arrested on preceeding dates for quietly standing in protest. The charge for three of the white assailants is "aggravated assault." A fourth was charged with assault with a deadly weapon.

Ages of those attacked who were injured seriously enough to be taken to the hospital: Charles Koen--17, Linda Pearlstein--22, Charlene Williams--15, Ronnie Hale--17, Debbie Flowers--13, Francis Williams--15. Linda Pearlstein was not released from the hospital until Sunday, August 19.

Clip

Autopsy Lays JFK Death To Second Assassin Bullet

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18 (UPI) The autopsy performed on President Kennedy was reported Wednesday to show that he was killed by the second bullet that struck him, but could have survived the first wound.

The Washington Post, in a dispatch signed by its medical writer Nate Haseltine, said this was the "as yet unofficial" finding of the team of pathologists who performed the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital on the night of Nov. 22 after the President's body was brought back to Washington from Dallas.

The hospital, the Pentagon and the White House refused to comment on the Post story Tuesday night. White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, asked to comment on the report, said, "I'm not going to discuss it."

THE PATHOLOGISTS were reported to have found that the first bullet struck the chief executive high in the back of the shoulder, about 5 to 7 inches below the line of his collar and became imbedded deep in his shoulder.

This was said to have caused "a hematoma, a pooling of blood, inside the neck and shoulder muscles, but no critical harm," according to the Post report.

The post-mortem examination was said to show that the second bullet which struck the President tore the right rear portion of his head so destructively that "it was completely incompatible with life," according to the newspaper.

IT WAS a deflected fragment from this second bullet that passed out through Kennedy's throat, just above the collar line, giving rise to speculation that the President may have been shot from two angles, the newspaper said.

The autopsy seemed to end speculation about the angle from which the two bullets were fired. It said both bullets struck the President from behind. Accused assassin Lee Harvey Oswald allegedly fired shots at Kennedy and Texas Gov. John B. Connally from his vantage point in the Texas School Book Depository building just after the presidential motorcade passed on the street below.

Because of the throat wound, questions had been raised as to whether Oswald's bullet could have inflicted it.

THE PATHOLOGISTS were quoted as saying that the second bullet inflicted such irreparable damage that such a wound is normally considered as causing instant death. However, doctors at Dallas' Parkland Hospital reported earlier that they noted some outward manifestation of life when the President was brought into the emergency room.

Dr. James Carrico, a resident surgeon at Parkland who first examined the President, said Kennedy was on his back from the time he arrived at the hospital until the body was covered with a sheet and removed, preventing any search for a back wound.

Carrico earlier had reported that the President's eyes were open but the pupils were dilated and apparently sightless when he was brought into the hospital. Such a condition is often called a "death stare."

The New Republic
12/21/63
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Seeds of Doubt

Some Questions About the Assassination

by Jack Minnis and Staughton Lynd

On December 3, newspapers reported that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would confirm in all essentials the version of the President's assassination previously presented by the Dallas police and by Gordon Shanklin, FBI agent in charge in Dallas. According to these accounts the FBI will state that: (1) Lee Oswald, without accomplices, fired three shots at President Kennedy from a sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building; (2) about five and one-half seconds elapsed between the first shot and the last; (3) all three shots came from behind and slightly to the right of the President's car; (4) the same weapon fired all three shots.

It has not been announced how long the Presidential commission of inquiry will take to reach a finding, but meanwhile certain questions pose themselves:

(1) How Lee Oswald, from a position behind and slightly to the right of President Kennedy, fired a shot which entered the President's neck just below the Adam's apple; (2) how Oswald, using a bolt-action rifle, fired three shots with deadly accuracy in five and one-half seconds at a target 75-100 yards away moving about 25 miles an hour; (3) how the three shots could have produced four bullets; (4) how Lee Oswald did all the things he is supposed to have done in the 15 or 30 minutes (there are two different accounts) between the time the President was assassinated and the time Oswald allegedly ran into his apartment four miles away.

The Target

On page 15 is a rough diagram of the assassination scene constructed from a map of the area printed in *The New York Times* of November 23 and from the pictures of the scene found in other newspapers.

The leading vehicle in the motorcade was the Presidential limousine with Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy in the rear seat, the President on the right. On jump seats facing forward, were Mr. and Mrs. Connally, Governor Connally on the right. The second car was filled with Secret Service men. The third car carried Vice President and Mrs. Johnson and Senator Ralph Yarborough. In the fourth car were Secret Service agents protecting the Vice President.

At about 12:30 p.m., November 22, the President's limousine made the turn at Elm and Houston Streets into the approach to the underpass leading to Stemmons Freeway. The car was traveling about 25 miles an hour, or about 12 yards per second. The distance between the turn at Elm Street and the underpass is about 220 yards. Thus at the speed at which most witnesses agree the motorcade was traveling, the maximum time it could have consumed traversing this distance would have been 20 seconds.

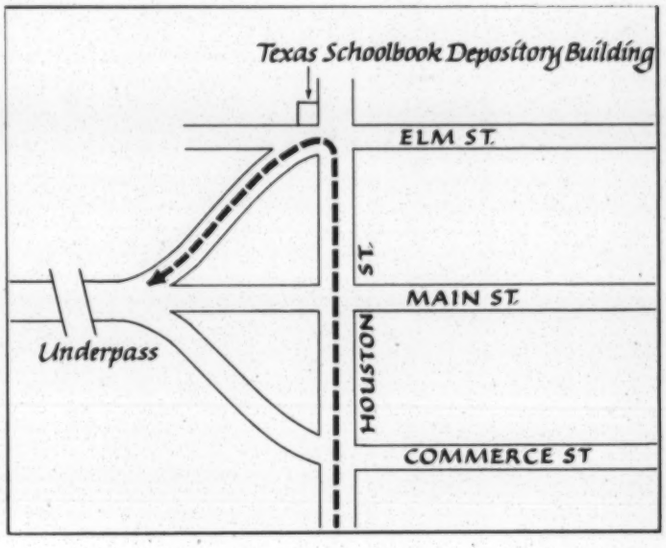
It is difficult to determine, with precision, the exact point in the traversal of the 220 yards at which the shooting occurred. However, some definite limits can be set. Experienced newsmen reporting in *The New York Times, The New York Herald-Tribune, The Washington Post, The Atlanta Constitution,* and for both Associated Press and United Press International, estimate that the President's car was 75-100 yards past the turn at Elm and Houston when the first shot was fired; others, persons on the spot at the time, say the President's car was midway between the turn and the underpass; Mrs. Connally says the car was almost ready to go underneath the underpass; Governor Connally says the car had just made the turn at Elm and Houston.

A reader, making use of the tree, the lamp post, and the ornamental wall shown in pictures on pages 24, 25 and 32H of *Life* magazine for November 29, can approximately identify for himself the point at which the President, smiling, waving and looking straight ahead as the limousine moved away from the Depository Building and toward the underpass, suddenly made a "clutching movement toward his throat."

John Herbers, writing in *The New York Times* of November 27, comments on the 15-second movie sequence of the assassination taken by an amateur photographer (from which the pictures in *Life* magazine were selected). He says five seconds elapsed from the first shot until the President's car disappeared into the underpass. If the President's car continued at 25 miles an hour after the first shot, then it traveled about 60

yards during this five seconds and, therefore, must have been about 160 yards from the turn at Elm and Houston when firing commenced. If, as most witnesses believe, it accelerated rapidly after the first shot, then it traversed considerably more than 60 yards during those five seconds. On the evidence of the movie, we would estimate the distance between the turn at Elm and Houston and the site of the first shot at something less than 160 yards, not appreciably out of line with the estimates of witnesses and newsmen, and the anticipated conclusion of the FBI report.

Having established, with some certainty we think, the fact that the Presidential car was approximately 100 yards past the turn at Elm and Houston when the first shot was fired, we can move to a consideration of the wounds themselves.



The Wounds

Tom Wicker, in *The New York Times* of November 23, wrote that Doctors Malcolm Perry and Kemp Clark, who attended Mr. Kennedy in the emergency room of the Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas immediately after the shooting, described the President's wounds thus: "Mr. Kennedy was hit by a bullet in the throat, just below the Adam's apple. . . . This wound had the appearance of a bullet's entry. Mr. Kennedy also had a massive, gaping wound in the back and on the right side of the head." Dr. Perry was the first physician to treat the President. Dr. Clark was summoned and arrived in a minute or two.

We saw nowhere in the newspapers nor heard in any of the earlier radio or TV accounts any attempt to reconcile a wound in the front of the President's throat with the theory that the shots came from the Texas School Book Depository, 75-100 yards to the rear of the President at the time the first shot was fired. Nor did we see or hear any suggestion that the original accounts of where the President's car was at the time of the shooting might be inaccurate. This could, perhaps, be attributed to the fact that identification of the throat wound as one of entry was tentative, and that it would be reasonable to suppose a bullet entering the back of the President's head, fired from an angle of about 45 degrees above him, might exit at the Adam's apple. The examining doctors, as they were quoted in the early press accounts, seemed to be unsure as to whether one bullet or two had inflicted the head and throat wounds of the President.

However, John Herbers, in a follow-up story in the *Times* of November 27, cleared this up. Herbers quotes Dr. Kemp Clark, the Dallas surgeon who pronounced the President dead, as saying that two bullets hit the President. One entered through the throat just below the Adam's apple and ranged downward, without exiting. The other struck the right side of the back of the President's head tangentially (that is, it smashed in and out, traveling on a tangent to his head).

From this description, it would seem that one bullet was fired from in front of the President. Herbers tries to reconcile the frontal wound with the supposed position of the assassin in the School Book Depository Building by suggesting that the gunman could have fired as the President's car was approaching the building, then swung the gun through an arc of almost 180 degrees and fired twice more. But this reconciliation ignores the uncontroverted accounts of many eyewitnesses as to where the President's car was at the time the first shot was heard. It appears well-established that the first shot was fired only after the President's car was more than 75 yards past the building. Indeed, Herbers' own interpretation of the 15-second movie sequence supports this. In order for the assassin, from his supposed position in the building, to have wounded the President frontally, he would have had to fire while the Presidential car was entering the turn at Houston and Elm, or before the car had halfway completed the turn. By all accounts this would have been six to eight seconds before a shot was heard. According to a *New York Times* dispatch from Dallas dated November 27, the Secret Service conducted a re-enactment of the assassination that day. The dispatch reported that "the consensus was that the shooting began after the President's car had made the turn."

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We see no way to reconcile the conclusion attributed to the forthcoming FBI report, that "it has been established that all three shots came from the same direction, behind and slightly to the right of the President's car" (AP dispatch datelined Washington, *Atlanta Journal*, Dec. 3), with the statement of Dallas doctors that one bullet struck the President at about the necktie knot "in the mid-section of the front part of his neck" (*New York Times*, Nov. 24 and 27). Indeed, the bullet that struck the President's throat was sufficiently frontal that Dr. Clark at first thought the same bullet might have entered through the throat and exited through the upper rear of the President's head. (See "The Kennedy Wound," *New York Times*, Nov. 24, for an account based on this supposition.)

On December 5, 13 days after the assassination, "federal investigators" were still simulating the crime with car, camera and surveyor's transit on Elm Street in Dallas, in an attempt to answer the question "how the President could have received a bullet in the front of the throat from a rifle in the Texas School Book Depository Building after his car had passed the building and was turning a gentle curve away from it" (Joseph Loftus in the *New York Times*, Dec. 6).

Finally, what is the explanation of the reports of Frank Cormier of the AP and of Richard Dudman of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of a small hole in the windshield of the President's limousine?

The Weapon

First press accounts quoted various members of the Dallas police force as saying the assassin's weapon was a .30-caliber Enfield and a 7.65mm Mauser. One Secret Service man said he thought the weapon was an "Army or Japanese rifle" of .25 caliber. The same accounts reported that the rifle was found on the second floor of the building by a window, in the fifth-floor staircase, by an open sixth-floor window, and hidden behind boxes and cases on the second or sixth floors.

It was not until the FBI said it had discovered that Oswald had purchased an Italian-made 6.5mm rifle from a Chicago mail-order house that the confusion was dispelled. Then all accounts and all sources agreed: The former .30 caliber-Enfield-7.65 Mauser was now a 6.5mm Italian-made rifle with telescopic sight. It was also at this time that all sources began agreeing that the gun had been found on the sixth floor – though some still held out for the open-window location, while others argued for the buried-behind-the-boxes theory.

We did not at that time have a very clear idea of the precise number of seconds within which the shots had occurred, but we were uneasy about anyone's having got off the reported three shots with a bolt-action rifle from that distance at a target moving 12 yards a second, with that accuracy and quickly enough to have created such confusion about who got hit first, the President or the Governor.

On November 25 *The New York Times* reported that "a group of the nation's most knowledgeable gun experts, meeting in Maryland at the time of the shooting, agreed that, considering the gun, the distance, the angle and the movement of the President's car, the assassin was either an exceptional marksman or fantastically lucky in placing his shots." The *Times* account does not indicate whether the experts also considered the extreme rapidity with which the shots were fired.

Then on November 27 the *Times* ran another story telling about tests which had been conducted by a "firearms expert from the National Rifle Association" in Washington. The expert had used a "Model 1938 6.5mm bolt-action rifle." His target had been 50 feet away. He was able to get off three shots in 11 seconds and they struck within a one-inch circle. On a second try the expert was able to get off three shots in eight seconds with comparable accuracy. Using this performance as a basis for speculation, the expert reasoned that a person well-practiced with the use of the gun could have done as well or better under the conditions of the assassination in Dallas. (The story did not indicate whether or not the target used in these tests was stationary or moving.)

Others did not agree with this expert. The Italian newspaper *Corriere Lombardo* of Milan said, as reported in the same *Times* story, that if the Model '38 were used and that if more than one shot had been fired "there must have been a second attacker." In Vienna, the Olympics champion shot, Hubert Hammerer, said that the initial shot could have been made under the conditions in Dallas when Mr. Kennedy was killed, but he considered it unlikely that one man could have triggered three shots within five seconds with the weapon used.

All these judgments were made on the theory that the shots were fired as the Presidential car sped away from the gunman, with the gunman having to allow only for the forward movement of the car. This supposition, of course, takes no account of the marksman himself having to move in order to swing the gun through an arc of 180 degrees.

These experts were also proceeding on the theory that Lee Oswald was a crack marksman. However, Oswald was only an "average" marksman in the Marines (Laurence Stern and Alfred E. Lewis, writing in *The Washington Post*, December 1). Of course, he could have improved with practice since his Marine service. On December 9, Fred Powledge, reporting from Dallas to *The New York Times*, quoted several persons as

saying they had twice seen Oswald firing at a practice rifle range within three weeks of the assassination. One remembered him coming "alone in a battered automobile." But Mrs. Michael Paine, with whom Lee Oswald's wife had been staying, is quoted as saying that "in late October or early November she tried to teach [Oswald] how to drive her car in a parking lot, but that [he] did not even learn to park it."

The Bullets

There is general agreement among the witnesses and newspaper accounts that three shots were fired. Typical is Senator Ralph Yarborough's description, quoted by *The Washington Post* of November 23: "I heard three loud explosions that sounded like shots from a deer rifle. You could smell powder."

Yet there appear to be *four* bullets involved. In *The New York Times* of November 25, Fred Powledge's story from Dallas lists as part of the evidence supporting the Oswald-School-Book-Depository-Mannlicher-Carcano theory: "A bullet that Secret Service men removed from a stretcher at Parkland Hospital after the shooting, and two bullet fragments removed from the Presidential automobile matched bullets fired by the rifle [FBI] agents found inside the [warehouse]." Powledge cites Gordon Shanklin, FBI agent in charge in Dallas, as his source of information. This it would appear accounts for two bullets. In the *Times* of November 27, John Herber's story from Dallas says: "Three shots are known to have been fired. Two hit the President. One did not emerge. Dr. Kemp Clark, who pronounced Mr. Kennedy dead, said one struck him at about the necktie knot. 'It ranged downward and did not exit,' the surgeon said." Thus there is the bullet from the stretcher, the bullet which was found fragmented in the car, and the bullet that did not exit from the President.

An AP dispatch from Dallas in *The Atlanta Constitution* of November 23 quoted Dr. Robert R. Shaw, attending physician for Governor Connally: "[The Governor] seems to have been struck by just one bullet. . . . We know the wound of entrance was along the right shoulder. He was shot from above. . . . [The bullet] entered the back of his chest and moved outward. . . . It emerged from his chest and struck his wrist and thigh. . . . The bullet is still in his leg."

Now we have the stretcher bullet, the fragmented bullet, the bullet that remained in the President, and the bullet in the Governor's leg. Herbers, in the *Times* of the 27th, presumes "that the bullet that struck the President's head was the one recovered from the stretcher that bore the President into the hospital. He doesn't theorize about how the bullet got onto the stretcher. Dr. Clark stated that the bullet went "in and out" of the President's head. We assume this to mean that there was an exit as well as an entry wound in the President's head. Furthermore, it would seem rather likely that the fragmented bullet would be the one which made the head wound. LeMoyne Snyder, forensic medicine specialist, in his book *Homicide Investigation*, writes: "When a lead bullet is fired into the skull at an angle, it will sometimes fracture the skull bone in such a way that a sharp edge of bone is presented to the bullet. As a result, the bullet is cut in two lengthwise. . . . It is not likely to happen if jacketed ammunition is used."

It should be noted here, too, that while Herbers identifies the stretcher from which the bullet was removed, Powledge's story of two days earlier, in which he cites FBI agent Shanklin as his source, merely says: "A bullet the Secret Service men removed from *a* stretcher [our italics]."

We have no way of knowing whether the bullet remained inside the body of the President and was buried with him, or whether it was removed for evidence. Dr. Clark, in Herbers' story of the 27th, merely says that the bullet did not exit of its own accord. Then Herbers writes: "The bullet that did not exit from the President's body may have since been removed in an autopsy, but the Parkland Hospital said no autopsy was performed in Dallas." An AP dispatch in the *Dallas Morning News* of November 27 states that "the White House has so far declined to say whether an autopsy was performed on the body of slain President John F. Kennedy. For approximately nine hours, the body was at Bethesda, Md., Naval Hospital last Friday night and early Saturday morning [November 22 and 23]." An AP dispatch which appeared in the *Pine Bluff* [Ark.] *Gazette* of November 27 stated that "doctors at the Bethesda [Maryland] Naval Hospital made a post-mortem examination of Kennedy's wounds."

The hospital authorities also stated, according to Herbers, that "the medical report of President Kennedy's assassination, written in longhand by Dr. Clark, chief of neurosurgery at Parkland, had been given to the Secret Service and the hospital had no copy."

Another puzzling fact is that apparently the two bullets with the cloudiest pedigree are the ones that link the shooting to the gun the investigators finally settled on. Powledge's story of the 25th, quoted above, states that the stretcher bullet and the fragmented bullet matched bullets fired by FBI men from the rifle found inside the building. The rifle (identified variously as an Enfield and a Mauser) was found early in the afternoon of November 22. So were the two bullets. They were in the possession of the Dallas police and the FBI presumably, from then on. Sometime on No-

vember 23, the rifle became a Mannlicher-Carcano. Is it the custom of Italian rifle-makers to leave their names off their products, so that they cannot be identified immediately? We don't know.

We *do* know that the more damage done to the surface of the bullet, the more dubious becomes the accuracy of laboratory comparison with other bullets to determine *which* gun of a given make it was fired from, even if the make of the gun can be determined. Thus the identification of the gun that supposedly fired the assassination bullets seems to rest primarily, not on the fragmented bullet, but on a bullet allegedly found by a Secret Service man on *a* stretcher in Parkland Hospital, Dallas, after the President was shot.

It is not clear at this point just where this bullet came from and how it came to be on "a stretcher."

The Murderer

The way the supposed assassination gun is linked to Lee Oswald is somewhat curious, too. Powledge's story of the 25th states: "The FBI agent [Gordon Shanklin] said the young man ordered a 6.5mm rifle with telescope sight from a Chicago store last spring. The rifle was sent to an 'A. Hidell,' at Oswald's post office box here. It arrived by parcel post on March 20. Samples of Oswald's handwriting were sent yesterday to the FBI laboratory in Washington where they were found to match the handwriting in the letter ordering the rifle." In his story of the 26th, Powledge again refers to the gun: "The district attorney said the police had traced the serial number of the murder weapon, an Italian rifle with a telescopic sight, to the Chicago mail-order house that had sold Oswald a rifle last spring." Thus all the FBI and the Dallas police appear to claim so far is that the gun which fired the stretcher bullet and the gun they say Oswald ordered came from the same mail-order house.

Moreover, in the early accounts it was being said that the gun, with telescopic sight, was purchased for $12.78. But on November 25 *The New York Times* reproduced an advertisement from a mail-order house showing clearly that $12.78 was the price of the gun without telescopic sight. Subsequently it was reported (UPI dispatch of November 29, *Atlanta Journal*) that, in addition to $12.78 for the gun, Oswald paid $7.50 for the sight. Was the sight ordered in a separate letter, also in Oswald's handwriting and also signed "A. Hidell"? Was there one money order signed by Hidell for $12.78 and another for $7.50? And if so, why was the latter information held back at the time the former was announced?

In his news conference of November 24, District Attorney Wade said that Oswald's palmprints were on the gun found in the warehouse. However, first he called them fingerprints, then palmprints. And on November 27, "Edward Bennett Williams, one of the nation's leading defense lawyers . . . said the police's purported discovery of Oswald's palmprints in the room where the assassin lay in wait was not necessarily incriminating. 'Palmprints are not nearly as conclusive as fingerprints,' he said." (*New York Post*, November 27)

In other parts of his November 24 conference, District Attorney Wade seemed so confused that we must question whether he really knew much about the evidence against Oswald at the time. As an example of his confusion, note the following exchange referring to the reported attempt by Oswald to shoot an arresting officer in the Texas Theater (taken from transcript of the news conference published in *The New York Times*, November 26):

Q. Why didn't it go off?
A. It snapped. It was a misfire. Then the officers subdued him – some six officers – subdued him there in the theater, and he was brought to the police station here.
Q. Mr. Wade, why didn't the gun fire?
A. It misfired, being on the – the shell didn't explode. We have it where it hit it, but it didn't explode. It didn't fire the shell.
Q. There was one officer who said that he pulled the trigger, but he managed to put his thumb in the part before the firing pin. It didn't . . .
A. Well . . .
Q. . . . strike the – the bullet didn't explode. Is that it?
A. I don't know whether it's that or not. I know he didn't snap the gun is all I know about it.

Now, either Wade had, as part of the evidence, the misfire bullet from the pistol, with a mark on it made by the pistol's firing pin, or he didn't. He didn't seem to know whether he had it or not.

All in all, it is hard to see how the District Attorney felt able then to conclude: "I would say without any doubt he is the killer," particularly in view of the fact that some of the evidence – such as the alleged statement by Mrs. Oswald that her husband had a rifle in their garage on the night before the assassination but that it was gone the next day – would never have been admissible in a Texas court, as the police readily admitted.

We will remark on only one other aspect of the case. Dallas District Attorney Wade offered to newsmen and to the public, as one of the links in the chain of evidence against Oswald, the fact that Oswald went to his home in Oak Cliff, changed his clothes hurriedly, and left (Wade's November 24 news conference as printed in *The New York Times*, November 26). According to a UPI dispatch datelined Dallas in *The Atlanta Journal*, November 23, "Mrs. R. C. Roberts, who works for the

Johnsons [from whom Oswald rented a room in Oak Cliff], said that at about 12:45 p.m. [Dallas time] Friday she had just learned that Mr. Kennedy was shot. In rushed Oswald, 'On the dead run,' she said. 'He ran to his room, came running back with a gray zipper jacket and out the door'."

The assassin's bullets were fired between 12:30 and 12:31 p.m. (Dallas time). Oswald supposedly fired them from the sixth floor of the building where he worked. Then, supposedly, he hid the rifle behind some books and packing cases and made his way to the second floor of the building. Roy S. Truly, TSBD manager, and a policeman ran into the building immediately after the shots were fired. "The two men scrambled up the stairs to the second floor. As they made their way to the back stairway, the policeman saw Oswald standing beside a soft-drink machine, sipping from a coke bottle" (*Washington Post*, December 1). According to the *New York Post* (November 27) two noted criminal lawyers have puzzled over this account. Maurice Edelbaum said: "The main incongruity I see is the report of Oswald's swift descent from the sixth floor. The moment a policeman rushed into the building Oswald was there." Raymond Brown asked: "How did he get down? Were there steps or an elevator from the sixth floor? Did anybody see him?"

Then, according to Wade, Oswald left the building and walked four blocks west to Lamar Street where he boarded a bus. He rode the bus an undetermined number of blocks and then got off. He hailed a taxicab and rode four miles to his room in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas. He arrived, according to Mrs. Roberts, just 14 minutes after the assassination. Now if the taxicab was able to average 20 miles an hour, which we think would be a maximum, the taxi ride would have taken 12 minutes. This leaves Oswald with just two minutes to shoot the President and Governor Connally, clean and hide the gun, run down four flights of stairs, search his pockets for coins, get a coke from the machine, open it, engage in some conversation with Mr. Truly and the policeman, make his way from the second floor out of the building, walk four blocks to the bus stop, board the bus and ride several blocks, and get off the bus and hail a taxi.

On December 1, however, *The Washington Post* quoted housekeeper Roberts as saying: "He came dashing in about 1 o'clock." This second version created new difficulties, for these reporters refer to "the floundering of the bus in the choked downtown traffic," and to the fact that Oswald "told the [cab] driver to drop him off at a corner five blocks beyond his rooming house." If the traffic was "choked" we probably need to cut in half the estimated average speed of the taxi over the four miles to Oswald's rooming house. At an average speed of 10 miles an hour, it would have taken the taxi 24 minutes to cover the distance. This would leave Oswald five minutes to shoot the President and Governor Connally, clean and hide the gun, run down four flights of stairs, search his pockets for coins, get a coke from the machine, open it, engage in some conversation with Mr. Truly and the policeman, make his way from the second floor out of the building, walk four blocks to the bus stop, board the bus and ride several blocks, and get off the bus and hail a taxi. And if we accept this version, we must allow, within the five minutes left to Oswald, the time necessary to walk the five blocks back to his rooming house from the corner to which the taxi took him.

Conclusion

Since the bulk of this analysis was written, the newsmagazines – *Time, Life, Newsweek,* and *US News and World Report* – have made public their versions of the assassination. They help add to the confusion. For example, *Time* (December 6) has Oswald buying rifle and sight for $19.95, while according to *Newsweek* (December 9) he paid $12.78. All early accounts of the assassination put the speed of the President's limousine at about 25 miles per hour, but now it has slowed to 15 miles per hour (*Life*, November 29), "no more than half the 25 miles per hour first estimated by authorities" (*Newsweek*, December 9), and 12 miles per hour (*US News and World Report*, December 9). The latter magazine comments: "If President Kennedy's car had been moving even 20 miles an hour, the experts say, it might have made the lead time too difficult a problem for the sniper."

The central problem – the fact that the President was wounded in the front of the throat, "the midsection of the front part of his neck," according to "staff doctors" at Parkland Hospital on November 23 (*New York Times*, November 24) – remains. *Life* and *Newsweek* place the President's car 170 feet and 150 feet past the turn at the time of the first shot: a shorter distance than our estimate, but much too distant from the window for a shot through the front of the neck. *Life* (December 6) recognizes the problem, but solves it by saying that the President was turning far to the right at the moment of impact. This explanation appears to fail for two reasons. First, *Life's* own pictures of the event in the issue of November 29 show the President looking straight ahead. Second, Elm Street curves left as it passes the warehouse building (see the picture on page 32H of *Life*, November 29), in such a way that when the first bullet struck, the President's back was to the window. In order for a bullet to have entered "the mid-section of the front part of his neck" the President would have had to turn completely around just before the shot was fired.

V+2

Negro Leader Dies In Exploding Truck

2/28/66

NATCHEZ, Miss. (AP)—A Natchez Negro leader died Monday night after an explosion ripped through his truck.

The cab of the pickup truck was blown away by the blast.

Chief of Police J. T. Robinson said his officers believed a bomb was placed beneath the cab.

Wharlest Jackson, 36, treasurer of the Natchez branch of the NAACP, was pronounced dead on arrival at a hospital minutes after the blast.

Robinson said the explosion occurred on Minor Street 10 blocks from the Armstrong Tire and Rubber Co. plant where Jackson worked.

Jackson punched his card out on the plant's time clock at 8:01 p.m. (CST), Robinson said. The report of the explosion came to police headquarters 10 minutes later.

The truck's gasoline tank did not explode, said Robinson, and there was no fire. The truck struck a utility pole, splintering it and breaking lines.

Eighteen months ago, another NAACP leader here was seriously injured when a bomb exploded beneath his car.

George Metcalfe, local NAACP president, has recovered from the injuries. The blast occurred when Metcalfe turned the ignition switch on his car, parked outside the Armstrong plant.

Metcalfe was also an employe of the rubber plant.

"When are they ever going to stop? When?" said Charles Evers, state NAACP field director, when he learned of Jackson's death.

"It's a nasty night and raining," said Robinson. "We're conducting an investigation and we probably won't have anything until morning."

Robinson said the wreckage of Jackson's truck was impounded as evidence.

Civil rights forces staged a massive economic boycott in Natchez in 1965, ending it just before Christmas after wringing concessions from white leaders.

The historic Mississippi River city was tense during most of 1965 because of civil rights confrontations.

Last year the bullet-riddled body of an elder Negro man, who was not connected with civil rights activities, was found in a creek near Natchez. Authorities later arrested three white men—two of them identified as Ku Klux Klansmen—and charged them with murder in the slaying of Ben Chester White.

Jackson's death in Natchez was the first major racial violence in Mississippi this year.

Evers, who spent most of 1965 here directing the civil rights boycott, is the brother of Medgar Evers, Negro leader killed from ambush in Jackson in 1963.

U.S. Says Ex-Deputy Beat Negro Who Died

1/18/67

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 17 —The Department of Justice accused a white former deputy sheriff today of having beaten a Negro who was later taken dead from his jail cell last November in nearby Wetumpka.

Acting hours after an all-white Elmore County grand jury declined to return an indictment in the case, the department declared that the former deputy, Harvey Conner, "did willfully assault, strike, beat and injure" James Earl Motley, who died in jail Nov. 20.

Under the Government's charges, Mr. Conner faces a maximum penalty of one year's imprisonment and a $1,000 fine. The case against him is based on a Federal "color of law" statute — one of several civil rights laws passed by Congress

Continued on Page 27, Column 4

VIOLENCE + INTIMIDATION

U.S. Accuses Alabama Ex-Deputy of Beating Negro Who Died

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

during Reconstruction — making it a misdemeanor to deprive a citizen of rights guaranteed him by the Federal Constitution.

One of these rights, the department said today, is the right not to be punished without a trial.

Mr. Conner was serving as a deputy in Elmore County, eight miles northeast of here, as recently as yesterday, when a new sheriff, Sidney Thrash, assumed office and did not reappoint him.

Three young Negroes had said in interviews that Mr. Conner had beaten Mr. Motley severely before taking him to jail. And the undertaker who took the body from the jail said it was covered with blood and the skull was fractured.

The Elmore County grand jury had it in its power, if it felt the facts warranted it, to charge Mr. Conner with assault or with murder, which can be punished by death in Alabama.

Jury Refuses to Indict

However, late last night it returned a "no bill" (a decision not to indict) in the case.

Although the grand jury gave no reason for its decsion, Dr. Joseph R. Benson, the county coroner, said last week that he had issued a formal opinion that the death was "accidential" and had informed the grand jury of his opinion.

He said law enforcement officers had told him that Mr. Motley, a construction laborer, had fallen while entering the jail, and fallen again from his bunk in the cell.

but The Alabama Journal, an afternoon daily in Montgomery, reported recently that it had located a witness, whom it did not name, who gives a different account of Mr. Motley's entry into the jail.

This witness, the Journal said, contends that Mr. Motley did not walk into the jail, but was dragged by a law enforcement officer.

Investigation by U.S.

A spokesman for the Justice Department said by telephone from Washington that the department had investigated the case for several weeks before bringing charges against Mr. Conner here today in United States Middle District Court.

He said Mr. Conner had been served with a copy of the charge, and must appear before the court on Mar. 1, when an arraignment date will be set.

The spokesman added that the department had initiated legal action against Southern law enforcement officers about 50 times in recent years, but had yet to win a conviction.

According to three Negro witnesses who were with Mr. Motley at the time of his arrest, their car was stopped by Mr. Conner and ann unidentified white man—apparently for a routine license check.

The witnesses said Mr. Conner asked if they had been drinking and Mr. Motley protested that they were on their way to Wetumpka from Montgomery, and that the deputy had no authority over what might have oocurred in Montgomery.

The witnesses added that two state patrolmen soon appeared on the scene, and that the deputy then began beating Mr. Motley while the troopers stood by.

Mr. Conner has declined to comment.

The year of

V + d

FBI Probes Incidents in 2 Dixie States

LIBERTY, Miss. (UPI)—A bomb heavily damaged a local Project Headstart office early Monday and federal agents also were sent to investigate possible arson in fires which destroyed a Negro church and an anti-poverty headquarters in Lowndes County, Ala.

Authorities said the blast was caused by an "explosive device" hurled through a front window. It went off about 4 a.m. Jimmy Sharp, a local appliance dealer who owned the small building, said the front was "blown out." A number of windows were shattered.

The office served three southwest Mississippi counties and had been in the building less than three months.

At almost the same time, the Macedonia Baptist Church 300 miles away in Fort Deposit, Ala., went up in flames. Less than 24 hours earlier, a former Episcopal church in Hayneville, about 20 miles from Fort Deposit, also burned to the ground. It was the office of the controversial anti-poverty organization called the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights, Inc.

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VIRGINIA 2/12/67

VIRGINIA GIVES UP VOTING ACT FIGHT

Democrats' Efforts Called Futile by Governor

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, Feb. 11 — Virginia Democrats virtually abandoned this week their efforts to remove the state from the provisions of the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. told the chairman of two legislative committees that had been seeking methods to circumvent the act that the matter apparently was futile.

Virginia, five other Southern states and some counties in still other states came under the terms of the law passed two years ago. The act, aimed at Southern states deemed to have discriminated against Negro voters, affects any state in which less than 50 per cent of the voting age population was registered for or voted in the Presidential election of 1964.

Virginia voting, though it set a record of 1,042,267, failed to reach 50 per cent that year.

Literacy Test Nullified

The main effect of the law in Virginia has been to nullify the state literacy test and permit registration of illiterates. As long as Virginia comes under the act, no changes in state election laws can be made without the approval of the Federal authorities.

The two legislative committees met twice last month to study methods by which Virginia might escape from the act's provisions.

Subsequently, Representative William M. Tuck, Virginia Democrat in the United States House of Representatives and a former Governor of the state, wrote to the Virginia Attorney General that any efforts seemed futile.

Mr. Tuck wrote that he had discussed the matter with the Acting United States Attorney General, Ramsey Clark.

"I got the definite impression," Mr. Tuck wrote, "tha he was determined not to mak any concession that would i any way impair the full effe tiveness of the present votin rights act" as it affects Vi ginia.

"Of course," Mr. Tuck con tinued, "the Congress has th power to remove Virginia fro the act, but, as you know, whe the bill was being considere several amendments were intr duced which would have th effect of relieving Virginia fro it, but they were voted dow overwhelmingly both in the Se ate and in the House."

'We Are Ensnared'

Mr. Tuck shared the view o most of Virginia's politician that the state should not b under the act.

"We are ensnared," he wrot "by the talons of this viciou law simply by the apathy of ou people and their failure to g to the polls and vote. We ar not charged with any overt act or wrong-doings."

This week, a Negro delegatio went to Washington to persuad the Justice Department tha Federal registrars should b sent to some sections of Vi ginia to accelerate Negro regis tration. The act provides fo such registrars, but none ha been assigned to Virginia.

Stevenson Institute to Get $5-Million From Ford Fun

CHICAGO, Feb. 11 (UPI)— The Ford Foundation announce by telegram last night that i would contribute $5-million t the Adlai E. Stevenson Institut of International Affairs as soo as $5-million had been given b other sources.

The donation was disclosed b Donald Graham, head of a driv to raise $10-million for the in stitute, named for the la United States Representative t the United Nations and sched uled to be established at th University of Chicago.

Mr. Graham said $2-millio had already been donated, in cluding contributions from th Field Foundation of Illinoi ($250,000), the Field Founda tion of New York ($250,000 and anonymous donors ($500 000).

VIRGINIA

Human Relations Intergroup - HRC

Combs Resigns Council Post

Richmond Va. Times-Dispatch 3-29-67

RICHMOND (AP)—The Rev. Robert Lee Combs has resigned as executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, a post he has held since February 1965, it was reported Tuesday.

The Rev. Mr. Combs reportedly stepped down Friday, the Richmond Times - Dispatch said, in the wake of a feeling among some members of the council's Board of Directors that he was devoting too much time campaigning against the Ku Klux Klan.

He said Tuesday night he had resigned to rest and to take a vacation. Asked if he had accepted another position, he said he has no plans.

M. C. Martin of Danville, council president, will meet here Thursday with a small group of board members to discuss a possible successor, but a definite choice reportedly will not be made at that time.

Bailey G. Wharton, associate director of the council, is serving as director on an interim basis. The council describes itself as an agency that seeks through fact - finding, discussion and action to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

The council is concerned primarily with educational problems, public accommodations, equal job opportunities, fair housing and voter registration.

The Rev. Mr. Combs has been an avid campaigner in recent months against the Klan. One board member who asked not to be identified said there was a feeling he concentrated his efforts in this direction at the expense of more positive steps to achieve equal opportunities for Negroes.

The Rev. Mr. Combs came here two years ago from Norfolk, where for eight years he had been pastor of Squires Memorial Presbyterian Church.

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Intergroup - HRC (RC) (ES)

Minister Cites 'Left' In Resigning

3-29-67

Richmond News Leader

The Rev. Robert Lee Combs said today that "an emphasis on the far left in the civil rights movement" was a factor in his resignation as executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

He added that he was particularly disturbed by the scheduled appearance here next month of Stokely Carmichael, an outspoken advocate of "black power," under the sponsorship of the Richmond chapter of the council.

The Rev. Mr. Combs said some members of the council's board of directors had told him they felt he was devoting too much time to campaigning against the Ku Klux Klan in Virginia.

"I felt that it was my responsibility," he added, "to keep on all extremist groups, whether they were on the left or right."

Bailey G. Wharton, associate director of the council, will serve as director on an interim basis until a successor for the Rev. Mr. Combs can be selected.

The Rev. Mr. Combs, who assumed his duties as executive director here in 1965, said he had no immediate plans for the future. He formerly served as pastor of Squires Memorial Presbyterian Church in Norfolk.

Job Program Set For Returning GIs

Richmond Newsleader 1/27/68

VIRGINIA

A statewide program to help discharged servicemen obtain jobs, housing and education when they return to Virginia was announced today by the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Plans for the "Homeward Bound" project were revealed at the council's annual state meeting at the Hotel John Marshall.

A council spokesman, Carl E. Auvil, said the program would operate in cooperation with the defense department's "Project Transition," which helps prepare servicemen for readjustment to civilian life.

Auvil, who is from Fairfax County, is Middle Atlantic region administrator for the Job Corps. He said the council will work through its 28 biracial local councils "to make sure . . . veterans get the help they need at the place it counts most — at home."

"White and Negro Virginians have come to know one another in wartime as they seldom have . . . in our largely segregated way of life," he said. "Many will be satisfied with nothing less than equal opportunity upon return to civilian life."

He said the council will work with "transition" centers established in Virginia at Ft. Lee, Ft. Eustis, Ft. Myer, Ft. Belvoir, Langley Air Force Base, Quantico Marine Base, and Norfolk Naval Base.

The program calls for development of job-related assistance for veterans in Virginia industry, in labor unions, public agencies and private organizations. The ex-servicemen also will be advised of their rights under the so-called "GI Bill."

The council elected Auvil president in an election today.

Other officers elected were Mrs. Carolyn Worrell of Charlottesville, first vice president, and three other vice presidents, John A. Lapp of Harrisonburg, Mrs. George A. Mattes of Blacksburg, and State Sen. Henry E. Howell of Norfolk. The Rev. E. M Gregory of Richmond was elected treasurer and Mrs. Lyle Jones is the new secretary.

Two Richmonders, the Rev. J. G. Carpenter and Andrew C. Epps III, were elected to the board of directors.

Other board members elected were Mrs. Henry Borne of Danville, Drewry Brown of Charlottesville, Robert Heifetz of Peninsula, Mrs. Lyle Jones of Petersburg and Mrs. Isaac White of Franklin, Mrs. Curtis Heath and Donald Banks, addresses not listed.

State Council Initiates Program for Returnees

Richmond T.-D. 1/28/68

VIRGINIA

The Virginia Council on Human Relations announced yesterday the start of a "Homeward Bound" program to aid discharged servicemen in finding educational opportunities, jobs and housing when they return home.

The program would operate in conjunction with a similar Defense Department program called "Project Transition."

Two speakers at the first day of a two-day meeting of the VCHR outlined the plans for the local and federal programs.

At a banquet last night Alfred B. Fitt, assistant secretary of defense for manpower, outlined the basic components of the Defense Department project. Counseling, skill training, education and placement will be used in aiding the returned veteran to adjust.

Fitt told the council "hundreds of thousands of men can be salvaged from the blight of poverty, and the Defense Department—with no detriment to its primary role—is particularly well equipped to salvage them."

He said some 750,000 men are returned from the service to private life annually, and that some 50 per cent of the men about to leave the services "need and want some degree of help to make the transition to a productive civilian life."

Project Transition is a voluntary program for men with 30 to 180 days of service time remaining.

Reiterating the fact that the primary responsibility of the Defense Department is the nation's security, Fitt said "in the ultimate analysis, the foundation of our nation's security is a stable structure. We intend to do our full part in building and preserving that foundation."

In an afternoon meeting, Carl E. Auvil, a Job Corps offi-

Continued on Page 2, Col. 8

Returnee Program Is Begun

Continued From First Page

cial from Fairfax County who was elected yesterday as president of the council, said the council's Homeward Bound program was one of the major programs for which the council was appropriating money this year.

The program, he said, was designed to see that "all veterans, particularly Negro veterans, receive a fair shake and an opportunity when they return home."

Auvil said the council will work through its 28 biracial councils on the program and with the seven Defense Department centers set up in Virginia as part of Project Transition.

The centers are at Norfolk Naval Base, Quantico Marine Base, Langley Air Force Base and Fts. Lee, Eustis, Myer and Belvoir.

Discriminatory practices in newspapers were among topics discussed at afternoon workshops. Classified advertising that distinguishes between "colored employment" and other employment and between "colored real estate" and other real estate was sharply criticized.

Raymond H. Boone, editor of the Richmond Afro-American, said, "I contend that newspapers constitute one of the most discriminatory organs in the world."

Boone said a "lily-white reporting staff can only breed discriminatory reporting." He said that Richmond Negro councilmen should bring before the public such discriminatory reporting in the publications of Richmond Newspapers, Inc.

The workshop participants discussed means of organizing community news letters for poverty areas in Virginia. The letters were visualized as a "household tool" for interesting and organizing poverty [illegible]

The council adopted several resolutions last night, including supporting pending legislation for free textbooks for the primary and secondary school students of Virginia, welcoming the initiative taken toward open housing ordinances in Northern Virginia, Richmond, Fredericksburg and Portsmouth, encouraging similar ordinances and legislation throughout the state, and urging the General Assembly to adopt legislation prohibiting continued discrimination in housing and employment throughout the state.

Staff Photo

Carl E. Auvil of Fairfax Greeted by Henry L. Mar

Auvil Is Head of Council on Human Relations

Kiwanis Club

Greg Lynn Bamford of Haxtun, Colo., president of the Future Farmers of America, will speak at the 12:45 p.m. meeting tomorrow of the Richmond Kiwanis Club at Hotel John Marshall.

Lions Club to Meet

The Richmond Lions Club will meet at 1 p.m. Wednesday at Hotel John Marshall. William [illegible] Coppage will discuss the program of the Virginia Commission for the Visually Handicapped.

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

August 13, 1969

#14662US Quilting Cooperative

VISTA volunteer Kenneth Gladston requested VITA assistance in helping a group of thirty low-income women in Rose Hill, North Carolina who were trying to start a quilting co-op. Assistance was needed in designing quilt patterns and in the marketing of the quilts when they were completed.

Mrs. Laura Hawks, a VITA volunteer who had experience in starting a sewing co-op in Puerto Rico produced a set of patterns and quilt designs along with basic sewing instructions.

Additional advice on production and design of quilts came from volunteer W. Leonard Reed. Reed also suggested several possible markets for the co-op's products.

At present the co-op is being formed and the first quilt samples are in production.

Inquiry Received: May 22, 1969

Case Closed:

ESD:GM/gml

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

August 15, 1969

Boston #42 Day Care Center Rehabilitation Advice

Roughly two years ago a group of women, most of them mothers, many on welfare, met to plan a day care center, one which would incorporate their ideas for a parent-run, parent-controlled day care center serving a racially and economically integrated community.

VITA-Boston received a request from this group, Neighborhood Involvement for Children's Education (N.I.C.E.), for architectural advice about a two story building on the grounds of the New England Hospital which they were interested in leasing. Their major concerns:

1. Is the building structurally sound and therefore suitable for rehabilitation?

2. What major renovations need to be made to meet state and local health and public safety standards?

3. What is a reasonable estimate of rehabilitation costs? (The women have a firm commitment from the Boston Model Cities Administration and Neighborhood Board to subcontract to N.I.C.E. one of the agency's demonstration day care centers.)

Architects and VITA volunteers, Mark Dooling and Scott Smith, had an opportunity to study the building and to get specific technical information from N.I.C.E., the hospital's deputy administrator and its chief engineer, together with volunteer Ralph Lebeau, another architect. They have been discussing with N.I.C.E. a wide range of construction problems and options and have helped to pose a number of questions for the day care group, the Model Cities Agency, and the hospital to consider.

Since its initial meetings with the team of architects, N.I.C.E. has made significant inroads in its negotiations with the hospital trustees and Model Cities personnel. And although final details have yet to be worked out, the members of N.I.C.E. are presently able to follow-up more knowledgeably possible designs and contracts for the building because of the assistance of the VITA volunteers.

Inquiry Received: June 10, 1969

Case Closed:

ESD/cmv

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

September 2, 1969

Boston #60 - Tutorial Program Development

Mike Jeffries, a VISTA Volunteer assigned to the Neighborhood Service Center of Boston State Hospital, has asked VITA-Boston for technical assistance in strengthening a community-based tutorial program with which he is working. The project is designed to utilize college students as volunteer tutors and ultimately to involve parents and adults in the community in similar roles. To judge more accurately the individual student's needs, Mike has asked VITA for help in obtaining and/or designing good reading and math skill development tests which can be administered and evaluated by non-professional tutors for students in grades 1 through 6.

The staff recruited John O'Bryant, a Boston Public School guidance counselor and member of the VITA-Boston Community Advisory Committee, to work in a face-to-face situation with Mike, his tutors and the initial 25 first through third grade tutors recruited for the program. In addition, VITA-Boston has utilized the international roster to receive by-mail assistance from VITA Volunteer James Showkeir in Flint, Michigan.

The combination of direct and by-mail aid should ultimately provide a variety of significant testing options for the tutors to choose from.

Inquiry Received:

Case Closed:

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

October 1, 1969

#15293-US Analysis of Communications Firm

Does VITA have a volunteer who can determine whether a Black communications firm has the management and technical capabilities to produce phone sets under government contract and make a profit? That was the question posed for VITA by Mr. Benjamin S. Jinx, a Loan Services Officer with the Interracial Council on Business Opportunity (ICBO) in New York.

VITA did have such a volunteer in the person of Reinhard Herink, a systems engineer at IBM-Newark. IBM granted paid leave to Mr. Herink so that he could meet with Frederick Barrett, President of Barrett Inter-Communication Products Co., Inc. and examine the company's facilities.

Barrett Inter-Communication Products is located in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. They presently manufacture portable, hand-held, P.A. systems in a third floor rented loft space.

Herink determined that because the phone sets to be assembled and tested would not be more complex than the P.A. systems, Barrett's present employees could easily handle the product. He was also impressed by Barrett's management capabilities. In his report Herink recommended that ICBO go ahead with arranging financing for plant expansion to be able to meet the two year contract.

All parties were pleased with the VITA volunteer's assistance. ICBO stated, "Mr. Herink was a most cooperative and conscientious consultant," and that he showed an "understanding of (the) problem of minority businessmen."

Inquiry Received: August 21, 1969

Case Closed: October 1, 1969

ESD/cmv

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

October 7, 1969

#15032US Drug Retail and Wholesale

Mr. Donald Lebell, a consultant with Engineers and Scientists in Encino, California, has been working with the Economic Resource Corporation of Watts. Lebell gives free time to ERC and is now researching the possibilities of getting local Black people into the wholesale and retail marketing of pharmaceuticals.

He requested VITA's help in obtaining information on franchise operations and in contacting trade associations interested in helping minority businessmen. VITA's own library produced much of what was needed, and a volunteer, Dr. Charles Gibbons, was contacted for additional details. Dr. Gibbons serves as Administrative Consultant to the President of the Upjohn Company, a leading drug firm.

Mr. Lebell was pleased with the response and commented, "Many thanks for your instantaneous, very useful input which just arrived..."

If, once the information is evaluated, a decision is made to proceed with encouraging Black entrepreneurship in pharmaceuticals, then additional and potentially much more significant VITA assistance may be required. Already a number of other calls for VITA assistance have begun as requests for written information but eventually developed into much deeper VITA involvement, including one or more short term assignments. Often VITA's first task is to help the client better define his problem, then to follow up with additional inputs to the problem solving process itself.

Inquiry Received: July 31, 1969

Case Closed: August 13, 1969

ESD:cmv

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

October 8, 1969

14365US Day Care Center

Help in developing a community day care center was the request for VITA aid which came from John Coffin, Acting Director of Southeastern Vermont Community Action, Inc. in Bellows Falls. The town to be served by the center was Brattleboro, a labor-scarce community with jobs available but no child care facilities for low income working mothers.

Mary Gray, a Schenectady volunteer with extensive experience in launching and managing local day care centers, traveled to Brattleboro to evaluate the resources available and to discuss the proposal in detail with Mr. Coffin. Following her consultation Mrs. Gray prepared a five page report for Mr. Coffin listing several alternative approaches to funding, organizing, and operating a center in Brattleboro.

She also provided valuable tips on problems which might be encountered.

Coffin was so pleased that he labeled Mrs. Gray's service "fantastic" and stated that he found it hard to believe anyone could have come up with a person with so much expertise.

Additional VITA assistance may be required as plans for the Brattleboro center proceed. Locating sufficient operating funds continues to be a problem, but efforts to generate adequate support from the community continue.

Request Received: March 18, 1969
Case Closed: Hold status pending decision by requester for additional volunteer assistance

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

October 17, 1969

BAR-86 Recreation Planning Advice

On September 8, 1969, VITA-Boston received a request for recreation planning advice from Mrs. Ellen Hafer, a member of the Area I Recreation Committee of the Boston Model Cities Neighborhood Board. Although this community planning and review sub-committee has direct access to the skills of the City Demonstration Agency's staff as well as those of the Department of Parks and Recreation, they were particularly interested in obtaining independent opinions about other possible recreation options available to the community. In addition, they were vitally interested in obtaining assistance in helping their sub-committee to think through possible alternative uses for the expected H.U.D. and Urban Beautification funds which have been allocated for Boston.

It is significant that the VITA input has been complex, varied and responsive to the growing sophistication of the group. Because of prior research that VITA Volunteer Joan Godsman and other members of the VITA Playground Design and Development Group had done, Ellen Hafer and Nancy Flory of the Model Cities Recreation Committee had an opportunity to survey the playground library materials already on hand at the VITA office and to borrow the playground slide bank which VITA Volunteer Archie Arpiarian had collected to complement the written materials. Then, because the Education Development Center's Early Childhood Education Study Dept. had run a fairly successful three week Summer Design Workshop on play and playground materials, VITA was able to arrange a half-day workshop at E.D.C.'s Newton office for seven members of the Area I group with Allen Leitman and members of his staff who had worked on the summer project. Simultaneously, volunteer landscape architect Dick Brooks has been working closely with Mrs. Hafer on possible site plan sketches and a draft recreation proposal to be submitted to the Neighborhood Board.

This is still a very open request and a great deal more work has yet to be done. But VITA's ability to respond in a variety of ways that are meaningful to the requester will in this case be crucial.

Request Received: September 8, 1969

Case Closed:

ESD/gml

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

October 24, 1969

#13735US Urban Development Project

The case began with a letter to VITA from Mr. Dwight Wiebe, Associate Secretary of the Board of Missions and Services of the General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Churches in Hillsboro, Kansas. Mr. Wiebe asked for assistance in advising the Board of organizations and agencies interested in assisting the Board in developing a community center and housing renewal project in a Black ghetto in Omaha, Nebraska. VITA referred Mr. Wiebe to three groups in other parts of the United States with experience in similar projects. Then, two VITA Volunteers in Omaha, Mr. & Mrs. Carl Swanson, Jr., were contacted to see if they would be interested in working with the project. Mr. Swanson, a senior process engineer with Allied Chemical Corp., and his wife, who is a lawyer, contacted the Rev. John Kliewer, Program Coordinator with the Fontenelle Memorial Community Center in Omaha. As a result of his initial meetings with Mr. Wiebe and Mr. Kliewer, Mr. Swanson determined that VITA's initial contribution should be a study of the need of the community for the proposed urban renewal housing project. Mr. & Mrs. Swanson also met with Jack Clayter, Director of the Omaha Urban League, and Nate Goodwin, head of the Urban League Housing Foundation.

The Swanson's report, which was submitted to the Mennonite Board of Missions on August 10, concluded that low-cost housing in the proposed area was urgently needed. They further recommended that housing should be integrated into a planned program for urban redevelopment in the community and that local Black people should be substantially involved in the undertaking.

Using the Swanson's report as supporting evidence, a formal request was made by the Urban League Housing Foundation to the Mennonite Church for a grant in the range of $130,000 to $160,000 which would assist low-income buyers in making settlement deposits and to provide the Foundation with a revolving fund to be used in pre-financing the projects as an interim loan until the regular government bank financed monies become available.

At present the decision of the church to provide the loan money is still pending. Its outcome will determine whether further VITA involvement is required.

Inquiry Received: October 19, 1968

Case Closed: September 30, 1969

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

October 24, 1969

#15239US Health Care Program

Eric Geiger, a VISTA Volunteer serving in New Richmond, West Virginia, wrote to VITA in June on behalf of the Wyoming County Community Health Council, a group of citizens interested in medical and health care for low-income families. Wyoming County people wanted to see the establishment of several community health centers in the area because of the extreme shortage of private facilities and medical personnel. Mr. Geiger stated, "what we desperately need is some technical assistance in determining just what our facilities should include and what the cost of the operation would be". He went on to say, "we feel that on the spot consultation would be of great benefit, as we are all lacking in the necessary technical knowledge. It seems that sometimes we don't even know what questions to ask".

VITA's search for an appropriate volunteer to fulfill this assignment produced Dr. David B. Starkweather, an Assistant Professor in the Program in Hospital Administration at the University of California at Berkeley. Dr. Starkweather, whose credentials include a Doctor of Public Health degree from UCLA seemed eminently qualified for the task and when contacted by VITA showed great enthusiasm for the assignment. VITA then arranged to have Dr. Starkweather get in touch with Eric Geiger and members of the council and to prepare a report with his recommendations.

Dr. Starkweather's visit took place, and his report is now being completed. Mr. Geiger feels that Starkweather's presence was of great value to the council. They now have a much clearer idea of how to proceed to attack the problem. He said Dr. Starkweather had "shown the way". As soon as the report is received the interested community groups will be brought together to begin making a proposal for funding of the health centers that will then be forwarded on to OEO.

Dr. Starkweather will be giving additional advice as plans for the health centers proceed and may even be called on to make a second visit if that appears to be necessary.

Inquiry Received: June 25, 1969

Case Closed:

Cal
for your case study book

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

November 14, 1969

14487US Janitorial Methods

The Jack of All Trades Service Corporation, a group of low income men doing contract janitorial work in Bennington, Vermont, received significant VITA assistance thanks to Volunteer E. Richard Bowen in Schenectady, N.Y. In April VITA received a call from VISTA Volunteer Frank J. Scanlon, who was assigned to the Bennington Community Action Center. Scanlon hoped that VITA assistance could improve the quality of Jack of All Trades' work and hopefully help the men expand their business.

In the course of four visits to Bennington Bowen trained the men in all phases of floor maintenance, recommended the correct use of machines and supplies, and helped the clients to canvass the area for new accounts. In reporting to VITA on Bowen's work, Frank Scanlon stated that he "did a very fine job working with our people and his technical assistance was invaluable. We are keeping in contact with Mr. Bowen as he has volunteered to come back to Bennington any time we run into a problem or require additional help. Our first experience with VITA has been a very good one for which we are grateful."

Bowen has continued to visit the Jack of All Trades Corporation and as a result of his continuing effort, JAT's business has improved along with the quality of the service they provide.

Inquiry Received: April 11, 1969

Case Closed: July 14, 1969

ESD/gml

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

November 14, 1969

15673US Wild Rice Processing Plant Study

Sue Jennings, a VISTA Volunteer working with the Duluth Indian Action Council, called on VITA to provide a volunteer skilled in the intricacies of financing, capital structure, and marketing and who could give advice on the feasibility of the Council's proposal to establish a wild rice processing plant to (1) increase incomes and job opportunities for both reservation and urban Indians, (2) promote cooperation between urban and reservation Indians, and (3) introduce new private industry into a economically depressed area.

Wild rice grows on several reservations in Minnesota, Michigan, and the Dakotas, a prior attempt was made to set up a processing plant on one of them. Although this first effort was a failure, Ray Murdock, President of the Indian Action Council, believed that a plant owned and operated by the Indians themselves would be successful and that a greater effort would be made by them to systematically harvest the crop and bring it to the processing plant.

Three volunteers were selected for the assignment: James MacFarland with Telex Corporation in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Robert Reuss, an employee with Dairy Queen International in Minneapolis, and Sharon Voss, a food technology expert with the Northern States Power Company, met with Sue Jennings, her husband Mike, and representatives of the Council. As a result of the successful meeting, MacFarland will do a cash flow analysis for the group and Reuss will continue with his research in the marketing area. As the project progresses Mrs. Voss will give additional assistance in the area of marketing and consumer relations.

This case illustrates VITA-USA's increasing use of volunteer teams to help define and solve complex problems.

Inquiry Received: October 3, 1969

Case Closed:

ESD/gml

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

November 18, 1969

BAR-92 Educational Space Planning

How do you make the best use of limited space and a very small budget to transform a church community center into suitable quarters for a tutorial program? At the same time, how do you make the space flexible enough to become a teenage lounge on Friday evening and church school classrooms on Sunday mornings? This is the problem volunteer Ed Cassidy was asked to tackle when VITA received a request for architectural assistance from Marilyn Carrington at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in the South End of Boston. An activist church deeply involved in the low-income community around it, St. Stephen's had been approached by the Youth Alliance to be one center for a city-wide coordinated tutorial program for teenagers. The church's Community Center staff was interested, but their facilities were inadequate for individualized learning.

Working closely with the staff, and at times, with the teenagers, architect Cassidy has had an opportunity to assess the available space; to attend church services; to meet with the parish council and hear their views; to attend several other meetings with the staff, teenagers, and church members who have volunteered to do the manual labor involved; and to generally get a feel for the politics of the situation among competing factions - young vs. old - in parish. Ed has also prepared two groups of drawings for the basement space, and is in contact with two VITA acoustical engineers whose advice he has asked for in developing plans for room partitions. His challenge is to design plans which meet the needs of the people and not just appeal to aesthetic tastes of the architect alone. To date, the men and women involved with the St. Stephen's project have been extremely pleased with the work which Ed Cassidy has done and with the commitment he has shown to the community's wishes. The way in which he has gone about his task is a good example of the value of combining the right technical skills with a sensitivity to, and appreciation of, the people served by the project.

Request Received: September 12, 1969

Case Closed:

ESD/gml

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

November 30, 1969

BAR-14 Fund Raising and Planning

This is another innovational educational project controlled and operated by inner-city parents. VITA staff were originally approached to help with planning and developing program descriptions for the project, which was operating on a deficit budget and unable to implement a number of its proposed programs. VITA has provided technical assistance in a range of areas subsequently, from building and lighting problems to assistance in the planning of a new teacher training program.

Since its original request to VITA, the project has received grants from several Boston and New Hampshire foundations, from various individuals, and is very close to receiving a substantial grant from a national foundation to support its ambitious teacher training project. Here again, the local people have acquired a number of important skills; they have created unique teacher training program designed and operated by inner-city people for urban teachers; they have called on VITA at several crucial periods in their development.

Request Received: February 12, 1969

Case Closed:

HP:cmv

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

November 30, 1969

BAR-19 Day Care Center Funds

Neighborhood Involvement for Children's Education (N.I.C.E.) is a parent-initiated and parent-operated organization, operating out of a Jamaica Plain public housing project. Over the course of the past six months they have requested VITA technical assistance in a number of areas crucial to getting their ambitious project off the ground: building selection, building redesign, parent training, planning, negotiating the "system" required to pass inspections, acquire financial support, etc.

The parents have acquired a number of important skills while doing the planning and preparation work necessary for starting a pre-school project from scratch, have already funded and operated a training program, acquired funds to maintain an office, and have been designated as a recipient of Model Cities day care support.

When these parents first approached VITA staff, it was with the germ of an idea. They are now close to the point of establishing and operating their own center. When the center goes into daily operation, they have indicated that they will also want to utilize VITA's educational and recreational resources in organizing and operating a high quality program.

Request Received: April 2, 1969

Case Closed:

HP:cmv

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

November 30, 1969

BAR-48 Community Educational Center

This is a proposal planned by the education director (former neighborhood worker) of a Boston APAC (CAP sub-agency) to establish an experimental bilingual education program for recent immigrants from Spanish and French speaking areas of Latin America.

With VITA support the client developed a complete proposal under the Office of Education guidelines for Section 309 of the Adult Education Act, met the November 14 deadline, negotiated the "downtown" system through which such proposals must be submitted, and developed a number of useful future skills and contacts in the process.

If the proposal is successful, VITA will have participated in the crucial formative stage of an important new approach to providing basic skills to this population. Even if the proposal fails, the project is now more likely to be tried under other sponsorship, and the client now feels "far more capable" of pursuing similar ventures in the future. The client is currently utilizing the services of a Washington VITA contact who is helping her learn how to keep track of the progress of her proposal through the federal system.

Request Received: June 20, 1969

Case Closed:

HP:cmv

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

November 30, 1969

BAR-67 Experimental Arts Program

This is an independent, parent-controlled school for more than 200 children from ages 4 to 15 in a low income area of Roxbury. VITA has helped to plan and build an outdoor recreational facility for the school (along with hundreds of parents, teenagers, etc.), has provided local consultants to staff members in a range of areas (testing, planning an experimental arts program), and provided technical assistance in a number of other areas.

The school has received financial support from a number of sources (Cabot Foundation, Blanchard Foundation, etc.) which staff people believe would not have been forthcoming without VITA technical assistance. Several staff members and parents have developed their own fund raising skills as part of this process. The teachers now have an outdoor recreational facility which they were sorely lacking last year - a facility which would not exist if the school had not found out about VITA's design and development work in outdoor recreation. The school itself is part of an important new development in urban education: a high-quality, experimental school "owned and operated" by the people most affected by its success - the parents of the children and community members of the staff.

Request Received: July 17, 1969

Case Closed:

HP:cmv

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

November 30, 1969

BAR-68 Young Women's Leadership Development Project

The client, Operation Exodus, Inc., requested assistance in planning and finding financial support for a large, 24 hour facility to meet the needs of black teen-age girls. This is both a residential and non-residential project providing health, counseling, educational and recreational services to girls who often have nowhere to turn at the moment.

It is a large, ambitious project. It meets a crying need identified by local people; the request was made at a time when VITA support could be crucial to its success; VITA has already been able to help the planning director, who is a local non-professional, find information and develop skills necessary to the success of the project. The project has already received support from foundations and individuals through contacts which VITA helped to initiate. VITA has also helped connect the project up with technical assistance provided by a local university in pursuing federal funds and provided consultation about other federal sources of support.

Request Received: July 28, 1969

Case Closed:

HP:cmv

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

December 23, 1969

BAR 91 - Heating System Advice

Fred Washington, Director of Hawthorne House, Inc., a community educational complex in Boston, called on VITA after he had learned of its services through the Fundraising Workshop sponsored by the Boston Office. Hawthorne House was plagued with a faulty furnace which heated unevenly in the winter, would not ignite properly, and even exploded from time to time.

Three local volunteers offered assistance: David Emerson, a physics teaching assistant at Boston University; Robert Johnson, field engineer with Vappi and Company, and Dov Glucksman, an engineer with Flowtron, Inc. Working as a team, the volunteers replaced crumbling fire bricks, adjusted the thermostat and checked for maladjustment in the fuel ignition cycle.

Results of the assistance included saving the requester sorely needed funds and making him more knowledgeable about the problem.

Inquiry Received: September 12, 1969

Case Closed: (open)

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

January 21, 1970

BAR #53 Plexiglass Coating Research

Not often are gifts of extra space troublesome additions to the operations of a low-budgeted social service agency, but the Cambridge Neighborhood House has been plagued with some very special problems because of its white elephant. A few years ago the Neighborhood House was picked as the site for the construction of an experimental building, 12' x 12', whose sides and roof were made of plexiglass. It presently serves as an annex to the central facility. Although the parents, staff, and board had hoped to use the structure for a variety of community activities, it was quickly discovered that the building had one serious drawback: the transparent walls failed to provide any privacy for the participants within the building, particularly during the evening.

Dick Franke, program director of Cambridge Neighborhood House, asked VITA for help in finding a coating which

1. would not crack or peel due to weather changes
2. would not damage the plexiglass
3. would permit natural light to pass through but would obstruct the vision of people outside the building, and
4. would be inexpensive.

VITA Volunteers Dick Maehl, head of the chemistry department at Suffolk University, and Allen Smith, General Manager of Metal Hydrides Operations for Ventron Corporation, provided technical assistance for this request and made several recommendations. Dick Franke is currently trying out two of the options which the volunteers suggested on test pieces of plexiglass.

Inquiry Received: July 8, 1969

Case: Open

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

January 30, 1970

#15958US Robinson Water System

Robinson, Pennsylvania is a community of about 500 families, many of whom have never had a regular water supply. VISTA Volunteer Mike Cunningham, who is assigned to the local Community Action Agency, asked VITA to provide a consultant who could survey the existing water system and make recommendations for improvement and expansion. That man turned out to be Edison, New Jersey town engineer John Zimmerman. Zimmerman accepted the assignment enthusiastically, and, just two weeks after the original request was received, he made a two-day visit to Robinson to collect data and to meet with Cunningham, several other VISTAs involved in the project, and Edward Rugh, Vice-President of the Mace Springs Water Company, the utility which serves Robinson

On December 1 Zimmerman submitted a preliminary review to Cunningham and Rugh, which was followed by a detailed engineering report on December 16. It included four alternative approaches to the problem, aimed at both short-term improvements of the existing system through the use of booster pumps and new lines, and a more permanent solution incorporating the use of a storage tank or reservoir to adequately increase the water supply. Cost estimates were provided for each alternative.

Another important contribution made by Zimmerman was in bringing the VISTAs together with officials of the water company for the first time. This provdied an opportunity to discuss mutual problems and led to greater cooperation between the company and the community.

Cunningham priased Zimmerman's enthusiasm, thoroughness and professional competance. "We have a place for VITA and Mr. Zimmerman in our hearts," he said.

On January 7 a meeting was held ("the best this community had had in 25 years," according to one person) to discuss the course of action. A decision was made to go ahead with the most badly needed improvements, and work is expected to begin by April 1.

Inquiry Received: November 7, 1969

Case Closed: Open

ESD/gml

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

January 30, 1970

#16125US Shasta County CAP Management

Taking advantage of VITA's availability as a resource to Community Action Programs, Paul "Ed" Forbes, Executive Director of the Shasta County Community Action Project in Redding, California, called on VITA-USA for help in organizing his office staff to work as an efficient unit. He needed assistance in program linkage, administrative work, organizational structure, filing, and message systems, and secretarial training. Total personnel involved in the operation were six working in the CAA office and an additional 25 in the field.

For the assignment, VITA called on volunteer Harry Snyder, a Universal City, California resident who is a management consultant at Cal-Tech. Cal-Tech agreed to grant Snyder leave with pay so that he could travel to Redding for two days of consultation.

Snyder was well received by Forbes and his staff. His recommedations were detailed and comprehensive. Although most of the suggestions for management improvements were given to Forbes verbally during Snyder's visit, he also submitted a ten page written report following his assignment. Snyder performed, in Forbes' words, "a marvelous job". The recommended changes are now being instituted.

Inquiry Received: November 19, 1969

Case Closed: Open

ESD/gml

VITA

VITA-USA CASE STUDY

April 3, 1970

WASH-56 Information Pamphlet

This request for information on lead poisoning in children led to a group project. A pamphlet was developed by a committee composed of representatives of two D.C. social organizations, two VITA volunteers, and VITA-DC staff. The final pamphlet was written and designed by VITA volunteer, Mrs. Walterine Swanston. It describes the general symptoms of lead poisoning, where to go in D.C. for medical attention, and offers some tips on prevention.

On April 4, 1970 four community organizations, all of whom are VITA requesters, will start distribution of the pamphlets in various sections of the D.C. community as follows: MBRI Health Center (100 pamphlets), U.P.O. Office of Volunteer Services (500), Y.O.U., Youth Organizations United, working through Black Brothers of the Ghetto (100), and NCHA's Division of Community Organizations and Social Services (100).

Y.O.U./BBG is one example of how distribution will be carried out. Four teams with 25 pamphlets each will make door to door (face to face) distribution in a selected area. Each team is composed of two teenagers, one boy and one girl. On March 31 Y.O.U. participated in an hour long broadcast over radio station WWDC. They made significant comments on lead poisoning during the broadcast.

An interesting but tragic side note is that one of the participating organization representatives has a child who has been damaged by lead poisoning.

BRIEFING PAPER

VITA-USA DIVISION PLAN, 1970

A. Results of First Eleven and One-Half Months' Operation

1. General Conclusion

The program has been sufficiently successful to say that the major hypothesis of the demonstration has been proved:

> "that VITA's volunteer force, which has been utilized effectively in aiding developing countries, can be applied to help solve problems of poverty in the USA."

The VITA-USA program is unique in its ability to mobilize and apply volunteers for use in urban and rural poverty settings and on a national scale. The basic principles that have led to acceptance by community people needing help are:

- being responsive; we assist those who request help and in the way they desire

- performing well; capable staff is essential to handle volunteer selection, logistics of volunteer assignments, follow-up, etc.

Chapter Projects are needed to assist programs in metropolitan areas where manpower resources covering a broad skill spectrum can be mobilized.

The National Consulting Service is needed mostly by small cities and rural areas.

2. Quantity of Effort

During the 11½ months since the VITA-USA program was launched, 505 requests were received by the program. Responding to them, over 500 volunteers contributed 11,500 hours.

The program start-up was smooth, with top-notch staff being recruited within target dates. (Interestingly, six of the staff are ex-Peace Corps volunteers.) Methods and procedures have been developed, and an on-going evaluation permits continual improvement of these procedures.

Voluntary technical assistance is extremely economical since the consulting time is free.

3. Quality of Effort

Evaluation of the Boston Project and the National Consulting Service include the following conclusions on operating procedures:

- The requesters give VITA-USA high marks on volunteer selection and speed of response.

- VITA-USA cases involve mostly "soft technology" and are much more complex than previous international requests. They require

more in-depth, on-site help and follow-up.

- Volunteers want feedback on results of their projects.

- For National Consulting Service: in 25 of 43 cases sampled VITA provided valuable input. VITA was of no help in two cases. The results of other cases are pending or not known.

- People do not clearly understand VITA-USA services from the literature. Communication about VITA's services must be improved.

Unique Characteristics

Evaluation interviews with requesters and volunteers point out some very special qualities of volunteer consulting:

a. Flexibility and Concern. Frequent personal involvement is possible. Other sources of help cannot do this easily because of "red tape".

b. Bridge to other private or governmental resources.

c. Availability. For the first time in many communities VITA represents a source of free technical assistance. Too often in the past community projects needing such assistance have gone without and failed.

d. Objectivity. Volunteers serve as objective outsiders; advice can be used publicly or privately to help the requester achieve his goals.

Examples illustrating these points:

- An objective study by Mr. and Mrs. Carl Swanson, Omaha volunteers, is being used by the Urban League there to secure a $160,000 housing grant. Swanson is a senior process engineer with the Allied Chemical Co., and Mrs. Swanson is a lawyer.

- A California Community Action Agency director reports valuable assistance in changing organization structure and personnel methods as a result of management analysis by VITA Volunteer, Dr. Carl Berger, who owns Electrolyte Technologies, Inc., Santa Ana, California. This case is still active after five visits and as many reports by the volunteer.

- Reflecting on VITA's assistance, a CAA director in West Virginia commented:

  "I had contacted OEO in Washington and was told that the chances of getting a consulting firm were very dim. I contacted VITA but did not expect any results....VITA provided the assistance asked for and more....provided a stimulus to the project when many were discouraged and about to give up hope. Dr. Starkweather has shown the way. We have hired a health specialist and are preparing the proposal for funding." (VITA Volunteer David Starkweather is a professor of Hospital Administration at U. of California at Berkeley.)

- "We didn't realize volunteers could do such a tremendous job", was the comment made by the Black Economic Union of Cleveland. VITA, through a volunteer in California, made contact with the Association of Systems Management in Cleveland and secured a local volunteer to assist B.E.U. in instituting a records and reporting system for its contracted consulting service to CAAs in Region IV.

Areas of Greatest Contribution

VITA has identified five areas of special expertise where volunteer consultation has been particularly effective in stimulating successful projects. They are, with examples:

a. Management Methods and Systems

VITA Volunteer Dave Briscoe (Lear Siegler, Oklahoma City) applied his experience in management systems to the problem of designing a manpower management plan for a voluntary services program of Dallas' CAA. The assistance included advice on recruiting, assigning, motivating, training, and administering volunteer workers. Mrs. L. Griffin, the CAA's volunteer director, instituted the system and now has eight volunteer coordinators utilizing hundreds of volunteers.

The development of a community services referral center for a Minnesota Model Cities Program is being aided by volunteer James Vint (J. C. Penney, Milwaukee), who has been asked to establish a comprehensive records and recording system for the project.

b. How to Obtain Financial Support

YOU, an amalgamation of over 200 youth gangs, needed assistance in costing projects and writing proposals for business ventures and community projects. VITA Volunteer Don Roha, an employee of VITRO, advised YOU on negotiating and handling subcontracts and on structuring a management development and training program for YOU staff. He developed business forms, prepared a manual for writing proposals, and conducted staff seminars. VITA's impact on YOU is demonstrated by the fact that after coaching by Mr. Roha and others the group successfully negotiated three contracts, with a fourth expected to be approved soon.

VITA-Boston is running a series of workshops to assist community groups in securing funds through private and public sources and to give expertise in this area to additional VITA volunteers so that they can be prepared to assist requesters, not only in Boston, but also in other locations through the National Consulting Service. To date, five community projects have received 13 grants totaling $263,500, partly as a result of VITA's help.

c. Education of the Economically Disadvantaged

Leila Robbins, a Commonwealth Service Corps volunteer who works at the CAA neighborhood center in Dorchester, Mass., asked for help in setting up a summer tutorial program for children. The VITA-Boston staff member selected to coordinate this request was particularly qualified to help, having once been a director of a tutorial program. The Storefront Learning Center (SLC) in the local area, itself a former requester, was asked to assist, and Mrs. Robbins was able to attend the SLC training program. Four VITA volunteers then conducted a workshop for Mrs. Robbins' staff and recruited teaching candidates for the program.

Help in developing a community day care center in southern Vermont was provided by VITA Volunteer, Mrs. Mary Gray. Thanks to Mrs. Gray's extensive experience in the area and her detailed recommendation, community support and facilities for the center are now being developed. The requester labeled her service "fantastic" and stated it was hard to believe

that anyone could have found a person with so much expertise.

d. Recreation and Playgrounds

Boston VITA volunteers, working in the Chapter's Design and Development group, were asked to develop a playground for the Highland Park Free School. Participating in the design effort were members of the Institute of Art and the requesting parents. The one day "build-in" by VITA volunteers, parents, and children resulted in construction of a variety of structures that are very popular with the children and that would have cost about $5500 if they had been built commercially. The prototypes developed are being used by VITA to learn lessons for future playground projects. Already the Boston group has used its experience to assist playground design requesters in Cambridge, Mass. and Washington, D.C.

e. Business Development, Particularly in Rural and Small Town Areas

"Jack of All Trades Service Corporation", a maintenance business formed by the Bennington-Rutland Opportunity Council, Inc., received twelve visits from volunteer Richard Bowen (Stanley Home Products, Schenectady, N. Y.) on systems of floor maintenance, equipment procurement, job bidding. "Mr. Bowen brought over a floor machine and worked day and night to train the men. He visited our customers and set up a program of cleaning for each. He also helped with calls on new customers, increasing business." Sales of $10,000 in six months have been realized; much of this flowed to those previously out of work.

A Kentucky requester, working with a crafts project, stated, "VITA provided the assistance needed to this small agency which had neither funds nor confidence to seek elsewhere. In areas where volunteers were not available, excellent referrals were made, quite unlike others I have dealt with." Special praise was given to two volunteers, Malcolm Benjamin, an expert in product design for the United Nations, and Jean Godsman, public relations assistant with Hugh Stubbins and Associates (architects) in Boston. As a result of VITA's help in costing and market sources, a grant providing initial capital has been obtained and a market established in Washington, DC. Sixty people are involved.

4. VITA-USA has developed a model for establishing a nationwide network of effective urban chapter programs. Whereas one chapter program was the goal for the first year, two staffed projects have been started. The Boston Project is already up to over 500 volunteer man hours per month being devoted to projects with high success potential. The District of Columbia Project, though only four months old, has reached 250 volunteer hours, matching so far the growth experience in Boston.

B. Program Objectives for 1970

1. Scale up the demonstration program.

Targets: 32,000 volunteer man hours
Volunteers involved: 2500
Requesters directly affected: 25,000+

2. Increase impact of volunteer effort through specialization and in-depth involvement in high priority cases. At least ten priority centers of expertise will be developed by the end of 1970.

3. Focus on problems of larger urban areas through VITA chapter programs.

Targets:

a. Select and initiate staffed projects in five new locations. Selection of sites will be based on need, competing resources, availability of leadership and volunteers, opportunity to get information on new variables, such as the ethnic groups served, size of metropolitan area, representation of several parts of country.

b. Expand Boston Project to a steady state operation, handling at least 650 volunteer man hours/month. At least 40 cases will have 4 or more consultants (a rough index of significance of VITA's involvement). Workshops will be held and packets of useful materials developed for at least 2 specialty areas.

c. Expand DC-Are Project to at least 500 volunteer hour/month level. Uncover at least 5 major program opportunities for national program as a result of DC location.

d. Begin the move to privately finance chapter programs; chapter income target: $30,000.

4. Focus on problems of small cities and rural areas through the National Consulting Service. Experiment with a Rural Field Specialist to provide the kind of on-the-spot assistance in problem definition, volunteer support, and recruitment that has made chapter programs so successful.

5. Communicate more effectively to: recruit volunteers in needed specialties, tell potential requesters what VITA can do, foster interchange of information on problems and their solution.

6. Mount continuing research and evaluation efforts to learn about the technical assistance and voluntary action processes. Data from these studies will make it possible to determine best areas for future VITA emphasis and will be a major input to VITA's continuing long range planning activity.

7. Establish contact with key personnel in at least 25 major corporations to enlarge VITA's capability for getting volunteers on leave with pay for short term assignments.

13797 U.S. Airstrip Orientation

Having learned of VITA's services through a friend, VISTA volunteer, David P. Cluchey wrote asking for advice on construction and proper orientation and maintenance for an airstrip near a small Aleut Village located on the southwestern end of Kodiak Island, Alaska. Because of heavy winds and rough seas, seaplane landings were often impossible, and the village was frequently forced to depend on Coast Guard helicopters in emergencies. In keeping with VITA's practice of including interesting problems in its newsletter to generate responses and to maintain volunteers interested in the VITA program, the December VITA Newsletter carried a summary of Cluchey's request. The response from volunteers was widespread and immediate. Several of them recommended articles and government manuals which VITA obtained for Mr. Cluchey. He was also provided with contacts in Alaska.

Using a small tractor, some 3,000 feet of the runway were cut this spring. The village plans to continue working on the airstrip through the summer so that it can be ready for surfacing in the fall.

An important outcome of the request is the development of a special "Airstrip Handbook" by the VITA Chapter at Lockheed of Georgia. Several Lockheed volunteers had already begun work on the handbook when Cluchey's request arrived, but his call for help has stimulated efforts to complete the project. Through VITA's publications office the handbook will be available to others with similar problems throughout the world.

TAR-3 HOTEL EMPLOYEE TRAINING
TAR-12 HOTEL TRAINING

On February 6 VITA volunteer, Richard Pew from the School of Hotel Administration, University of New Hampshire, spent the afternoon counseling members of the firm, Massachusetts Achievement Trainers (MAT) of Dorchester, Mass.

MAT is a pioneer business venture started by seven negroes who at the time of the firm's founding could claim more prison years than school years. Professor Pew visited in answer to MAT President, Robert McCowan, who asked for someone to give them guidance regarding career ladders, employment pitfalls, and other characteristics of the hotel business. MAT was about to run a Labor Department financed motivational training program for so-called "hard core" unemployed who would be hired by the hotel industry. MAT personnel were pros in the motivational training field but needed exposure to the hotel field to make their sessions more effective.

Mr. McCowan was so pleased with the VITA help that he decided to become a VITA volunteer and help others. In July Mr. McCowan will go to Liberty, New York on his first short term assignment. He will help the Neighborhood Youth Corps of Sullivan County to determine the feasibility of starting an on-the-job training program for "hard core" unemployed in the area's hotel industry.

June 1969

BAR-45 TUTORIAL STAFF TRAINING

Leila Robbins, a neighborhood worker from the Commonwealth Service Corps, is setting up and operating a summer tutorial program for children, kindergarten through sixth grade. She requested help in planning the program, recruiting volunteers to help train her staff prior to its beginning, and for teachers who would volunteer from two to four mornings per week to teach English and math as a part of the program.

The VITA staff provided some immediate planning assistance (one staff member is a former director of a tutorial program) and then got help from one of our other requesters, the Storefront Learning Center (SLC), who made it possible for Mrs. Robbins to participate in the SLC training program. VITA has contacted four volunteer specialists who have agreed to run a series of training workshops for her staff. VITA is now reviewing qualifications of several candidates for the English and math volunteer teaching assignments.

Fast, helpful response leads to more requests. About three days after starting work on this case, a second request came from another neighborhood worker in the Dorchester APAC. The requester and her boss have visited the VITA office to see what kind of help might be provided in establishing a consumer program.

A NOTE ON COMPLETING YOUR VITA RESUME

VITA Volunteers are selected for work on inquiries and other projects according to "key words:--specific descriptive terms--listed on their resumes under EDUCATION and EXPERIENCE. Therefore, the words you use in completing your form will, in large measure, determine your own participation.

Specific subject fields are generally more useful than operational functions as key words. That is, words like ABRASIVES, LEATHER, DEHYRATION and PUMPS are more helpful to us than PLANNING, TESTING, or PRODUCT EVALUATION.

The attached key word list from past VITA inquiries will also help relate your experience to the questions we most frequently receive. Please circle the areas in which you are proficient.

Under Item 2 would you indicate also what areas within the U.S. you might have special knowledge? Under SPECIAL INTERESTS please indicate also if you would be available for short-term assignment within the United States. Back of resume may be used for additional information.

PLEASE ADVISE US OF ANY CHANGE IN YOUR ADDRESS

VITA *Volunteers for International Technical Assistance, Inc.*

College Campus
Schenectady, New York 12308

OFFICE USE

Received:

Class:

PERSONAL RESUME

Please fill out this form carefully. The data you furnish will help us to use your talents most effectively.

PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE

MR. _____
Last First Middle Date of birth

HOME ADDRESS _____
Number & Street City State Zip Code Telephone

BUSINESS _____
Employer Position

ADDRESS _____
Number & Street City State Zip Code Telephone

EDUCATION: (Specify School, Degree(s), Field of study)

_____

_____

EXPERIENCE: Briefly describe areas in which you have had experience or study. (Technical, Business, Teaching, Skills, Hobbies, other interests.) Use additional sheet if necessary. If you have a spare business resume form, it would be helpful if you could attach a copy for our use as a source of additional key words.

_____

_____

_____

_____

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES: _____

_____

KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGE AND OTHER COUNTRIES:

1. Language Ability to translate: (writing) ENGLISH into _____; _____ into ENGLISH
_____; _____
_____; _____
_____; _____
_____; _____

Speaking ability in:
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Of what countries or areas other than the U. S. do you have specialized knowledge? (Indicate extent of familiarity with each country) _____

_____

_____

3. Do you travel abroad? _____ If so, to where? _____

SPECIAL INTERESTS: Please indicate those activities which might be of interest to you as a VITA volunteer.

____ Answer specific inquiries
____ Write & edit reports
____ Illustrate publications
____ Perform library searches
____ Translate
____ Develop a retirement hobby
____ Work in a leadership capacity

____ Construct models & prototypes
Wood
Metal
____ Participate in a design and development project
____ Consider a temporary overseas assignment

(others)
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Please return completed form to the above address

for office use

FOR OFFICE USE

(do not write below this line)

		PARTICIPATION		SPECIAL NOTES
Prob.	Date			

DESCRIPTIVE TERMS FOR RESUMES
(Please add specific terms where applicable)

Administration & Management
- MANAGEMENT ENGINEERING
- SAFETY
- OTHER

Agriculture/Biology
- AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY
  - Fertilizers, Hydroponics,
  - Pesticides, Soil Analysis,
  - Weed killers
- AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
  - Conservation, Land Management
- AGRICULTURAL ENGINEERING
  - Buildings, Equipment,
  - Machinery, Tools
- ANIMAL HUSBANDRY (Temperate/Tropical)
  - Cattle, Poultry,
  - Other animals
  - Animal diseases
- BIOLOGY
  - Ecology, Genetics,
  - Marine Biology
- FISHERIES
  - Fish Culture: Temperate/Tropical
  - Fishing: Commercial/Hobby
- FORESTRY
- PLANT SCIENCE (Temperate/Tropical)
  - Grain crops, Fiber crops,
  - Fruits, Root crops, Vegetables
  - Plant diseases
- PEST CONTROL
  - Bats, Birds,
  - Insects, Rodents, Weeds

Arts and Crafts
- GRAPHIC ARTS
  - Block-printing, Painting,
  - Photography, Silk-screening
- JEWELRY
  - Gems, Metal
- LEATHERWORK
- METALWORK
- MUSIC
- POTTERY
  - Clays, Glazes, Kilns
- WEAVING
  - Dyeing, Sewing, Spinning
- WOODWORKING
- OTHER CRAFTS

Building and Construction
- BLOCKS
  - Brick, Concrete, Earth
- BUILDING MATERIALS
  - Concrete, Earth, Wood
- DESIGNS

Chemistry
- BIOCHEMISTRY
- INORGANIC
- ORGANIC
- PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY

Civil Engineering
- SANITARY ENGINEERING
  - Sewage treatment, Toilet facilities
- SOIL MECHANICS
- TRANSPORTATION
  - Bridges, Roads, Waterways
- WASTE DISPOSAL
  - Sanitary, Industrial
  - (also see Water)

Development
- COTTAGE INDUSTRIES
- INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
- SMALL BUSINESS
- URBAN PLANNING

Economics
- ACCOUNTING
- COMMERCE
  - Export-Import, Marketing,
  - Market Surveys
- COOPERATIVES

Electrical & Electronic Engineering
- BATTERIES
- COMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT
- COMPUTERS
  - Data Processing, Programming
- GENERATORS
- MOTORS
- POWER DISTRIBUTION

Food and Nutrition
- BEVERAGES
  - Distillation, Fermentation
- FOOD PROCESSING (Mechanical)
  - Grinding, Shelling, Husking
  - Oil presses, Butchering
- FOOD PRESERVING
  - Canning, Drying, Freezing
  - Salting, Smoking, Additives
- NUTRITION
  - Diets, Food Values, Mass Feeding

(over)

DESCRIPTIVE TERMS FOR RESUMES
(continued)

Geology and Mineralogy
- MINERAL RESOURCES
- MINERAL PROCESSING
- MINING ENGINEERING
- (also see Water)

Home Economics
- CLEANING & LAUNDRY
- CLOTHES MAKING
- COOKING DEVICES
- HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

Library Science
- BIBLIOGRAPHIES
- LIBRARY SEARCHES
- TECHNICAL INFORMATION CENTERS

Medicine
- CONTRACEPTION
- EQUIPMENT
- SUPPLIES
  - Drugs
- TROPICAL MEDICINE
- PARASITOLOGY
- PUBLIC HEALTH

Power Sources (Non Electric)
- ANIMAL & HUMAN POWER
  - Harness
- FUELS
  - Charcoal, Coal, Fuel Cells, Gas, Oil, Wood
- SOLAR POWER
  - Heating, Motors, Distillation, Cooling
- WATERWHEELS
- WINDMILLS

Social Sciences
- ANTHROPOLOGY
  - Effect of Technology on Culture
- EDUCATION
  - Administration, Recreation, Primary, Secondary, Higher, Teaching Aids, Training Programs
- PSYCHOLOGY
  - Personnel Relations, Therapy
- SOCIOLOGY

Special Applications - such as:
- COOLING & VENTILATING EQUIPMENT

Special Knowledge of Materials - such as:
- ADHESIVES & SEALS
- COATINGS & FINISHES
- COSMETICS
- FIBERS
  - Animal, Synthetic, Vegetable
- LEATHER
  - Tanning
- OILS & LUBRICANTS
  - Fish, Petroleum, Animal, Vegetable
- ORGANIC MATERIALS - such as:
  - Bagasse, Coir, Copra, Waxes
- PAPER PRODUCTS
- PETROLEUM PRODUCTS
- PLASTICS
- RUBBER
- SOLVENTS, CLEANERS, ABRASIVES
- TEXTILES
- WOOD & WOOD PRODUCTS

Water
- PURIFICATION
  - Algae Control, Distillation, Chlorination, Filters
- SOURCES
  - Ground Water, Surface Water, Well Construction: Deep, Shallow, Dams, Ponds, Reservoirs, Fresh water from the ocean
- WATER SUPPLY
  - Pumps: Commercial, Deep Well, Simple, Hydraulic Rams
- IRRIGATION & DRAINAGE

Writing
- JOURNALISM
- TECHNICAL WRITING
  - Instruction Manuals

Vehicles
- AUTOMOTIVE
- ANIMAL-DRAWN
- SHIPS & BOATS
- TRAINS

VITA-USA

technical and professional volunteers available to those attacking the problems of poverty in the u.s.a.

A Division of: **VOLUNTEERS for INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, Inc.**

what is VITA?

VITA is a privately sponsored, international organization, providing technical and professional assistance to raise living standards in developing areas of the world. Work is accomplished by an expanding roster of more than 6000 volunteers. VITA talents embrace a broad spectrum of experts:—accountants, architects, engineers, businessmen, educators, and other professionals.

Perched atop a simple, easy-to-build playground module, two Boston residents survey the results of a one day build-in. Using plans produced by the Design and Development Group of VITA's Boston Chapter, two "instant" playgrounds have been created in communities where recreation facilities for children were sorely lacking. Playground plans and other materials produced by VITA are available free to self-help projects throughout the country.

effective response

Since 1960, more than 15,000 requests for assistance have been serviced. VITA consultants have devised solar cookers for fuel-starved areas, bridges for Guatemala, rice cleaners for Ghana, water systems for India, pottery business in Cameroon, and better plow points for Philippine farmers.

VITA-USA division

VITA's international performance prompted a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity "To bring a new dimension of private voluntary effort to bear on the problems of poverty in the U.S.A." VITA-USA was established to fulfill this commitment .

types of service

Upon request, VITA Volunteers contribute technical, or professional aid to any anti-poverty program, public or private. Assistance may take one of several forms:

consulting by mail

VITA'S traditional form of overseas assistance, consulting by mail, is used for many USA requests as well. This has included providing information on cooperatives, establishing cottage industries, design of a small plane airstrip, and plans for playground equipment.

on-the-spot consultation

Some assignments require volunteers to give full-time short-term assistance to an anti-poverty effort. Travel expenses are paid by VITA, and the volunteer's employer makes an important contribution by continuing his salary during the consultation period. *A recent example:* an Oklahoma City Volunteer is helping the Dallas Community Action Agency develop a volunteer manpower management system.

community involvement

Many VITA chapter members are responding to requests from their own communities. Usually, this does not require full-time absence from their jobs. A pilot project in Boston has been established with a small staff to coordinate and augment the work of VITA's chapter members there. Similar pilot projects in other cities are planned. Requests have included contract review advice for a Washington youth organization's business venture and development of self-help housing plans for a farm laborers' group in Long Island.

---

who may apply for VITA aid

Requests for assistance are encouraged from any individual, or from any private, community, or government sponsored, anti-poverty enterprise. Inquiries are welcome from community-action agencies, neighborhood councils, members of VISTA, small businessmen, model cities programs, and other self-help developments, urban or rural, public or private.

how to apply

Please follow these directions in your letter of request for aid.

1. Describe your project in detail. Include rough sketches when helpful.

2. List any special requirements, or limitations that apply.

3. Indicate deadline for action; also urgency of project.

4. If project requires an on-the-spot consultation, please add reasons; also estimated days required, and most convenient dates for visit.

5. Describe results and benefits expected.

Be sure your letter shows complete address, zip code and telephone number. Indicate your affiliation with an agency or business, if any.

Mail your request to:

VITA-USA

College Campus, Schenectady, N.Y. 12308

Telephone: 518-372-5696

NON-PROFIT

The services of VITA are free. The cost of administering VITA's programs are met by tax-deductible contributions from individuals, foundations, corporations, and by government grants.

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10M-8/69

Nearly All on Relief Are Unemployable

WELFARE

AC 4/20/67

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE JR.

(Copyright 1967 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—Less than 1 per cent of the 7.3 million Americans on public welfare are capable of getting off the relief rolls and going to work, according to a government analysis.

The results of the analysis—representing the first systematic attempt to identify the actual number of "employables" on welfare — were disclosed Wednesday night by presidential adie Joseph A. Califano Jr. in a speech to the Washington chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, a fraternity of journalists.

One effect of the study may be to help dispel the notion that the relief rolls, in the words of one official here, "are full of able-bodied men sitting around drinking beer." Califano asserted that at any given moment only 50,000 of the 7.3 million on welfare are "capable of being given job skills and training that will make them self-sufficient."

NEW SYSTEMS

Califano, regarded as President Johnson's top aide on domestic matters, used the welfare study to illustrate what he called the administration's new "systems" approach to familiar problems such as transportation, urban blight and education.

In a long and at times philosophical dissertation on what he termed the "largely unwritten" story of the administration, Califano said Johnson's willingness to "ask the hard questions" and seek new "alternatives" to old ways of doing things had "led us to abandon many old slogans and to conduct our national dialog on the basis of facts."

The welfare study stemmed from precisely this search for new answers, Califano said. He suggested that the study had already produced one major casualty—the notion that there are "many millions" on welfare who are capable of working.

THE BREAKDOWN

Of the 7.3 million on the welfare rolls, he said:

—2.1 million, mostly women, are 65 or over, with a median age of 72.

—700,000 are either blind or "so severely handicapped that their work potential, if any, is extremely limited."

—3.5 million are children whose parents cannot support them.

—The remaining one million-plus are the parents of those children — about 900,000 mothers and 150,000 fathers.

ABOUT FATHERS

Of the 150,000 fathers, Califano said, two-thirds are incapacitated. Only about 50,000 "are capable of being given job skills and training that will make them self-sufficient," he said.

The analysis — which consists essentially of a new compilation and interpretation of scattered statistics that have become available in the last year or two — grew out of a luncheon discussion between Califano and William Gorham, assistant secretary for program planning in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Both Gorham, who helped conduct the study, and Califano are graduates of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's team of computer-oriented "whiz kids."

"All the New
That's Fit to Pr

VOL. CXVI....No. 39,

U.S. FINDS ONLY 1% ON WELFARE LISTS ARE ABLE TO WORK

Aide to Johnson Discloses New 'Systems' Study of 7.3 Million Getting Help

WELFARE

'INNOVATION' STRESSED

NYT 4/20/67

'Revolution in Management' of Government Ascribed to the Administration

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE JR.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 19 — Less than 1 per cent of the 7.3 million Americans on public welfare are capable of getting off the relief rolls and going to work, according to a Government analysis.

The results of the analysis—representing the first systematic attempt to determine the number of "employables" on welfare—were disclosed tonight by a Presidential aide, Joseph A. Califano Jr., in a speech prepared for delivery to the Washington chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, a fraternity of journalists.

Mr. Califano asserted that at any given moment only 50,000 of the 7.3 million on welfare are "capable of being given job skills and training that will make them self-sufficient."

Mr. Califano, generally regarded as President Johnson's top aide on domestic matters, used the welfare study to illustrate what he called the Administration's new "systems" approach to familiar problems such as transportation, urban blight and education.

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Notion Termed a Casualty

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¶The million others are the parents of those children—about 900,000 mothers and 150,000 fathers.

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"Only some 50,000 are capable of being given job skills and training that will make them self-sufficient," he said.

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Continued on Page 30, Column 3

Welfare Survey Finds Only 1% on Rolls Employable

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

Mr. Califano and William Gorham, Assistant Secretary for Program Planning in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Both Mr. Gorham, who helped conduct the study, and Mr. Califano are graduates of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's team of computer-oriented "whiz kids."

Mr. Califano acknowledged that the "difficult task will be to resolve the issues such an analysis raises." One task, he said, would be to figure out "how to reach, how to motivate this proportionally small target of 50,000 fathers and how to educate the American people to recognize and accept this target."

Another would be to determine how many mothers could be moved off the relief rolls if special child-care centers and training programs were established—and, indeed, to answer the prior question of whether "it is desirable to take two or three hundred thousand mothers away from their minor children."

These and other questions, the Presidential aide said, can be answered only by further application of the systems approach—which he defined as a four-stage process of assembling data, setting objectives on the basis of that data, identifying all alternative means of reaching those objectives and presenting these alternatives clearly so that the President can select "the best option."

The "largely unwritten" story of the Johnson Administration,

The New York Times

Joseph A. Califano Jr.

Mr. Califano said, consisted of two main elements: "The politics of innovation and the revolution in Government management that it has inspired."

He defined the politics of innovation as a new attempt to deal with problems not on a piecemeal basis, with specific pieces of legislation, but in "their total context."

"The question," he sa'd, "is no longer whether there should be handouts to the poor, but how to break the poverty cycle; the question is not how to move more cars by more roads, but how to develop new transportation techniques that adjust to the whole urban environment."

This "innovative" approach, in turn, has produced a Government-wide "revolution in management," he said, in which the systems technique is playing a large role.

"The thrust of that revolution," he said, "is to mobilize the powerful new means of processing and communicating information and to develop modern analytical techniques to deal with problems in their entirety."

Although "the classic application" of these new techniques is to be found in the Defense Department, Mr. Califano said, the Administration has made "preparations to handle problems in their total context" in many other major areas.

One example, he said, was the establishment of the Department of Transportation—an attempt to pull together "fragmented and uncoordinated" forces and competing interests in the transportation field.

Another was the model cities program — an attempt to pull together existing Federal programs, local resources and talent and private industry in a "total" attack on urban slums.

Coincidentally, some of Mr. Califano's statements were echoed today on Capitol Hill. Te fying before Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff's subcommittee investigating the Federal response to urban problems, several top planners, architects and scientists — including Jerome B. Wiesner, a former science adviser to President Kennedy — criticized the Governmnt for its "chaotic" approach to city problems.

But all the witnesses applauded the model cities program as a healthy and overdue step towards a more coordinated attack.

The Johnson Administration has been criti ized by Republicans and Democrats as failing to manage effectively the rapid proliferation of Federal programs. Mr. Califano said that Mr. Johnson recognized as well as anyone else the need for modern management.

For on that approach depends the confidence of the Congress essential for appropriations and new legislation," he said. "On that approach depends the confidence of the American taxpayer, who is entitled to the most effective programs his tax dollars can buy."

WELFARE FAILING, GINSBERG ASSERTS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

way or the way Senator Kennedy did yesterday, or you may get it thrown out right now," Senator Javits said sharply, adding:

"When you make sweeping, sensational, categorical statements like that, there are many who would be delighted to vote against the bill now in Congress to provide matching funds, by quoting you and Senator Kennedy."

Two Senators Clash

Senator Clark, a Democrat, interrupted his Republican colleague, saying: "As chairman of this committee, I intend to keep order, and you are taking off on the other Senator from New York in a way that is obviously going to make headlines."

Angrily demanding "the courtesies of a United States Senator," Mr. Javits shot back: "It is not keeping order in my judgment to break off questioning that may be provocative."

At this point Mr. Ginsberg protested: "I said in my statement that there are 630,000 people in the city who have to be taken care of, who need this program to exist. I have no illusion that these reforms will take place immediately."

Later Mr. Ginsberg told reporters: "If Congress gets upset because I'm critical, well, I'm sorry. It seems to me judgments have to be made on what the situation is, rather than what somebody would like it to be."

In his testimony, Mr. Ginsberg said the present system could be improved by the following steps:

¶Using a declaration of need rather than an investigation system to determine eligibility.

¶Encouraging welfare recipients to get jobs, by allowing them to keep part of their earnings.

¶Expanding training and employment facilities.

¶Greatly increasing day-care facilities so mothers can work.

¶Spreading welfare centers into poor neighborhoods and integrating them with health and educational services run by other agencies.

¶Seeking the advice and involvement of welfare recipients in running the system.

Further Steps Urged

Commissioner Ginsberg said the city was experimenting with some of these approaches, but called for the substitution of these steps:

¶Guaranteeing employment, with the government as the "employer of last resort" for all those seeking jobs.

¶Placing elderly, disabled and blind people under the Social Security system rather than the welfare, to remove the stigma of welfare and to lessen administrative costs.

¶Giving automatic allowances to families for each child, as is done in several European countries.

¶Setting up a "residual" public-assistance program to aid those now on welfare who would not be helped by the changed system. He estimated this would apply to about 5 per cent of all those on the present rolls.

¶Providing an expanded public service system for housing, health, day care and education, which would be available regardless of income.

Governor Rockefeller said that Senator Kennedy was "uninformed" about the state's role and asked:

"What did he recommend? What are his alternatives? It's easy to criticize, but the important thing is to have alternatives and then judge if the alternatives can be more effective.

"Congress sets the standards. Why doesn't he suggest some new legislation? We have been improving welfare for a long time, but it's only Congress that can change it."

Senator Kennedy's office immediately issued a lengthy rebuttal, saying that the Senator "regretted the Governor's intemperate reaction." The Senator, the statement went on, could "only assume that his statement was the result of haste and a lack of time to study the problem and the statements that have been made on this matter."

In contrast with Monday's hearing, which received little advance notice and was attended mainly by government officials, about 100 Negroes were in the folding chairs yesterday at the Cooperative Auditorium, 551 Grand Street.

It was the second and final session held here by the subcommittee, which is preparing for Congressional debate on continuation of the antipoverty program. Panels presented testimony on the city's problems and on programs in welfare, health services and education.

Senator Kennedy, sitting yesterday as a member of the subcommittee, read from a report that said that health services in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn were "segregated and deteriorated" and that "the poor wait eight to 10 hours for emergency care and three to four hours for clinic appointments." There was a murmur of 'that's right" from Negroes in the audience.

Welfare in U.S. Is 'Bankrupt,' Ginsberg Tells Senators Here

NYT 5/10/67 WELFARE

By JOHN KIFNER

Welfare Commissioner Mitchell I. Ginsberg called yesterday for a complete revision of the nation's welfare system, which he told a Senate subcommittee was "bankrupt" as a social institution.

Mr. Ginsberg made recommendations for reform, including a new approach to aiding the hard-core poor. He gave his views at a hearing of Senator Joseph S. Clark's subcommittee on poverty, employment and manpower.

The hearing, held here, was marked by several sharp exchanges between the Senators and witnesses.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, in questioning Mr. Ginsberg, took issue with Senator Robert F. Kennedy's sweeping criticism on Monday of the welfare system. Mr. Kennedy had said in a speech to the city's Day Care Council that welfare "destroyed family life" and that education, health and urban-renewal programs were eradicating "any semblance of human dignity" among the poor.

Governor Rockefeller, interviewed yesterday at an air-pollution conference in the Statler Hilton Hotel, was also critical of Senator Kennedy's remarks.

Commissioner Ginsberg told the panel that "as long as public assistance does not perform its relief function in such a way as to free the poorest of the poor, rather than to lock them in dependency, it has failed as an antipoverty weapon."

"It is my conviction that public assistance has largely failed in this regard," he added.

Mr. Ginsberg also said that the present system must be "thrown out."

Senator Javits said that he was "disturbed" to hear the Commissioner say the welfare system should be "thrown out."

"You'd better not be in too much of a hurry to talk that

Continued on Page 50, Column 3

POOR WILL STAGE A PROTEST TODAY

WELFARE

Thousands Over Nation to Demand 'More Money Now'

6/30/67

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 29 — Thousands of the urban poor in 57 cities across the country will stage coordinated demonstrations tomorrow for "more money now" and against "poverty level" payments to the 8.5 million Americans on public assisttance.

ance.

the National Welfare Rights Movement, leaders of the newly organized Federation of Local Welfare Protest Groups said the first nationally organized day of protest would be "only the beginning" of a summer-long campaign of marches, picketing and demands for action by thousands of poor people who have never before participated in protest movements.

Edwin Day, associate director of the National Welfare Rights Movement, predicted that "organized welfare recipients will become an important political force." Mr. Day, 27 years old, called welfare practices "a corrupt and lawless force against human health and decency."

"We are going to make the country aware of the incredible condition of welfare recipients," he declared. "We are going to make the country take this tiger by the tail."

Second Protest July 14

A second national day of protest by welfare recipients is scheduled for July 14, and Mr. Day said the headquarters office here would then convene a national convention of the poor in Washington on Aug. 19 to draw up a "permanent national organization of card-carrying, dues-paying members."

Membership cards, bearing the names of both a local affiliate group and the National Welfare Rights Movement, are to cost $1, Mr. Day said. Dues will be $1 a month. A major part of the summer program is to be a campaign for memberships in an organization Mr. Day described as "both a union and a civil rights group.'"

Plans for the locally directed demonstrations tomorrow call for members of affiliated welfare protest groups to file with city or county welfare agencies thousands of "basic need forms," prepared by the national office here. Signers of the prepared forms will be demanding increased welfare grants "within two weeks.""

Basic Minimum Lists

The forms include blank spaces for listing basic minimum requirements for rent, food, clothing and furniture. Mr. Day said "decent minimums" were not being met by welfare programs. The form says in part:

"Federal and state laws require that families be provided with welfare benefits adequate to insure a minimum standard of health and decency. Contrary to these laws, I do not get enough money in my welfare grant to meet my family's basic need."

The forms are available in Spanish for Puerto Rican and Mexican-American welfare recipients, who Mr. Day said already comprised a major segment of the national organization's affiliated groups.

"Welfare grant levels are a guarantee of poverty," Mr. Day declared in an interview. "The grants are systematically below the poverty level and below the minimums required by law. Local groups have been springing up across the country to protest what is essentially a poverty-breeding violation of the welfare laws. We have merely linked together these isolated groups to get action."

The National Welfare Rights Movement was organized during the last year by Mr. Day and Dr. George A. Wiley, its director. Dr. Wiley, 35, is a Negro who was once a chemistry professor at Syracuse University. He was formerly associate national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

According to Mr. Day, former national business manager of CORE, the movement got its start following a welfare protest march from Cleveland to Columbus, Ohio, last June 30.

According to a list distributed here today, welfare protest demonstrations are to be held tomorrow in the following cities:

Selma, Ala.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Fresno, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Richmond, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose and Santa Rosa, Calif.; Wilmington, Del.

Also, the District of Columbia; Gainesville and Miami, Fla.; Atlanta; Chicago, and Waterloo, Iowa.

Also, Wichita, Kan.; Covington, Lexington and Louisville, Ky.; New Orleans; Baltimore and Boston and Pittsfield, Mass.

Also, Bay City, Detroit, East Lansing and Flint, Mich., Minneapolis; Jackson, Miss.; St. Louis, Omaha, Newark and Paterson, N. J., and Albuquerque, N. M.

Also, New York City, Mount Vernon, Rochester, Syracuse and Yonkers; Columbia and Durham, N. C.; Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus and Toledo, Ohio; Tulsa, Okla.; Portland, Ore.; Lancaster, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pa.; Providence, R. I.; Seattle and Milwaukee.

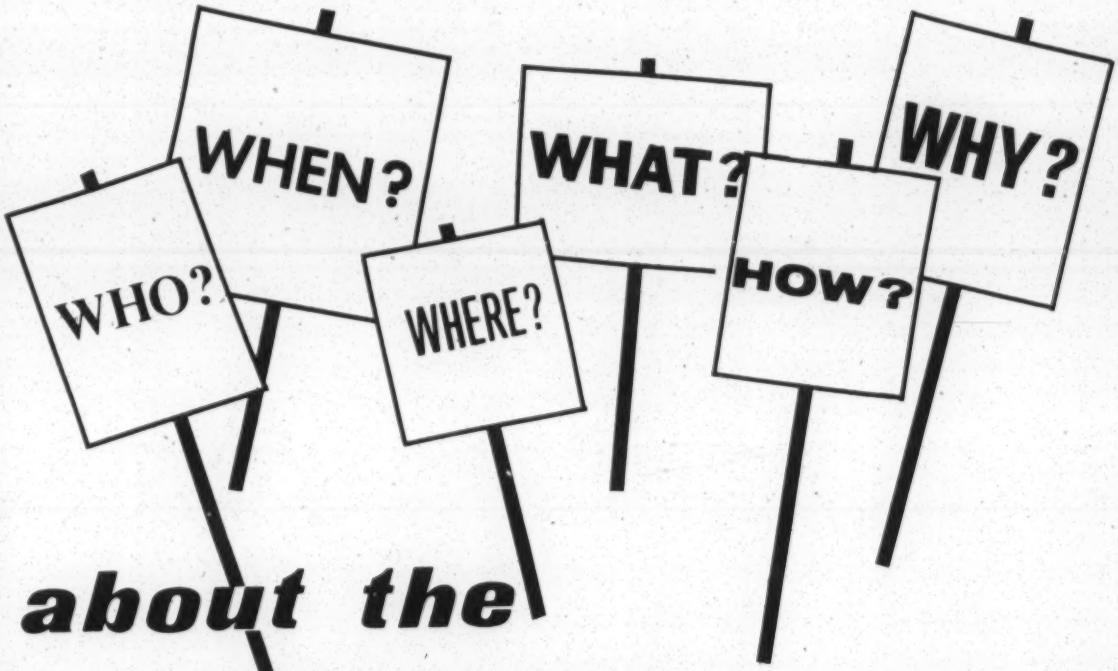
I.C.C. Unit Backs Rate Rise

WASHINGTON, June 29 (AP)—The Interstate Commerce Commission's Board of Suspension allowed another in a string of increases in truck freight rates today—this time in the Southwest. The board permitted a 6 per cen increase on less-than-truckload cargoes, effective July 4 for the Southwestern Motor Freight Bureau.

WELFARE

NOW!

DEC. 8 1967



about the

National Welfare Rights Organization

What Is The National Welfare Rights Organization?

THE NWRO IS A NATIONWIDE ORGANIZATION OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS and other poor people. It is made up of affiliated local welfare rights organizations from coast to coast. At present there are over 100 affiliated local groups in 22 states, and another 150 local groups in various stages of formation and affiliation.

THE NWRO IS A MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATION. There are presently over 5000 dues paying members (families), and the NWRO directly represents the over 20,000 welfare recipients in these households. The majority of its members are families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

MOST NWRO GROUPS ARE LOCATED IN THE GHETTOS AND BARRIOS of major U.S. cities, but there are also groups located in rural areas of the South, Appalachia, and the Mid-West. NWRO includes substantial numbers of low-income whites, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans, as well as Negroes in its membership.

How Did The NWRO Come Into Being?

OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS welfare recipients in communities around the country have been organizing to protect themselves against the injustices of welfare, and to seek ways to help themselves and to change the welfare system.

IN MAY, 1966, THE POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER was formed in Washington, D.C. and began contacting local welfare rights groups, supporting local organizing, and encouraging cooperative action among the groups.

SEVERAL NATIONAL MEETINGS AND WORKSHOPS were held and a National Coordinating Committee of Welfare Rights Groups was formed. On June 30, 1967 a major nationwide demonstration for welfare rights was held, with over 5,000 recipients in 40 cities uniting under the common banner of the National Welfare Rights Movement.

AUGUST 25-28, 1967 THE FIRST NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS CONVENTION was held in Washington, D.C. More than 300 delegates of local WRO's attended. A constitution establishing the National Welfare Rights Organization was written and adopted, national officers elected, and a platform of goals agreed upon.

What Are The Goals Of The NWRO ?

NWRO's GOALS ARE: jobs or income now--decent jobs with adequate pay for those who can work, and adequate income for those who cannot work.

1. ADEQUATE INCOME: A system which guarantees enough money for all Americans to live dignified lives above the level of poverty.

2. DIGNITY: A system which guarantees recipients the same full freedo rights and respect as all American citizens.

3. JUSTICE: A fair and open system which guarantees recipients the full protections of the Constitution.

4. DEMOCRACY: A system which guarantees recipients direct participation in the decisions under which they must live.

How Is The NWRO Organized ?

THE NWRO'S TOP POLICY-MAKING BODY is its annual National Convention made up of locally elected delegates from each affiliated group. Between conventions the NWRO is guided by its National Coordinating Committee which consists of the National Officers, elected at each convention, and one representative from each state with affiliated local WRO's, selected by the local groups.

THE POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER SERVES as the NWRO National Headquarters. The Center is a private, independe,t non-profit organization, directed by Dr. George A. Wiley, who formerly served as Associate National Director of CORE.

THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS PUBLISHES the twice monthly NWRO National Welfare Leaders Newsletter, and other informational materials and pamphlets on welfare rights. The Headquarters assists local groups with research, legal backup, and organizing help.

Who Can Become A Member ?

INDIVIDUALS BECOME MEMBERS OF THE NWRO BY JOINING AN AFFILIATED LOCAL welfare rights organization. To affiliate with the NWRO, local group must have at least 25 members, a majority of whom must be current welfare recipients, and the rest immediate past recipients, or low-income persons, with no more than 10% "other" persons. The group mus be an independent group, or if part of a larger organization, able to function independently with regard to welfare rights issues.

OTHER PERSONS WISHING TO SUPPORT the welfare rights movement may become members of a "Friends of the Welfare Rights Movement" group, now being formed in local communities in cooperation with the NWRO Headquarters.

How Is The NWRO Financed?

MEMBERS OF LOCAL GROUPS PAY $1.00 as a joining fee with $1.00 per month dues recommended. Most of this money stays with the local group, with small portions going to the support of citywide, statewide, and national headquarters.

HOWEVER, THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS AND LOCAL GROUPS DEPEND on contributions from private individuals, churches, unions, social worker groups and other friends as a major source of financial support. The National Headquarters also obtains some funds from foundation grants, and sales of the NWRO Newsletter, informational pamphlets, and greeting cards.

YOUR SUPPORT AND CONTRIBUTIONS ARE NEEDED AND WELCOMED!!!

How Can I Obtain Additional Information?

Further information can be obtained by contacting:

POVERTY RIGHTS ACTION CENTER, Headquarters
National Welfare Rights Organization
1713 R St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone: (202) 462-8804

ADDITIONAL NWRO PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:

"How to Link Up with the National Welfare Rights Organizaton"
"A Brief History of the National Welfare Rights Organization"
"How to Start a Local Welfare Rights Organization"
"Welfare--Guaranteed Poverty"

NWRO National Officers

CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Johnnie Tillmon, Los Angeles

First Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Etta Horn, D.C.

2nd Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Carmen Olivo, N.Y.C.

3rd Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Beulah Sanders, N.Y.C.

Treasurer: Mrs. Marian Kidd, Newark, N.J.

Rec. Sec.: Mrs. Edith Doering Columbus, Ohio

Corres. Sec.: Mrs. Dorothy DiMascio, Rochester, N.Y.

Financial Sec.: Mrs. Dovie Coleman, Chicago, Illinois

Sargeant-at-Arms: Mrs. Alice Nixon, Pittsburgh, Penn.

WELFARE

NOW!

National Welfare Leaders Newsletter Vol.1 No.23 December 8, 1967

Anti-Welfare Bill Goes To House-Senate Conference

SENATE OK's KEY LIBERAL AMENDMENTS

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION National Welfare Rights Organization Headquarters: Poverty Rights Action Center
1713 R Street Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20009 Telephone: (202) 462-8804

NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION

Dec. 6, 1967

TO WELFARE RIGHTS LEADERS AND FRIENDS:

We won an important victory in the Senate. Most people thought that the coalition of 15 Senators rallied by Robert Kennedy to oppose the mandatory work provisions had little chance to win.

NWRO lobbying, letter writing, and our demonstrations on November 21st undoubtedly played an important role in getting the message to the Senate.

Despite the Senate victory, prospects for a decent version of H.R. 12080 to be agreed upon by the Senate and House in conference committee are not good. None of the liberal Senators who fought to improve the bill are on the conference committee. And Wilbur Mills, who regards the anti-welfare bill as "tough but fair" will be hard to deal with.

Whatever the outcome all welfare rights leaders and friends must remember that this year has been a defensive battle--a fight against bad welfare legislation. We must continue to organize--sign up new members and build new support so that we can press for positive change in America's terrible welfare system.

Our next steps will be decided upon at the NWRO Steering Committee meeting in Chicago February 3-4, 1968. Be sure your group is represented.

In the Struggle,

George A. Wiley

George A. Wiley, Director
National Headquarters
National Welfare Rights Organization

National Headquarters
POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER
1713 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
Tel: (202) 462-8904
George A. Wiley, Director

NATIONAL
WELFARE RIGHTS
ORGANIZATION

Chairman:
MRS. JOHNNIE TILLMON
Los Angeles, Calif.

First Vice-Chairman:
MRS. ETTA HORN
Washington, D.C.

Second Vice-Chairman:
MRS. BEULAH SANDERS
New York, N.Y.

Third Vice-Chairman:
MRS. CARMEN OLIVO
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Treasurer:
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Recording Secretary:
MRS. EDITH DOERING
Columbus, Ohio

Corresponding Secretary:
MRS. DOROTHY DIMASCIO
Rochester, N.Y.

Financial Secretary:
MRS. DOVIE COLEMAN
Chicago, Ill.

Sergeant-at-Arms:
MRS. ALICE NIXON
Pittsburgh, Penn.

Key Victories In Senate !!!

IN A SERIES OF DRAMATIC, CLOSE VOTES, on November 20th and 21st the Senate added important safeguards to its version of H.R. 12080. A bipartisan coalition rallied and led by Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York carried the fight which focused on the mandatory work provisions of the bill

Senator Kennedy introduced two amendments adding important safeguards to the mandatory work provisions:

1. Makes clear that mothers with preschool children may not be required to work.

2. Provides that mothers with school age children may only be required to work during the hours the children are in school.

These amendments also added language intending to "strengthen and maintain family life". Chey also modified provisions requiring protective or vendor payments in the case of mothers refusing work and gave the Secretary of H.E.W. power to set additional criteria by which states may determine that mothers should not be forced to work.

Kennedy's amendments also added support payments as a source of income eligible for exemption (the first $50 andl/2 of any additional court ordered support payments).

The key vote on these amendments was 41 to 38.

YEAS—41		
Bartlett	Hartke	Moss
Bayh	Hollings	Muskie
Boggs	Inouye	Nelson
Brewster	Jackson	Pastore
Brooke	Javits	Pell
Burdick	Kennedy, Mass.	Prouty
Case	Kennedy, N.Y.	Proxmire
Church	Kuchel	Randolph
Clark	Magnuson	Ribicoff
Fulbright	McIntyre	Spong
Gore	Metcalf	Tydings
Gruening	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Harris	Montoya	Yarborough
Hart	Morse	
NAYS—38		
Aiken	Ervin	Monroney
Allott	Fannin	Morton
Anderson	Griffin	Pearson
Baker	Hatfield	Percy
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Russell
Bible	Hill	Smathers
Byrd, Va.	Hruska	Smith
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Stennis
Cotton	Jordan, Idaho	Symington
Curtis	Lausche	Thurmond
Dominick	Long, La.	Williams, Del.
Eastland	McClellan	Young, N. Dak.
Ellender	Miller	
NOT VOTING—21		
Cannon	Hayden	Mundt
Carlson	Holland	Murphy
Cooper	Long, Mo.	Scott
Dirksen	Mansfield	Sparkman
Dodd	McCarthy	Talmadge
Fong	McGee	Tower
Hansen	McGovern	Young, Ohio

Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma introduced an amendment requiring all states to aid children with unemployed parent (AFDC-UP). This won. 39-36.

The Senate version of H.R. 12080 passed the Senate on Wednesday, November 22nd. Only six Senators voted against it (not because of welfare issues).

Also Some Key Losses...

SEVERAL IMPORTANT AMENDMENTS WERE DEFEATED:

1. A Kennedy amendment which would have required all jobs created under the work incentive program to pay minimum wage rates. (Defeated 40-31).

2. A Javits amendment which would have required states and local welfare departments to establish advisory councils of recipients and to take their views into account in administering welfare programs. (Defeated 64-11).

3. A McGovern amendment which would have provided for a $4. per month per person increase in AFDC grants (Defeated by voice vote).

Where Things Stand Now

THE SENATE BILL IS BETTER THAN THE HOUSE BILL IN THESE IMPORTANT WAYS:

▶ It would add vital safeguards against forcing mothers to work outside their homes.

▶ It would require all states to aid children with unemployed fathers and eliminate bad House eligibility requirements.

▶ It would eliminate the freeze.

▶ It would shift work and training programs to the Labor Department and provide for creating some jobs.

Both the House and Senate versions contain punative provisions, requiring welfare departments to work closely with the courts and police, dangerous expansion of protective and vendor payments, and serious suggestions about expanding the use of foster homes. (Although Kennedy was able to clarify and specify the intent of these provisions).

NEITHER BILL REQUIRES STATES to meet 100% of the minimum need they set (a key Administration proposal).

The Future Of H.R. 12080

The House and Senate bills now go to a joint conference committee where the outlook is very bad. None of the Senators who fought to improve the bill in the Finance Committee or on the floor are on the conference committee.

HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE ON H.R. 12080:

House	Senate
Mills (D-Arkansas)	Long (D-Louisiana)
King (D-California)	Smathers (D-Florida)
Boggs (D-Louisiana)	Anderson (D-New Mexico)
Karsten (D-Missouri)	Gore (D-Tennessee)
Herlong (D-Florida)	Talmadge (D-Georgia)
Byrnes (R-Wisconsin)	Williams (R-Delaware)
Curtis (R-Missouri)	Carlson (R-Kansas)
Utt (R-California)	Curtis (R-Nebraska)
Betts (R-Ohio)	

ACTION!

TELEGRAMS TO CONGRESSMAN WILBUR MILLS AND SENATOR RUSSELL LONG AND OTHER CONFERENCE COMMITTEE MEMBERS URGING THAT THE SENATE CHANGES BE KEPT IN THE FINAL BILL MAY HELP.

THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE IS SCHEDULED TO MEET THIS WEEK (DECEMBER 4-8) BUT AGREEMENT ON A FINAL BILL MAY NOT COME QUICKLY.

GRIN AND BEAR IT **BY LICHTY**

"I mean my new welfare bill to be very tough, gentlemen! . . . The law must teach people that it doesn' pay to be poor!"

WRO's in *ACTION*

☆ WASHINGTON, D.C.
"Friends of the Welfare Rights Movement" group has been formed in Washington, D.C. It is seeking to involve additional people as volunteers and supports of the NWRO. A very successful "fund raising" party was held in November.

☆ ARIZONA
The Airzona WRO held their first annual forum on public welfare: Social Welfare and the Law, on November 10. Professor Charles A. Reich of Yale Law School was the featured speaker. The luncheon was catered by the ADC Mothers Clubs of Phoenix.

☆ FLORIDA
The Liberty City Community Council WRO of Miami is taking leadership in development a county-wide welfare rights organization. A recent Dade County "welfare congress" was attended by 200 recipients.

☆ MASSACHUSETTS
The Brockton Mothers for Action have developed a do and don't rule sheet for the welfare department. Excerpt: STOP using the word "illegitimate". START assuring young men and women that they no longer have to quit school for lack of school clothing.

☆ CALIFORNIA
The Carmelitos Welfare Rights Organization of Long Beach sparked an October 20 picketline demonstration against their housing project management on "the cockroach issue"!

San Diego WRO reports action on their basic needs campaign: "We are getting money for members, like $90.00 for a regrigerator, $40.00 for bunk beds, etc."

☆ KANSAS
The Wyandotte County Welfare Council of Kansas City met with their Board of Supervisors to present specific grievances and general demands on November 14.

Coast-to-Coast

RECIPIENTS SPEAK OUT

On November 21st, across the country welfare recipients once more demonstrated their anger against being made scapegoats for poverty.

They served notice on the Congress that anti-welfare attacks will be resisted and welfare recipients will fight for adequate income, dignity, justice, and democracy.

In Brooklyn, 200 welfare recipients marched by candlelight and in Los Angeles recipients and social workers burned candles in front of the welfare department.

Demonstrations were also held in Modesto, California; Hartford, Connecticut; Gainesville, Florida; Chicago, Illinois; Des Moines, Iowa; Washington, D.C.; Kansas City, Kansas; New Orleans, La; Detroit, Michigan; Lansing, Michigan; Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Kansas City, Missouri; St. Louis, Missouri, Newark, N.J.; and Columbus, Ohio.

Despite rain and cold these NWRO members were out again "telling it like it is". Some Senators got the message. Other people say they are tired of demonstrations. Well, there will be a lot more action because folks are tired of being hungry in this rich country.

☆ DELAWARE

150 Delaware welfare recipients demonstrated at the state capitol at Dover on November 3rd. They presented 20 demands for welfare changes and helped bring about a State Senate vote to investigate Delaware welfare practices.

☆ MISSISSIPPI

NWRO National Chairman Mrs. Johnnie Tillmon spoke at a statewide welfare rights meeting at Mt. Beulah on November 18. The program included workshops on: organizing local groups, political and direct action, goals for better welfare, and commodities, food stamps, and school lunches.

★ NEW WRO's ARE NOW FORMING IN: DENVER, COLORADO; TROY, NEW YORK; ROSEDALE, MISSISSIPPI; ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA; GARY, INDIANA; BLUEFIELD, WEST VIRGINIA; AND DES MOINES, IOWA.

NWRO Coordinating Committee To Meet February 3 & 4 In Chicago

Major decisions about NWRO strategy will be made at the NWRO Coordinating Committee meeting now scheduled for the weekend of February 3 and 4 in Chicago.

The agenda will include:

--review of the fight against the anti-welfare bill and next steps;
--discussion of the basic needs and fair hearing campaigns;
--reports on membership and organizing;
--discussion of new action strategies and plans.

The NWRO Coordinating Committee consists of the nine national officers (elected at the NWRO convention) and one representative from each state with affiliated local WRO's, selected by the local groups.

If your state has not yet selected its NWRO Coordinating Committee representative it is very important that this be done at once!!

A state meeting (or other method of selecting a representative) should be planned for early January. National Headquarters will provide a list of all affiliated groups in your state upon request.

For further information about this important meeting write National Headquarters, 1713 R St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

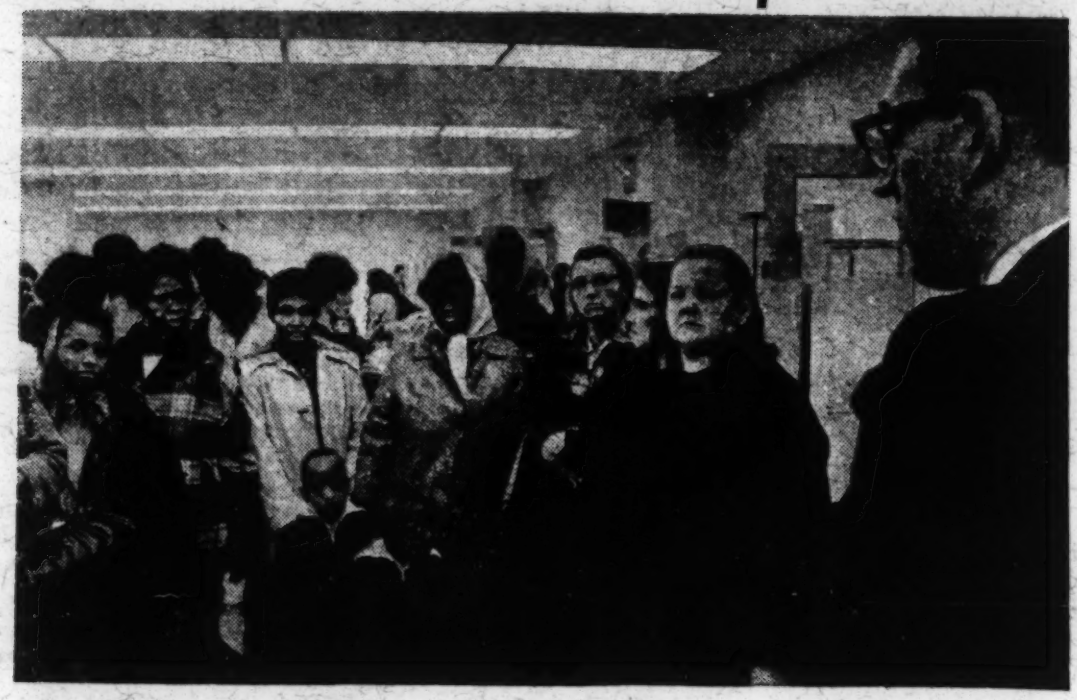
NATIONAL WELFARE LEADERS NEWSLETTER IS PUBLISHED TWICE MONTHLY BY THE POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER, HEADQUARTERS OF THE NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION. SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $10.00 PER YEAR; $25 FOR FIVE SUBSCRIPTIONS IF MAILED TO THE SAME ADDRESS. GROUP RATES AVAILABLE. EDITOR: EDWIN A. DAY. PRODUCTION STAFF: SHARLENE KRANZ AND CURTIS R.D. COLBERT. YOUR SUGGESTIONS ARE INVITED.

MOVING? PLEASE SEND THE NEWSLETTER YOUR NEW AND OLD ADDRESS SO WE CAN SEND YOU YOUR NEWSLETTER WITHOUT DELAY.

WATERLOO DAILY COURIER, WATERLOO, IOWA
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1967.

March on Courthouse

Moms Protest Job Requirement



Irate mothers receiving Aid to Dependent Children grants had a sympathetic ear at the Social Welfare Office in their protest of proposed changes in alloting ADC funds Tuesday.

The group of about 35 mothers, accompanied by some 15 children, was objecting to an amendment to the law governing ADC grants which would make some ADC mothers work and leave care of their children to a foster home.

Is Before Senate

The proposed amendment, part of an effort by Congress to reduce welfare costs, is now in hearing before the U.S. Senate.

Charles Wallin, director of the Black Hawk County Social Welfare Department, talked to the delegation in his office and agreed with it that the proposed change is unjust.

He said a petition bearing their names would be sent to their congressmen and he urged them to write as individuals.

Wallin Backs Demands

Wallin said he is unhappy with the proposal to put some ADC mothers to work as part of their eligibility for receiving ADC grants, about half of which is furnished by the Federal government.

Earlier, he said, "If this goes through as written, we will be hurting for welfare workers in this county as it would be impossible to work with these restrictions."

He said that, at the same time the government is proposing to put ADC mothers to work, the federal government has plans to reduce funds for the work experience training project which likely would cut the number taking such training here by half.

The women who made the call on Wallin Tuesday were representing the Mothers for Adequate Welfare, an organization formed here last July.

Its president, Mrs. Gertrude Moll, of 422 Logan Ave., said Monday afternoon that an ill child would keep her home. She said the march was part of one called across the nation by the Welfare Rights Movement, with national headquarters in Washington, D. C. Women who spoke to Wallin said they believe a mother's role in the home is more important than getting a job in most cases.

Crime Threat Seen

One said that if mothers were taken out of the house all day it would mean that the costs of running reform schools, jails and homes for unwed mothers would increase because youths without supervision would be more apt to get in trouble.

One of the women said she'd looked for work but couldn't find a job that paid more than 75 or 80 cents an hour.

"How are you going to raise five or six kids on that?" she asked.

MISSISSIPPI AND OHIO WRO'S DEMAND HEW ACTION ON FAIR HEARINGS

THE Hinds County Welfare Rights Movement in Jackson, Mississippi and the Ohio Steering Committee for Adequate Welfare have both charged the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare with failure to require states to obey federal fair hearing regulations.

Mrs. Geraldine Smith, Hinds County Welfare Rights Chairman recently wrote H.E.W. Secretary John Gardner demanding that H.E.W. enforce its regulations and pointing out that the group had received only a "we are looking into the matter" response to its earlier complaints.

Mrs. Marian Hall, Ohio Steering Committee Chairman, called for immediate H.E.W. investigation of Ohio fair hearing practices.

NWRO National Headquarters is backing up these demands with direct Washington pressure on H.E.W.

All WRO's are urged to write National Headquarters if local welfare departments are not obeying state and federal fair hearing regulations. It is important that all groups with experience with fair hearings report to NWRO on victories and problems so that all possible legal support can be developed.

Next steps in the fair hearing campaign strategy will be discussed at the NWRO Steering Committee meeting February 3-4 in Chicago.

HELPFUL MATERIALS NOW AVAILABLE FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:

WELFARE LAWS AND WELFARE HANDBOOKS: two brief explanations developed by the Columbia University Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law 10¢ each

GUARANTEED POVERTY: facts and tables on welfare--50¢ each

CARE AND FEEDING OF SOUTHERN WELFARE DEPARTMENTS: experiences of a welfare rights organizer in the South--25¢ each

HOW TO PUT OUT COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS: an instruction manual developed by Southern Conference Educational Fund--25¢

FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH

ANTI-WELFARE BILL DECEMBER 8

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE KILLS SENATE AMENDMENTS: KENNEDY STILL FIGHTING

The House- Senate Conference Committee on H.R. 12080 has sold out the key liberal Senate Amendments referred to in this newsletter. This will be the final bill unless this conference report is defeated in the Senate. It will:

1. Include the freeze
2. Not protect mothers against forced work
3. Not require states to aid children of unemployed fathers.
4. Have the lower House earnings exemptions: $30 and 1/3 vs. $50 and 1/2

Senator Robert F. Kennedy is fighting to get the Senate to reject this conference and defeat the bill unless the freeze is dropped and other bad features changed.

ACTION

Kennedy's fight to defeat the conference report needs your immediate public support. All Senators should be contacted at once to encourage them to speak out and vote against the committee report.

The conference committee report will be voted on this week--Dec.10-15. Action must be NOW!!!

Call National Headquarters for full information and to let us know of your efforts!!

St. Louis, Missouri

By a Post-Dispatch Photographer

Welfare recipients marching outside the Missouri Welfare Division office today to protest against welfare restrictions pending in Congress. The office is at 627 North Euclid avenue.

30 Picket State Welfare Agency's Office Here

Members of the League for Adequate Welfare picketed the St. Louis office of the Missouri Division of Welfare today to protest against welfare sections of the Social Security bill pending in Congress.

About 30 persons, nearly all of them women, took part in the picketing. They represented several chapters of the League, a welfare recipients' organization.

Similar demonstrations were conducted in other cities around the country. The National Welfare Rights Organization of Washington, which promoted the demonstrations, contends that some of the welfare provisions are coercive.

The bill would freeze at current levels the number of children who could benefit from the Aid to Families of Dependent Children program and would cut off federal aid to all recipients over 16 years old, including mothers with small children, who do not accept work or job training.

The omnibus Social Security bill is being debated in the Senate.

'If the Book Says I

By MICHAEL CLENDENIN and DONALD SINGLETON

Second of three articles

THE woman with the white hat sat heavily on a rickety folding chair beside a rickety folding table that was covered with stacks of mimeographed forms, newspapers, pencils and legal pads. The table was on the sidewalk outside one of the city's 34 welfare centers.

"Okay, honey, here's your list," the woman with the white hat said to the thinner woman. "Now you sit right down here and check off everything you don't have. And when you get it all done, you go in there and tell them you want it. If they give you any trouble about it, you just come out and let me know. I'll go in there with you and squeeze it out of them people."

DAILY NEWS SPECIAL FEATURE

The woman with the white hat was an officer in one of the city's more than 100 welfare client organizations. And she was doing her part in a nationwide campaign designed to "bring the welfare system to its knees, right now."

Her group had mimeographed a list of more than 200 items of clothing, furniture and household equipment, items which must, according to state law, be given to every individual who is receiving public assistance.

On the woman's list, for example, the following appear under the heading, "Cooking Equipment":

"Double boiler; saucepan & cover (sm); saucepan & cover (lg); frying pan; roasting pan; muffin pan; mixing bowls; measuring cup, spoons; butter dish & cover; paring knife; spatula or turner; potato masher; egg beater; strainer; refrigerator dish; dish pan (plastic); garbage can & cover; shopping cart . . ."

The recipient is told to check off which items she needs, indicating how many of each, and to give the list to the Welfare Department.

Form Letter Included

The list is headed by a letter which reads: "Dear Sir: I would like to request the following for my family. I would appreciate it if you would grant this request as quickly as possible, so that we may at least have the minimum standards that the welfare regulations provide for."

Of course, there is nothing extravagant on the list. And the city's welfare laws state that each relief recipient should be given those items he lacks at the time he comes onto the relief rolls.

But as a matter of fact, only between 2% and 3% of all welfare clients in the city are completely up to standard, and if the 97% or 98% who lack certain items should demand those items en masse—which they now are doing—the system could be financially brought to its knees.

Tens of thousands of the client groups' lists have been circulated throughout the city by groups affiliated with City Wide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Groups, whose headquarters is a tiny office on the second floor of an Episcopal Church at 514 W. 126th St. in Harlem.

City Wide's chairman, Mrs. Beulah Sanders, and its director, Hulbert James, sat in the office one day last week and explained how the organization is trying to do its job.

"We simply want to make sure that every single person who is entitled to be on welfare is receiving assistance," said James, an energetic young Negro who is a disciple of Dr. George A. Wiley and Dr. Richard A. Cloward, two college professors who are the intellectual leaders of the national Poverty/Rights Action Program.

The local community organizations have flooded the city's ghetto areas with leaflets explaining welfare eligibility requirements, minimum standards, appeals procedures.

Space Near Most Centers

The groups have set up information tables outside of most of the city's welfare centers, where prospective relief recipients are pre-interviewed and apprised of their legal rights. In at least two centers, the client groups were given space in the centers' intake sections, alongside the regular caseworkers.

The organizations also have provided hundreds of reliefers with legal assistance in preparing for "fair hearings," appeals based on complaints of unfair treatment.

One lawyer representing welfare clients reported that he has been winning special grants of $300 to $1,000 for each client who appealed on the ground that the Welfare Department has failed to enforce its minimum standards of assistance.

In most of the cases, the lawyer said, a mimeographed list prepared by one of the client groups was used to get the extra money from the department.

Miles & Miles of Red Tape

The State Department of Social Services, which conducts all fair hearings, has had to hire additional hearing examiners to cope with the massive new demand for hearings, and the snarl of red tape has backed up all the way to Albany.

Should Have It, I Want It

Organization Name

Date
Welfare Center
Address
No. in household 5 Adults 1 No. of Bedrooms 1
Ages Girls 2 Ages
Dear Sir:
I would like to request the following for my family. I would appreciate it if you would grant this request as quickly as possible, so that we may at least have the minimum standards that the Welfare regulations provide for:

Living room

On hand		Needed
0	Couch	1
0	Upholstered Chair	2
	Hi-Riser	
0	Straight Chairs	2
0	Table Lamp	2
	Table (DropLeaf)	
0	Table (end)	1
0	Lamp shades	2

Bedroom #1 #2 #3

On hand		Needed
	Double bed	
	Single bed	
12	Bunk bed	1
	Folding cot	
	Mirror	1 per bed room
	Wardrobe	1
	Chest of Drawers	
0	Rug	1

Kitchen

On hand		Needed
0	Table	1
0	Dinette Set	1 set
	Chairs(add.)	
	Cabinet(storage)	2

Household Linens

On hand		Needed
0	Bedspread	2
	Couch Cover	
	Blankets	
	Pillow	
	Sheets(double)	3
	Sheets(Single)	
	Sheeting (rubber)	
	Pillow cases	4 per person
	Hand towels	1 per person
	Washcloths	2 per person
	Kitchen towels	1
	Bath towels	2 per person
	Dish towels	
	tablecloth(cotton)	1
	Tablecloth(plastic)	1
	Curtains	4
	Shower curtains	1

Dishes

On hand		Needed
	Dinner plates	4 per person
	Soup bowls	
	Sauce dishes	4
	Cups and saucers	
	Serving bowl	

Cleaning & Laundry Equipment

On hand		Needed
0	Dustpan	1
3	Broom	1
0	Utility pail	1
0	Mop	1
1	Electric iron	1
0	Ironing board(pad&Cover	1
0	Whisk broom	1
0	Toilet brush	1

Cooking Equipment

On hand		Needed
	Double boiler	1
	Saucepan & cover	1
	Saucepot & cover	1
	Frying pan	1
	Roasting pan	1
	Muffin pan	2
	Mixing bowls	3
	Measuring cup,spoons	1
	Butter Dish & cover	1
	Paring Knife	1
	Spatula or turner	1
	Potato masher	1
	Egg beater	1
	Strainer	1
	Refrigerator dish	1
	Dish pan(plastic)	1
	Garbage can & cover	
	Shopping cart	1

General Furnishings

On hand		Needed
0	Window shades	4
0	Window screens	4
0	Curtain rods	4
0	Towel rack	1
0	Toilet tissue holder	1
0	Alarm clock	1
	Electric bulbs	4

Linoleums

On hand		Needed
	Living room	
	Bedroom#2	Bedroom#1 1
	Kitchen	Bedroom#3

Other

JAMAICA WELFARE LEAGUE
7-17 159th STREET
CA, NEW YORK 11433

ator

nter

DATE June 6, 1

owing clothing items for my family.
ld grant this request as quickly as
least the minimum standards that

Boys	Girls
raincoat(1)	coat
jacket (1)	spring (1)
light	raincoat(1)
suit (1)	sweater(1)
sweater(1)	blouse(1)
shirts (3)	skirt (1)
polo shirts(2)	polo shirts(2)
trousers(1)	slippers (1)
winter	dress coat
rousers	dressy
summer(1)	dungarees(1)
garees(1)	playshorts(1)
y shorts(2)	swim suit(1)
suit (1)	Panties (3)
rshirts(3)	girdle (3)
rshorts(3)	undershirts
as win(2)	pajamas,sum
as sum(2)	bras (2)
be (1)	bathrobe(1)
(3)	stockings
(1)	socks (3)
s(2)	slips (3)
(1)	shoes (1)
1)	sneakers(1)
hat(1)	rubbers (1)
(1)	winter coat(1)
1)	gym suit (1)
1)	pajamas-win
	hat (1)
	galoes
	sk. (1)
	ts(1)

robe (1)
s (1)
(3)
ers (1)
's (1)
es (1)

Mimeographed lists distributed by welfare client groups urge relief recipients to demand items they are entitled to under welfare laws. Reliefers who filled out above forms left few items unrequested.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1967

New York Times

Law

Welfare In Court

By FRED P. GRAHAM

WASHINGTON — Despite the time-honored admonitions that one should not bite the hand that feeds him nor look a gift horse in the mouth, welfare clients are suddenly suing welfare officials at a record clip.

Until two years ago, it was virtually unknown for a person on welfare to sue the officials who were paying for his bed and board. But since that time, in a number of test cases that have been brought in courts across the country, welfare recipients have challenged the way in which they are being treated by those who sign their relief checks.

Several forces appear to to have triggered this burst of litigation: the attention that the "war on poverty" focused on the plight of the poor, the availability of Federal funds to pay lawyers for poor people, and the creation of legal research units that specialize in welfare law—notably welfare law centers at Columbia and New York Universities.

Request for Stay

The results were apparent last week when Alabama authorities asked Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black to stay a lower court decision that had declared unconstitutional the state's controversial "substitute father" welfare rule.

This regulation—and similar ones in 18 other states—denies welfare benefits to the children of women who engage in extramarital sexual relations, on the theory that any man who enjoys such domestic privileges should pay the household bills.

By invoking this rule, Alabama had cut its aid to dependent children lists by almost one-fourth in three years. Now that a court has ruled that the state cannot punish the children for the sins of the parents, the state claims that it cannot meet its other welfare obligations.

It is appealing to the Supreme Court, in the first high Court test of the "substitute father" rule.

A number of other welfare test cases are now before lower courts and are certain to be appealed to the Supreme Court, regardless of which side wins.

Test Cases

They include a claim that a welfare recipient must be given a hearing before benefits are revoked, a charge that mothers of young children on relief cannot be forced to accept full-time work, suits that challenge the right of welfare workers to pry into clients' premises and private lives, and a case that questions the right of welfare officials to make a welfare client pay back the amount of his benefits if he ever becomes solvent.

Taken together, these and other pending cases assert a "bill of rights" for welfare clients.

The theory is that although the Constitution does not require that the Government provide welfare, once a system is established, clients have a right to receive their benefits without interruption except for good cause and after a fair hearing, free of intrusion by welfare officials into their private lives, and without discrimination.

These are novel assertions, and as the shibboleths of American folklore suggest, are alien to the national traditions of self-reliance and free enterprise.

Yet the clients are winning almost all of their cases in the lower courts—perhaps because there are no precedents to bind the judges—and it is already apparent that, barring a stunning series of reversals in the Supreme Court, the welfare clients' "bill of rights" will be transformed from a theory to a fact in a few years.

Binghamton, N.Y.

Welfare Mothers Campaign

THIS SECTION SAYS . . .—Officers of recently formed Binghamton Mothers Welfare Rights Group discuss Social Security bill passed by House and now being considered by Senate.

Left to right: Mrs. Jessie Goulet, publicity chairman; Mrs. Eleanor Gray, recording secretary; Mrs. Elaine M. Hughes, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Dolores H. Monta, chairman. Mrs. Kathy Krise, not shown, is treasurer.

By PHIL BOOKMAN

A couple of dozen Binghamton mothers are campaigning against what they regard as unfair proposals, at the federal level, to restrict welfare benefits.

The women say they have joined together to protect their rights, as Americans, to bread and justice for themselves and their children.

Their organization is the Binghamton Mothers Welfare Rights Group, which this week held its first public meeting in a basement room of North Presbyterian Church in Chenango Street. The members are recipients of public assistance.

The group was formed in conjunction with the national Poverty-Rights Action Center, founded in Washington last May.

THEY ARE QUIET, but serious and determined.

If their goals of bread and justice are in essence simple ones, the paths leading to them, according to the mothers, are complex.

As they explain, they are not willing to sell their rights as American citizens — the rights to dignity, justice and democracy — for the food, clothing and shelter that age, disability, the absence or death of the family breadwinner, lack of economic opportunity or society have made them unable to provide.

Approximately 25 persons attended the meeting, about half of whom were advisers. With three members joining this week, there are now 25 members in the organization. Chairman of the group is Mrs. Dolores H. Monta.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss and take possible action on the administration's Social Security bill with its controversial welfare proposals. The bill already has passed the House of Representatives by a wide margin and currently is being considered by the Senate.

It was decided by the group to conduct a neighborhood campaign urging the public to write to representatives in Washington to work for defeat of the bill

The meetings of the organization are held every other Monday at the North Presbyterian Church.

DETROIT'S DAILY EXPRESS

'Humane' Social Legislation Is Goal of Picketing Mothers

by SHARON NELTON
Daily Express Women's Editor

An ADC mother broke into tears when a man, walking through a welfare demonstration at the Federal Building Tuesday, hurled an insult implying she and the other mothers were nothing but factories for the production of illegitimate children.

"My children are legitimate," she said. "Too many people think that our children are illegitimate and it is not true."

Her own husband had deserted her and left her with the care of three youngsters.

"I was working, and I want to work again," she said.

* * *

SHE AND ABOUT 30 other mothers from families on Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) were joining in a nationwide effort to gain "humane" social legislation. This, they said, would include their right to decide it is in the best interest of their children if the mothers remain in the home or take jobs outside.

Tuesday's demonstration was one of many such demonstrations in cities across the country, mobilized by the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), an organization of welfare recipients.

Locally, the welfare rights demonstration was also supported by professional social workers belonging to the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) and the Welfare Employees' Union (WEU). Representatives of these groups marched in line with the ADC mothers, carrying signs with such slogans as "Let Mothers Stay Home" and "Let's Fight for Our Rights."

* * *

CURRENT chief goal of the rights organizations is to see that the welfare portions of the House-approved Social Security amendments do not become law.

The version of the bill that came out of the Senate earlier in November is more acceptable to the mothers.

But the mothers and the social workers supporting them do not feel it goes far enough.

NASW, she said, would uphold the changes made in the Senate Finance Committee's bill.

"But we think the Senate has not gone far enough in removing some of the repressive amendments made by the House," Miss Mahaffey continued. She said that the House bill, for example, made it much easier for children to be removed from their own homes and put in foster care--which, she added, would be more expensive than rehabilitative services for families and would exert emotional hardships on welfare families.

* * *

THE MOTHERS would like to see Congress adopt what they consider a more humane and less punitive amendment proposed by Sen. Robert Kennedy, D-N.Y. and co-sponsored by Michigan Democratic Senator Philip A. Hart.

"I think legislators should spend their trying to get better facilities than anti-human facilities," said Mrs. Marjorie Coklow, 3950 Field.

Express Photos by VINCE WITE

Mrs. Mamie Blakely: Marching for mothers' rights.

Support Your Welfare Rights Movement

Sell NWRO GREETING CARDS

The beautiful NWRO Greeting Card is now ready for shipment. You can buy it in quantity and sell it to raise money for your group. Friends of the welfare rights movement can use the card to begin to educate other folks and recruit them as supporters of NWRO.

Sell NWRO

national welfare leaders newsletter

The twice monthly NWRO Newsletter is a "must" for keeping up with the action in welfare rights. $10.00 a year to anyone--even welfare departments are subscribing!!

For each subscription that NWRO members sell we will credit your group with $2.00 towards your group's NWRO dues OR for each two subscriptions you sell we will give a free subscription to a member of your group.

— GROUP ORDER FORM —

National Welfare Rights Organization GREETING CARDS

GROUP _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

OFFICER PLACING THIS ORDER _____

NUMBER OF CARDS _____

AT $ _____ PER _____

ENCLOSED PLEASE FIND $ _____

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER.

NWRO GROUPS
100 for $5.00
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OTHER GROUPS
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NWRO national welfare leaders newsletter

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National Headquarters of the
Welfare Rights Movement
1713 R Street, N.W.
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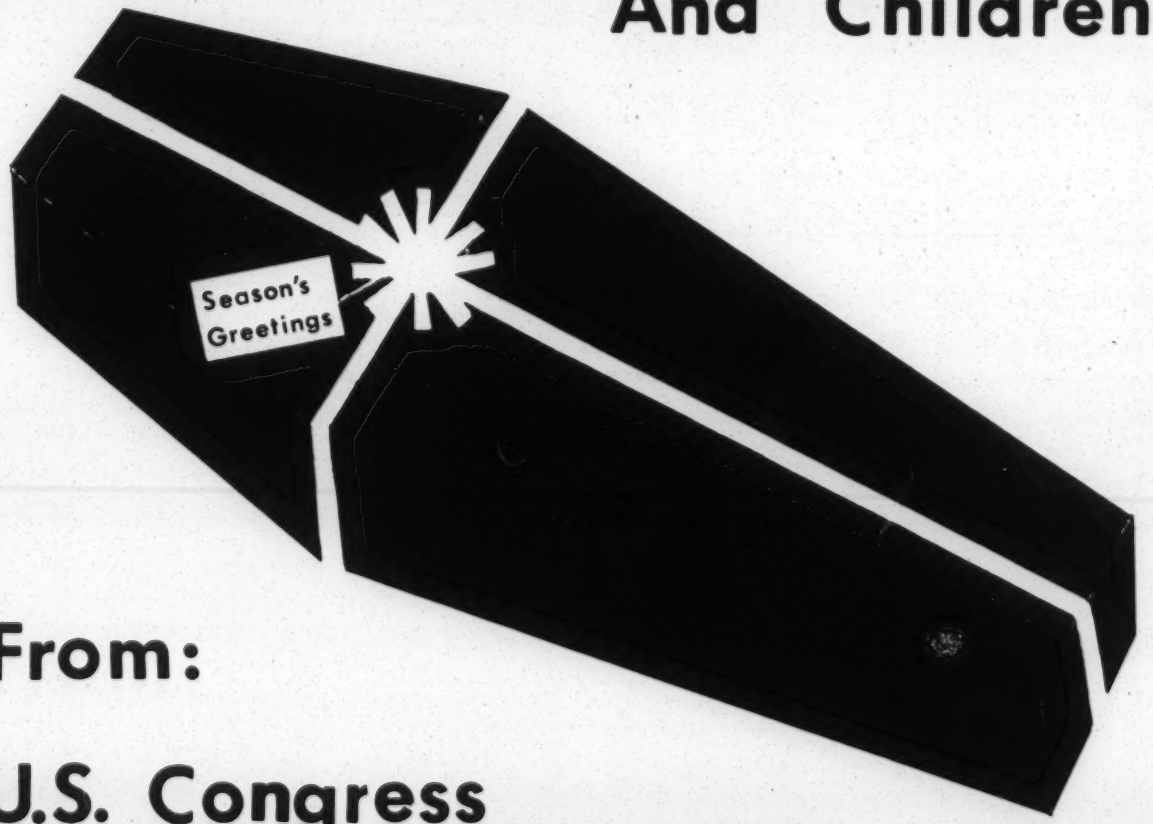
National Welfare Leaders Newsletter Vol.1 No.23 December 8, 1967

To: Welfare Mothers And Children



From: U.S. Congress

NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION
Headquarters: Poverty/Rights Action Center
1713 R St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009 · 462-8804

NATIONAL **WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION**

December 29, 1967

Today NWRO sent the following telegram to President Johnson:

> The NWRO has been fighting the 17th-Century welfare provisions of the 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act ever since they were introduced last July. We tried to tell Congress how this bill would increase the hardship and suffering of 5 million women and children on AFDC and how it would deny welfare aid to millions more who are desperately poor but receive no aid at all; we tried to tell them how this bill gives federal sanction to lawless and irresponsible welfare practices which starve, degrade and harass the residents of the ghettoes and barrios of our cities.
>
> But few Congressmen listened. We now ask you to veto this bill. Thirty million poor people are watching you. If you sign this bill we will know you, too, are selling us out.

I am sure the President plans to sell us out. What will happen then?

H.E.W., The Labor Department, state and local welfare departments will then begin to carry out this cruel attack on poor people.

Welfare rights groups must continue to fight against this terrible law. We must inform ourselves and all poor people of our rights and learn the ways to resist this attack.

Congress, in passing this bill, and the President, by signing it, are telling welfare recipients and all poor people: "ORGANIZE OR STARVE"!

LET'S ORGANIZE!!

George A. Wiley

George A. Wiley, Director
National Headquarters
Welfare Rights Organization

National Headquarters
POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION
1713 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
Tel: (202) 462-8804
George A. Wiley, Director

NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION

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Los Angeles, Calif.

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Washington, D.C.

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Congress Passes Anti-Welfare Bill

On December 15 the Senate passed the Anti-Welfare Bill and sent it to the President. The House had passed the final version of the bill on December 13th.

As soon as the President signs the bill it will become law (but most of it will not go into effect until July). A complete summary of the bill is enclosed in this newsletter.

All of the important Senate amendments fought for by Senator Robert F. Kennedy were knocked out of the final bill agreed upon by the House-Senate Conference Committee. Led by Congressman Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas, the House Ways and Means Committee representatives made the Senate accept all of the major original House provisions. The final bill thus:

1. Includes the freeze on AFDC Federal aid.
2. Does not protect mothers against forced work.
3. Does not require states to aid children of unemployed fathers and adds narrow and harsh eligibility rules for AFDC-UP.
4. Includes new punative provisions on neglect and illegitimacy and encourages more use of foster home placement.

KENNEDY FILIBUSTER FIZZLES

As soon as the Conference Committee report was released Robert Kennedy attacked it on the Senate floor and began lining up support to try to defeat the bill or force the Conference Committee to accept the Senate amendments.

Congress was rushing to go home for Christmas and for a while it seemed that the Kennedy forces might be able to hold up the bill until Congress returned in January.

Their strategy was simple--just keep talking and keep the Senate from voting--a liberal filibuster. The newspapers called it a "minibuster'. But Senator Russell Long of Louisiana is an experienced filibuster man. He has filibustered against civil rights bills and knows how it is done. While the Kennedy forces weren't watching and with only three Senators on the floor he cleverly called for a vote and the bill was passed. Oh, there was a lot of talk about how Long had "broken his promise" and not acted like a gentleman but he didn't worry about that--he flew off to Louisiana for Christmas and left the liberals crying and complaining.

When a formal vote was taken the next day 14 Senators voted against the bill on principle. And there was talk of trying to change the bad welfare provisions when Congress returns in January, but for 1967 the battle was over and the poor were the losers.

What They Said About The Bill

SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY
*a disgrace to all Americans
*a retreat into brutality

FREDERICK SOLOMON, M.D.
Medical Committee on Human Rights
*unspeakably cruel

SENATOR FRED HARRIS
*at the next session we shall look for every opportunity to repeal the anti-poor provisions

GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT, AFL-CIO
*absolutely inadequate
*deplorable attack on the poor
*a travesty on America's image as a compassionate and humanitarian nation

NEW YORK TIMES
*a harsh assault on the welfare...of the country's poorest families

SENATOR WALTER MONDALE
*one of the worst pieces of legislation I've seen in a long time

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS
*We cannot and will not turn our backs on the millions who would become victims of the harsh repressive welfare features of the bill.

CONG. WILBUR D. MILLS
We are not striking at anybody but there is a desire to help

SENATOR RUSSELL LONG
*I am very much pleased
*This bill must rank with the greatest of Social Security bills

SENATOR ROBERT BYRD
*a good bill
*positive, progressive legislation

MARY SWITZER. HEW WELFARE HEAD
*I am absolutely committed to make this bill work

HONOR ROLL: SENATORS WHO VOTED AGAINST THE BILL OR PAIRED AGAINST THE BILL:

Brooke, Mass.	Mansfield, Mont.
Case, N.J.	Metcalf, Calif.
Clark, Pa.	Mondale, Minn.
Gruening, Alaska	Nelson, Wisc.
Harris, Okla.	Proxmire, Wisc.
Hart, Mich.	Tydings, Md.
Javits, N.Y.	Williams, N.J.
Kennedy, Mass.	Yarborough, Tex.
Kennedy. N.Y.	

REP. BURKE OF MASSACHUSETTS was the only Congressman to vote against the bill because of the anti-welfare provisions.

WASHINGTON REPORT

An appeal to veto the Social Security bill

The President,
The White House,
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear President Johnson:

December 15, 1967

In behalf of the members of the UAW I am writing to urge you to veto HR 12080, the Social Security Amendments of 1967, and to request the Congress to pass a new bill which would provide more adequate benefits and eliminate the punitive and regressive welfare amendments which are part of the measure now on your desk.

I make this recommendation only after careful consideration of its implications. I recognize as I know you do, the critical need to improve the cash benefits for the elderly, the disabled and the others who are almost wholly dependent upon Social Security payments for their existence. **The adoption of this bill, however, will not meet their needs in a significant way. It will prove to be a cruel disappointment, for our senior citizens will not receive the increases they need and deserve.**

Raising the minimum benefit from $44 to $55 and providing for a 13% across-the-board increase in benefits falls substantially short of your own recommendations to the Congress and objective estimates of what is really required to bring the elderly poor to a minimum decent level of existence, as I have outlined in testimony to both the House and the Senate.

In terms of purchasing power—what our aged citizens can buy with their 1968 dollars—the cash benefits provided by the bill on your desk represent a 4% increase compared with the 1954 benefits.

When one considers the fact that nearly two-thirds of single people past 65 and a third of those living in family units are classed as "poor or near poor," a 4% increase will obviously be nothing more than tokenism.

The decision of the House-Senate conferees to reject the Senate passed proposal and instead to raise the Social Security contributions base to only $7800 continues the regressive nature of Social Security taxes. Those who can least afford to, workers with low incomes, will be paying proportionately more of their wages in Social Security taxes than the middle and upper income groups who are far more able to pay the increases.

Mr. President, this bill is an important test of the firmness of this nation's determination to stamp out poverty in America. You have forcefully and properly expressed the country's concern over the growing alienation of millions of the poor in the ghettos and slums in America. Those who are close to the problems, mayors of our major cities, representatives of the poor, social scientists and social welfare experts have testified that the welfare provisions of this bill are likely to add to the alienation and resentment of those whom this bill aims to help.

To cite only two of a number of the welfare provisions which are repugnant to those who wish to help and not punish the poor:

1. Imposing a freeze on Federal matching funds for aid to families with dependent children so that the proportion of children in each state cannot exceed that of January 1, 1968 defies rational analysis. Certainly no serious claim can be made that such a proposal will reduce illegitimacy or poverty. Rather it appears to be aimed at saving Federal funds by punishing the unfortunate children or passing on new welfare payment burdens to the states and counties, which in many instances they cannot or will not assume.

2. Requiring that mothers of children in AFDC programs, as a condition of continuing to receive relief, be required to go to work or take training for work is a negative and self-defeating device. Denying these mothers the right to free choice as to whether or not they shall be separated from their children can only further underline the growing belief held by many of the poor that they are in fact second class citizens. The proposal turns its back on a much older and more fundamental law—that children, particularly those without fathers, need the care of a mother and homemaker if they are to grow into decent and constructive citizens. The discretionary provisions in this measure will not be meaningful for those states where welfare standards are lowest, and administration harshest, are least likely to grant the exceptions the measure permits.

Mr. President, I am keenly aware of the serious implications of a veto. **This, however, is a bad bill. It cannot be defended on either economic or moral grounds.**

Certainly none of us wishes to see the elderly deprived of added cash income.

A veto need not deprive them of new benefits.

On the contrary, it would be an act of courage and of faith that the Congress would and could promptly enact a new measure with more adequate benefits and without the provisions which will punish and further alienate the poor of our country.

Walter P. Reuther, President,
INTERNATIONAL UNION UAW

Welfare: The Question

Last July, the Social Workers Union, Local 535, and the ACLU of Southern California joined forces to poll the 2800 social workers in Los Angeles county. The questionnaires returned by 436 of the workers constituted the first survey of the day-to-day practices of an enormous bureaucracy which disburses $368 million each year to more than 222,000 cases. From the returns—which represent an unbiased cross-section of all social workers in the county—it was clear that there was an enormous variation from office to office, and even within offices in the routine treatment of applicants and recipients. Despite a shelf-long library of regulations, departmental memos, laws, and guidelines, the bureaucracy of welfare was unable to assure equal treatment of recipients.

The life of a welfare recipient is precarious. The monthly budgets are tightly figured, barely adequate grants based upon family size.

Emergencies—an illness, a broken refrigerator, an unexpected school expense—are magnified out of all proportion. When no money has been budgeted, even the few dollars required to buy gym clothes, or replace broken dishes are hard to come by.

To meet these emergencies and unexpected, unbudgeted drains upon limited incomes, case workers may secure special grants for the recipient. The clients' welfare must be jeopardized before the special need will be met, and to a very large extent, the granting of the need is discretionary with the case worker and his immediate supervisors.

This discretion reflects the individual interpretation of the policy manuals by the administration of 28 local offices of the county's Department of Public Social Services, as well as unwritten policies reflecting the attitude of the highest echelon.

If the granting of needs is discretionary, and such needs in some instances are never met, there is no constitutional issue involved. But when discretion is arbitrary, and decidedly variable from office to office, when a need for a bed will be met at almost always in one office, and rarely in another, then serious constitutional issues are raised.

The workers were asked in the questionnaire: "In cases where the clients' welfare requires it, I am able to budget allowances for the following special needs." There followed a list of 23 separate items for which funds may be granted by the Department of Public Social Services (DPSS). These 23 ranged from such necessities as refrigerator and stove to money to attend remedial and trade schools. Five of the 23 special needs on the list were of a sort which would eventually remove a family or an individual from the welfare rolls: tuition to remedial schools; tuition to trade schols; tuition to college; school expenses, books, and supplies; work clothes, union dues, and tools for a definite job; and car or truck purchase if necessary for employment or a rehabilitation plan.

Twenty-Three Items

For each of the 23 items, the workers were to indicate whether they "always," "sometimes" or "never" obtained approval from supervisors for the special need. Then for each office—21 of the 28 DPSS offices were represented in the returns—a "chance-of-obtaining" percentage was computed.*

Clearly, some offices of the DPSS are more "liberal" in interpreting need, do so in a more uniform fashion, and would seem to more fully comply with the law. Comparatively, some offices would seem to be niggardly, the decisions of supervisors made with an eye upon the personal philosophy or whims of office directors.

Much depends upon the district in which a welfare recipient lives. She would have between a 15 percent chance of having the funding request for a refrigerator granted in the Beverly office to a 92.3 percent chance of having that same need met in the Watts office.

If she needed a bed and lived in El Monte, she would have a one in four chance of receiving enough money to buy a used bed. But if she lived in Watts, she would have better than a nine in ten chance of obtaining money for that used bed.

If she needed blankets for the bed and she lived in the area serviced by the Glendale office, she would have a 16.7 percent chance of obtaining the needed blankets. If she lived in that portion of the South-Central ghetto served by the Holmes and Gage sub-office, she would have approval than 62.5 percent of the time.

These were not the most extreme ranges in the percentages. From office to office, policy varied as much as 75 percent in the granting of supplementary funds to buy used washing machines. The range was even more extreme, 77.3 percent, in providing money for refrigerators; 81.3

*The method of computation is described in the full report. The range in variation discussed here is actually an adjusted range, the highest and lowest scores eliminated so as to minimize the chance that all of the workers from a given office responded in a manner hostile to DPSS administration. In fact, the actual range is significantly greater than reported here.

# of Unequal Protection

percent in providing money for child care if a mother sought to take a job or attend job-training classes; 61.3 percent in requests for funds to buy a used kitchen table and chairs.

These are not frills, or even the amenities of life. These are basic items required to create just the semblance of a normal home. While the DPSS spent some $3 million in county funds during 1966 for these special needs, the money was hardly spent frivolously, nor fraudulently. (Despite the hue and cry about welfare fraud, the rate of fraud runs much less than one percent. The county spends a good deal more on fraud detection than is ever recovered from those who have actually defrauded the welfare department.)

Based upon the 436 responses, these "chance-of-obtaining" ranges and the average for the 21 offices, item by item, were computed:

Refrigerator	15.0 - 92.3	58.0
Stove	16.5 - 92.3	57.8
Washing Machine	8.4 - 83.5	46.9
Dryer	3.1 - 50.0	24.9
Bed	25.0 - 95.9	60.1
Chairs and Table	16.5 - 77.8	45.3
Dishes	23.1 - 75.0	39.4
Blankets	16.7 - 62.5	43.4
Telephone	10.0 - 60.4	36.7
Special Diets (Medical)	33.3 - 93.8	72.2
Housekeeper	50.0 - 87.5	74.9
Attendant Care	55.0 - 87.5	72.9
Child Care	10.0 - 91.3	65.1
Transportation	66.8 - 86.9	78.3
Tuition	3.3 - 72.1	45.7
Tuition (Trade School)	12.5 - 66.0	39.9
Tuition (College)	7.2 - 59.5	29.0
School Expenses	9.0 - 76.9	43.1
Moving Expenses	31.3 - 87.5	50.5
Work Clothes, Union Dues	33.3 - 85.3	58.4
Car or Truck	20.0 - 74.5	47.8
Car Repair	33.0 - 75.0	48.4
Medical Not Covered by Medi-Cal	12.5 - 58.4	34.1

The narrowest gap, or the item which reflects the most uniform practice throughout the county, is in providing money for emergency transportation—to a doctor, to look for work, to visit a DPSS office. There the spread is but 20.1 percent, and the practice would seem to be one of providing these needed moneys throughout the county. The county-wide average, at any rate, is 78.3 percent, the highest such average among the 23 items about which information was sought in the questionnaire.

Subjective Evaluation

These figures, based on specific answers, are reinforced by the more subjective evaluation sought in the final question: "In securing approval for special needs, office policy seems to vary not at all——, from supervisor to supervisor slightly ——, or greatly——." Only 7.7 percent of the 332 who answered the question could say the *intra-office* policy varied not at all. Against these 26 social workers are the 124 (37.6 percent) who said office policy varied slightly from supervisor to supervisor, and the 182 (54.8 percent) who said it varied greatly.

Not only will a client's welfare depend upon where he lives, but which social worker and supervisor he will draw. If the supervisor is unduly harsh, the recipient may go without a bed, or make the old one do until she is transferred to another case worker with a different supervisor. (Such transfers happen frequently due to the high turnover in the DPSS.) Then, with the new supervisor's approval, she may get the needed bed.

Life on welfare is a grim, close-to-the-margin existence keyed to the twice-monthly checks when for a few days the family eats well. That existence is not made easier by the vagaries and whims of departmental administrators who giveth and taketh away anonymously, arbitrarily, and probably illegally.

The welfare system is a bureaucratic maze of regulations and varying administrative policies confusing to social worker, administrator and recipient alike. It is hardly made less confusing by the idiosyncratic interpretations of individual supervisors.

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In The Nation

The Right to Income

By TOM WICKER

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23—A lot of people suddenly are talking about the welfare program, but few of them agree on what to do about it. That is because they do not agree on what is wrong with it.

Congress, apparently, thinks the welfare program costs too much. Its new amendments to the basic Social Security laws require mandatory work-training for mothers receiving aid for their dependent children, and freeze the level of Federal participation in the dependent children program. These are efforts to cut costs, not to do anything about the needs of poor people.

The Republican Coordinating Committee, representing a party which has seldom shown anything but indifference to the welfare program, has discovered that in the hands of the Democrats, welfare is now in an "ugly crisis of failure." This, to judge from the "new approach" the committee outlined this week, is because the program does not do enough to get poor people on somebody' private payroll, and therefore "open wide the doors of participation in our affluent society."

Ford Executive's View

With more perception than either Congress or the Republicans, President Arjay Miller of the Ford Motor Company recently endorsed the idea of a negative income tax as an alternative to welfare. His major complaint about the welfare program was that it does not do the necessary job; less than eight million needy people get any help from it, although there are perhaps 30 million low-income Americans.

Despite Congressional concern about aid to dependent children, for instance, only about 1.2 million poor families headed by females are assisted by A.D.C., although there are at least two million such families in the country.

But the trouble with welfare is broader even than Miller suggested in his notable speech. Not only do miserly eligibility requirements prevent many of the poor from receiving assistance; grudging rules of administration also subject the poor to such indignities that many of them refuse help rather than submit to them; and although Congress in the new bill permitted recipients to retain some of what they might earn for themselves, the program still impairs their incentives to help themselves.

Above all, however, the amount of aid that is given to eligible persons, and for which their behavior is so strictly policed, is pitifully inadequate and a disgrace to those who offer it. It is a miserly dole, in most states, that barely enables the poor to hold body and soul together, and even for this subsistence living they are investigated like criminals against the possibility that someone may "cheat" the taxpayers.

Thus, neither Congress nor the Republican Coordinating Committee nor Arjay Miller have come to grips with the full range of what needs to be done, what ought to be done and what could be done.

Continuing Need Noted

Really compassionate and effective reforms to do something about poverty in America would have to recognize, first, that large numbers of the poor are always going to have to be helped. Whether for physical or mental reasons, because of environmental factors, for whatever cause, they cannot keep pace with an industrialized, technological society. Thus, the aim of getting everyone off the welfare rolls and into "participation in our affluent society" is unreal and a pipe dream.

Second, both for these and for those others who may, through job training and other assistance, ultimately become self-sufficient, there ought to be a decent standard of living. This is not only a matter of human compassion; it is also in itself "an incentive" because people who are well-fed, well-clothed and able to take advantage of whatever opportunities exist are more likely to "improve themselves" than those in grinding and hopeless poverty.

Finally, this decent standard of living ought to be made available not just to an eligible few but to everyone, and without degrading restrictions and police-like investigations.

Enlightened Program Possible

These principles would create something like a "right to income" for everyone and that is the only way, in the long run, that poverty can be eliminated in America. And curiously enough, even though Congress appears to have moved in the opposite direction in its last session, a more enlightened welfare program of this kind does begin to seem vaguely possible.

The sympathy of a major business figure like Arjay Miller is bound to carry weight. The Republicans, at least, are now talking about improving welfare rather than cutting it back. Proposals like the negative income tax devised by James Tobin and Joseph Pechman are beginning to get intense study. Working from the viewpoint of the poor themselves, the National Welfare Rights movement is active in 60 or so big cities, where the problem is most acute.

The difficulty remains immense. A "right to income" still seems to most Americans a wicked violation of the ethic of self-reliance upon which a pioneer nation once prided itself. But the inescapable truth is that the day of the self-reliant pioneer is at least a half-century in the past.

WRO's in *ACTION*

★ BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

The newly established Brooklyn Welfare Action Council (a coalition of more than 25 local groups) demonstrated for special Christmas grants. More than 175 recipients picketed, marched, and sang outside Brooklyn welfare centers and then held their own "Christmas Party" sit-in on December 18. At midnight officials gave up and 15 BWAC members got emergency checks totaling more than $1200! Other recipients served notice that they will spend rent money for a decent Christmas for their children and BWAC groups plan action to force the welfare department to replace this money in January.

★ DETROIT, MICHIGAN

On December 9, 100 members of the Westside Mothers confronted Wayne County Welfare officials to demand money for winter clothing. "How can you buy a winter coat with $5.00 that has already been spent for heat?" they asked. Follow up with requests for fair hearings was planned.

★ OHIO

Leaders from Ohio welfare rights groups met recently with an official representative of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to protest unequal treatment of OHIO welfare recipients and to present complaints about Ohio's failure to abide by federal fair hearings rules. NWRO Headquarters helped set up this meeting and NWRO General Counsel Carl Rachlin attended. Full followup pressure on HEW is planned to see that they make Ohio obey the law!

★ WASHINGTON, D.C.

National Welfare Rights Organization Director George A. Wiley, speaking before public welfare officials from all over the country at the American Public Welfare Association conference told it like it is: "You people are the enemy".

★ CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The T.W.O. Social Welfare Union went to the Illinois state capitol at Springfield to testify before the legislative Advisory Committee on Public Aid. Mrs. Annie Jackson, the group's president, called for "a public aid system meant for humans, not animals." State Representative Robert E. Mann got the message, "The problems of the poor will not advance through wishful thinking or punative legislation. Meanwhile, the poor are organizing in order to have a more effective voice in Springfield and Washington. Why not!"

FIGHTING THE SYSTEM FOR FUN AND PROFIT

$23,000 in Back Pay

An Alameda county social worker who once refused to join in pre-dawn bed checks of welfare recipients, yesterday received a check for almost $23,000 from his employer.

Benny Max Parrish was fired in January, 1963, when he refused to check on recipients. Yesterday, the Alameda County Welfare Department paid him wages for the 50 months since his dismissal.

Parrish had appealed the firing in a four-year legal battle. A State Supreme Court decision announced last March ordered his reinstatement and the payment of $22,921.78 in lost wages.

The 33-year-old social worker had refused to join in early morning raids to determine if "unauthorized" men were living with recipients. Such raids are now forbidden by State and Federal laws.

BENNY PARISH
He refused orders

Berkeley attorney Al Bendich, who fought the legal battles, presented the check to Parrish on the department's steps, at 401 Broadway in Oakland.

"Parrish proved that one man can vindicate the rights of everybody," said Bendich. "A public employee does not have to take orders without question."

Parrish, who has a wife and child, said he had been unemployed or about two years since the dismissal. He will resign from the welfare department and return to school, he said.

SHOW THIS CLIPPING TO SOCIAL WORKERS WHO TELL YOU "I AM JUST DOING MY JOB." REMIND THEM OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THE NAZIS WHO HAD THIS ATTITUDE. SHOW THEM WHAT THEY COULD ACCOMPLISH IF THEY HAD COURAGE, GUTS, AND BACKBONE LIKE BENNY PARRISH!

NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING SET FOR FEBRUARY 3-4 in CHICAGO

The NWRO National Coordinating Committee will meet in Chicago the weekend of February 3-4. The National Coordinating Committee is made up of NWRO officers and one representative from each state with an NWRO affiliate group.

New welfare rights groups may make special arrangements to send representatives to participate in the briefing and training workshops which will be held at the same time as NCC sessions. Contact National Headquarters for information.

NOW!

National Welfare Leaders Newsletter

ACROSS THE NATION WELFARE RECIPIENTS ARE ORGANIZING for adequate income, dignity, justice, and democracy. The result: a dynamic, growing building movement and the first nationwide organization of poor people since the 1930's--the National Welfare Rights Organization.

AS THE MOVEMENT'S KEY COMMUNICATIONS LINK, the NWRO's National Welfare Leaders Newsletter brings up-to-the-moment information to welfare rights leaders and supporters.

PUBLISHED TWICE MONTHLY FROM THE NATION's CAPITOL, EACH ISSUE features:

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--in-depth analyses of important welfare issues;
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The 1967 Anti-Welfare Social Security Amendments Law

A SUMMARY

National Welfare Rights Organization Headquarters: Poverty Rights Action Center
1713 R Street Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20009 Telephone: (202) 462-8804

90th Congress
1st Session

DECEMBER 1967

SUMMARY OF

PUBLIC WELFARE

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

JOINT PUBLICATION

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

OF THE

U.S. SENATE

AND

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

OF THE

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Prepared by the staffs of the Senate Committee on Finance and the House Committee on Ways and Means

PUBLIC WELFARE AMENDMENTS

Work Incentive Program for AFDC Families

The amendments establish a new work incentive program for families receiving AFDC payments to be administered by the Department of Labor. The State welfare agencies would determine who was appropriate for such referral but would not include (1) children who are under age 16 or going to school; (2) any person with illness, incapacity, advanced age or remoteness from a project that precludes effective participation in work or training; or (3) persons whose substantially continuous presence in the home is required because of the illness or incapacity of another member of the household. For all those referred the welfare agency will assure necessary child care arrangements for the children involved. An individual who desires to participate in work or training would be considered for assignment and, unless specifically disapproved, would be referred to the program.

People referred by the State welfare agency to the Department of Labor would be handled under three priorities. Under priority I, the Secretary of Labor, through the over 2,000 U.S. employment offices, would make arrangements for as many as possible to move into regular employment and would establish an employability plan for each other person.

Under priority II all those found suitable would receive training appropriate to their needs and up to $30 a month incentive payment. After training as many as possible would be referred to regular employment.

Under priority III, the employment office would make arrangements for special work projects to employ those who are found to be unsuitable for the training and those for whom no jobs in the regular economy can be found at the time. These special projects would be set up by agreement between the employment office and public agencies or nonprofit private agencies organized for a public service purpose. It would be required that workers receive at least the minimum wage (but not necessarily the prevailing wage) if the work they perform is covered under a minimum wage statute (and in applying the minimum wage law, their welfare grants would be counted). Moreover, the work performed under special projects must not result in the displacement of regularly employed workers and would have to be of a type which, under the circumstances in the local situation, would not otherwise be performed by regular employees.

The special work projects would work like this: The State welfare agency would make payments to the employment office equal to: (1) the welfare benefit the family would have been entitled to, or, if smaller, (2) a portion of the welfare benefit equal to 80 percent of the rates which the individual receives on the special project.

The Secretary of Labor would arrange for the participants to work in a special work project. The amount of the funds paid by him into the project would depend on the terms he negotiates with the agency sponsoring the project. The amount of funds put into the projects by the employment office could not be larger than the funds sent to the Secretary of Labor by the State welfare agency.

The extent to which the State welfare expenditures might be reduced would depend upon the negotiating efforts of the Secretary of Labor. If he is successful in placing these workers in work projects where the pay is relatively good, the contribution the State must make into the employment pool would be less and there would be a savings to both Federal and State Governments.

Employees who work under these agreements would have their situations reevaluated by the employment office at regular intervals (at least every 6 months) for the purpose of making it possible for as many such employees as possible to move into regular employment.

An important facet of this suggested work program is that in most instances the recipient would no longer receive a check from the welfare agency. Instead, he would receive a payment from an employer for services performed. The entire check would be subject to income, social security, and unemployment compensation taxes, thus assuring that the individual would be accruing rights and responsibility just as other working people do. In those cases where an employee receives wages which are insufficient to raise his income to a level equal to the grant he would have received had he not been in the project plus 20 percent of his wages, a welfare check equal to the difference would be paid. In these instances the supplemental check would be issued by the welfare agency and sent to the worker.

A refusal to accept work or undertake training without good cause by a person who has been referred would be reported back to the State agency by the Labor Department; and, unless such person returns to the program within 60 days(during which he would receive counseling), his welfare payment would be terminated. Protective and vendor payments would be continued, however, for the dependent children to protect them from the faults of others.

The States would have to meet 20 percent, in cash or in kind, of the total cost of the program (excluding amounts paid on special work projects, priority III, which would come from the employer and the transferred welfare payments).

Earnings Exemption

Under the present aid to families with dependent children program, the States, at their option, may disregard not more than $50 per month of earned income of each dependent child under age 18 but not more than $150 per month in the same home in computing the family's income for public welfare purposes. The States also have the option of disregarding $5 of income from any source before applying the child's earned income exemption.

Under the amendments earned income of each child recipient who is a full-time student or is a part time student not working full time, will be excluded in determining need for assistance. In the case of any other child or an adult relative the first $30 of earned income of the group plus ⅓ of the remainder of such income for the month would also be exempt. The prior provision exempting $50 a month of a child's income would be superseded by these provisions.

Dependent Children of Unemployed Fathers

The amendments provide that under State programs of aid to families with dependent children of unemployed parents, Federal matching would be available only for the children of unemployed fathers. Under present law States may include children on the basis of the unemployment of mothers, as well as fathers. The amendments also provide that the Secretary will prescribe standards for the determination of what constitutes unemployment. The term is defined by the States under present law.

Under the amendments, State plans would have to provide for the payment of assistance when a child's father has not been employed for at least 30 days prior to receiving aid, if he has not refused a bona fide offer of employment or training without good cause, and if he has had a recent and substantial connection with the labor force. Assistance would be denied if the father is not currently registered with the public employment office in the State, if he refuses without good cause to undertake work or training, or refuses without good

cause to accept employment, of if he is receiving unemployment compensation.

The States would have to refer the fathers to work incentive programs with 30 days after first providing them with welfare assistance.

States which are operating programs for the children of unemployed parents as provided for under present law would not have to add any additional children or families as a result of the new provisions prior to July 1, 1969. However, the amendment establishing criteria for persons covered would be effective January 1, 1968, and no Federal matching would be provided for persons who do not meet these criteria.

Limitation on Federal Matching in AFDC Program

The amendments sets a limitation on Federal financial participation in the AFDC program related to the proportion of the child population under age 18 aided because of the absence from the home of a parent. Federal financial participation would not be available for any excess above the percentage of children of absent parents who received aid to the child population under age 18 in the State as of January 1, 1968.

This limitation will be effective after June 30, 1968.

Federal Payments for Foster Home Care of Dependent Children

Effective July 1, 1969, States would have to provide AFDC payments for children who are placed in a foster home if in the 6 months before proceedings started in the court they would have been eligible for AFDC if they had lived in the home of a relative. The provision would be optional with the States before July 1, 1969. Under present law, children in foster care are eligible for AFDC payments only if they actually received such payments in the month they were placed in foster care. Federal matching would be available for grants up to an average of $100 a month per child.

Emergency Assistance

The amendments authorizes up to 30 days of emergency assistance during a 12-month period to a child under 21 and his family, but could not be extended to a family for refusal (without good cause) to accept work or training under the work incentive program. This emergency aid could also be extended to migrant workers who have dependent children.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Protective or Vendor Payments

The amendments increase the limitation of recipients for whom protective payments could be made because they were unable to manage their funds from 5 percent to 10 percent but excludes from this overall limitation those recipients for whom such payments have been made because of the refusal without good cause, of an individual to work, register for work, or to participate under a training or work program.

Single Organizational Unit for Child Services

The amendments provide that child-welfare services and services to children receiving AFDC shall be provided by the same organizational unit at the State and local level, except that in those instances where such services were provided by separate State agencies or separate local agencies on the date of enactment of the amendments, they may continue to be provided by such agencies.

Pass Along

The amendments expand the provision enacted in 1965 which allows the State to exempt up to $5 a month of any type of income in determining eligibility and the amount of assistance. Effective upon enactment, the States would have the option of exempting up to a total of $7.50 a month for the aged, blind, and the totally and permanently disabled.

Increased Authorizations for Child Welfare Services

The amendments increase child welfare authorizations from $55 million for fiscal year 1969 to $100 million, and from $60 million for later years to $110 million.

Provision of Family Service State Plan Requirement

There is a provision in present law requiring State welfare agencies to make a plan for providing welfare services for each child in an AFDC family. Under the amendments, the plan must also provide for welfare services for the adults in the family.

Use of Subprofessional and Volunteer Staff

The amendments require States, effective July 1, 1969, to train and use subprofessional staff, with particular emphasis on the use of welfare recipients and other persons of low income, as community service aides for the kinds of jobs appropriate for them in the public assistance, child welfare, and health programs under the Social Security Act. The amendment also directs States to use volunteers in the program both for the provision of services to recipients, and for the assistance of advisory committees.

Parent Involvement in Day Care—Day Care Standards

The amendments add a State plan requirement to the child welfare day-care provisions for development of arrangements for the more effective involvement of parents in day care programs. Also, the day care standards in the child welfare services programs will be made applicable to day care provided to AFDC children.

Repatriation Extension

The amendments extend for 1 year, through June 30, 1969, the temporary legislation which authorizes assistance to needy Americans needy who have been repatriated to the United States by the Department of State from foreign countries.

Demonstration Projects

Two million dollars annually is currently available to encourage the States to develop demonstrations in improved methods of providing service to recipients or in improved methods of administration. The amendments increase this amount to $4 million annually.

Payment for Home Repairs

The amendment for the cash public assistance programs, allow 50 percent Federal matching for repairs (up to $500) of homes owned by recipients if to do so would be more economical from the standpoint of the program.

Purchase of Social Services

The amendments permit the purchase by welfare agencies of child care and other services under the public assistance title of the act. Such services may now be provided by welfare agency staff but existing law does not permit their purchase except from other State agencies.

Social Work Manpower and Training

The amendments authorize $5 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $5 million for each of the 3 succeeding fiscal years for grants to public or nonprofit private colleges and universities and to accredited graduate schools of social work, or an association of such schools, to meet part of the costs of development, expansion, or improvement of undergraduate programs in social work and programs for the graduate training of professional social work personnel. Not less than one-half of the amount appropriated would have to be used for grants for undergraduate programs.

Location of Absent Parents

The amendments provide that in those instances in which welfare agencies have been unable to locate absent parents of children receiving AFDC through all sources available to them, including records of the Social Security Administration, the Internal Revenue Service will make available any information concerning their whereabouts that it may have.

Family Planning

Family planning expenditures are now made under the maternal and child health program in title V and through medical assistance under title XIX, as a medical services expenditure. States are free to offer family planning services to AFDC recipients under title IV, but there are no Federal requirements. Under the amendments, States will be required to offer family planning services to all appropriate AFDC recipients. Federal matching of these expenditures will be provided. In addition, authorizations for the maternal and child health programs are increased, and 6 percent of the appropriated funds are earmarked for family planning. (An estimated $15 million would be spent for that purpose under the 1969 authorization, with increases

thereafter). Demonstration projects would need to be developed for the provision of family planning services for mothers in needy areas.

Language is included to clarify that the acceptance of family planning services is voluntary and not a requisite for the receipt of assistance.

Training of Personnel for Health Care and Related Services for Mothers and Children

The amendments will direct the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare "to give special attention to" programs providing training at the undergraduate level in making grants for training of such personnel.

Consoliadation and Increase of Child Health Authorizations

The amendments consolidate the existing separate child health authorizations into one single authorization with three general categories. Beginning with 1969, 50 percent of the total authorization would be for formula grants, 40 percent for project grants, and 10 percent for research and training. By July 1972 the States would have to take over the responsibility for the project grants, and 90 percent of the total authorization would then go to the States in the form of formula grants. Total authorizations would increase from $250 million in 1969 to $350 million in 1973 and thereafter.

Additional Requirements on the States Under the Formula Grant Program—Child Health

State plans must provide for the early identification and treatment of crippled children. Title XIX is amended to conform to this requirement. The States must also devote special attention to family planning services and dental care for children in the development of demonstration services.

Optometric Services Under Child Health Programs

Persons receiving health services under child health programs will be free to utilize the services of optometrists when appropriate.

Maintenance of State Effort

Present law contains certain provisions which in effect require that the additional Federal dollars States received as a result of the Social Security Amendments of 1965 are passed on to recipients or are otherwise used in the State's welfare program, for a period ending July 1, 1969. The amendments adds to the kinds of expenditures States may count (from July 1, 1966) in determining whether they are satisfying the maintenance of effort provisions. The maintenance of effort provision as amended would terminate July 1, 1968.

Use of State Agencies To Assist Health Facilities To Participate in the Various Health Programs Under the Social Security Act

States will receive 75-percent Federal matching for services which State health agencies perform to help health facilities qualify for participation in the various health programs under the Social Security Act (including medicare, medicaid, and the child health programs) and to help these facilities improve their fiscal records for payment purposes. Similar provisions in the medicare program (which finances such services on a 100-percent basis from the Federal hospital insurance trust fund) are repealed effective July 1, 1969, when this provision goes into effect.

Project Grants—Child Health

Until July 1972, the amendment authorizes project grants (1) to help reduce the incidence of mental retardation and other handicapping conditions caused by complications associated with childbearing, and to help reduce infant and maternal mortality; (2) to promote the health of children and youth of school and preschool age; and (3) to provide dental care and services to children. Beginning July 1972, responsibility for these projects will be transferred to the States.

The fiscal year 1968 authorization for maternity and infant care special projects grants is increased from $30 to $35 million.

Limitation on Federal Participation in Medical Assistance (Medicaid)

States will be limited in setting income levels for Federal matching purposes to 133⅓ percent of the AFDC payment level. (For the period July–December 1968, the percentage is 150, and for calendar year 1969 it is to be 140 percent.)

Skilled Nursing Home Standards Under Medicaid

States are required, as a condition for participation in the medicaid program, to place assistance recipients only in those licensed nursing homes which meet certain conditions. The conditions include requirements which relate to environment, sanitation, and housekeeping now applicable to extended care facilities under medicare, as well as fire safety standards of the life safety code of the National Fire Protection Association (unless the Secretary finds that a State's existing fire code is adequate).

States will also have to have a professional medical audit program under which periodic medical evaluations of the appropriateness of care provided title XIX patients in nursing homes, mental hospitals, and other institutions will be made.

Effective July 1, 1970, States which provide skilled nursing home care under medicaid will also be expected to provide home health care services.

Federal Matching for Assistance Recipients in Intermediate Care Facilities

Under current law, vendor payments may be made with Federal sharing only in behalf of persons in medical facilities, such as skilled nursing homes. There is no Federal vendor-payment matching for people who need institutional care in the intermediate range between that which is provided in a boarding house (for which eligible persons may receive a money payment under the money payment programs), and those who need the comprehensive services of skilled nursing homes.

The amendments provide for vendor payments in behalf of persons who qualify for OAA, AB, or APTD, and who are living in facilities (including a Christian Science sanitarium) which are more than boarding houses but which are less than skilled nursing homes. The rate of Federal sharing for payments for care in those institutions is at the same rate as for medical assistance under title XIX. Such homes will have to meet safety and sanitation standards comparable to those required for nursing homes in a given State.

This provision should result in a reduction in the cost of title XIX by allowing States to relocate substantial numbers of welfare recipients who are now in skilled nursing homes in lower cost institutions.

WELFARE

Burson Told Child Waiting Lists Unacceptable

By ACHSAH NESMITH

The regional U.S. commissioner of Social and Rehabilitation Services, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has informed state welfare director William H. Burson that establishing waiting lists for needy children with absent fathers is "unacceptable."

Mrs. Virginia Smyth, who assumed the new federal post last fall, also informed Burson that the new Social Security amendments under which Congress froze the number of children with absent fathers who can receive welfare benefits in their final form based the freeze number on the average caseload for the January-March quarter rather than at Jan. 1 as the original amendments had specified.

Burson notified county directors Monday that the date of the freeze number would be delayed, which means waiting lists expected to begin in mid-January would not go into effect in any event until the payments that go out in April.

The freeze is not required by the act until July, but the federal money will be paid after that only on the basis of the number of such children on the January-March rolls. Burson decided to impose the waiting lists immediately because he said federal regulations prohibit removing eligible people from the rolls and he would have to make an across-the-board cut in all welfare payments in July if he didn't establish waiting lists.

"We've advised them it will not be possible to maintain a waiting list or otherwise fail to follow existing provision of the law," Mrs. Smyth said Thursday.

"Everyone who considers himself eligible may apply and if he is eligible may receive assistance promptly," she added. "In the near future the Washington office will send out memoranda listing other alternatives," explaining that the states could either make up the differences with entirely state funds, or "adjust eligibility requirements." She said she couldn't

Mrs. Smyth

Burson

go into detail on how eligibility requirements could be adjusted to handle the freeze without cutting off other children not in the freeze group.

The freeze was aimed by Congress at cutting down on the increase in illegitimate children on welfare rolls, but also applies to children whose absent parents are in prison or are patients in tuberculosis or mental hospitals and children whose divorced fathers do not support them. Children who are deprived of parental support by death or incapacity are not included in the freeze, which would mean that children with parents in other types of hospitals, or incapacitated home would not be subject to a numerical freeze.

Mrs. Smyth said she hoped the period from now until March would be used to make intentive efforts to see that every child eligible for assistance is processed and actually on the rolls in time to count on the number the freeze would be based upon.

She said that so far other states in her region have taken no action on the freeze but are following a policy of "wait and see."

Burson has said numerous times that he hopes Congress will change its mind and lift the freeze, but also has said he would resist efforts by HEW to prevent him from setting up waiting lists if the freeze is not lifted.

In the meantime, an estinated 400 needy Georgia Children a month have an additional three months before they are pushed back onto a waiting list.

Apartment At I-285 Deferred

The aldermanic Zoning Committee deferred action Thursday on a zoning change to allow a 600-unit luxury apartment project at the corner of Mount [illegible] and Interstate 285

(adm) WOMEN'S WORK

WORKSHOP

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

PROCEDURES OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
IN THE SOUTHERN REGION:

CORRECTION OR DEFECTION

ATLANTAN HOTEL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA MARCH 22-23, 1967

The use of Rodin's "La Cathedrale"
on the cover is by permission of
The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

A WORKSHOP -

Is a place of saw and plane
and saw dust and shavings on the floor-
the leavings from rough things made smooth;-
of square and rule,
with which things not true to line are tested and
made straight;
and a workman in overalls, not afraid to soil his hands
as he bends to his task to perfect something beautiful-
and useful out of that which may have been rough
and plain --
But all done in the service of humanity.

In this spirit, we may have our workshop.
It means hard work, - not afraid to handle things not liked,
to probe deep with chisel and auger to uncover conditions
in our hearts and elsewhere;
to make rough places be saw dust and shavings;
to use the square and rule to straighten conditions now
all awry
that we may make something beautiful out of that
which has been wrong and unlovely-
And all done in the service of humanity

--Dorothy Tilly

From --

Text of President Johnson's Special Message

to Congress on Crime in United States

WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE

"So long as perfunctory, mass-production methods prevail in many lower courts, so long as scandalous conditions exist in many jails--where, in 1965, 100,000 children were held in adult jails, and where attempts to rehabilitate are almost nonexistent--we cannot achieve full public confidence in the system of criminal justice.

"What is required of that system is a profound self-analysis, the willingness to change, and a massive effort to:

"Improve the caliber and training of law enforcement, judicial and corrections officials.

"Strengthen the capability of police to detect crimes and apprehend those who commit them.

"Extend the range and quality of treatment services.

"Make full use of advanced scientific methods in the courtroom, to reduce frustrating and unfair delays and to make available to the sentencing judge all necessary information about the defendant.

"Providing better counsel for juveniles and for adults who cannot afford to provide their own...."

WORSHIP SERVICE

10:00 A.M. - March 22

Worship Leaders - Mrs. Martin L. King, Jr.
Mrs. W. H. Clark

SOLO - HOW GREAT THOU ART!

CALL TO WORSHIP --

We go together on a Spiritual Adventure, an age-old Spiritual Adventure pioneered by Amos, Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Hosea, and Jesus. We recognize Freedom's Legacy:

Amos: Justice and Righteousness.

Hosea: Justice and Righteousness tempered with Compassionate Love.

Isaiah: Justice and Righteousness with Promises to the Obedient.

John: Justice and Righteousness with Repentance.

Jesus: Justice and Righteousness - Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself.

Let us enter into the Great Adventure with Great Expectancy of the Great Spiritual Value it can be. God trusts us. We will not fail Him.

Again I saw all the oppressions that are practiced under the sun. And beheld, the tears of the oppressed and they had no one to comfort them! On the side of the oppressors there was power, and there was no one to comfort them!

ECCLESIASTES 4:1

Justice is turned back,

And righteousness stands afar off,

for truth has fallen in the public squares

and righteousness cannot enter.

The Lord saw it and it displeased Him

that there was no justice. ISAIAH 50:14-16

HYMN - THE VOICE OF GOD IS CALLING - Tune, Welsh Hymn Melody

SOLOIST: The voice of God is calling
It summons unto men; as once He spoke in Zion,
So now He speaks again.
Whom shall I send to succor my people in their need?
Whom shall I send to loosen the bonds of lust and greed?

GROUP: We heed, O Lord, Thy summons, and answer, here are we!
Send us upon Thine errand, let us Thy servants be.
Our strength is dust and ashes, our years a passing hour;
But Thou canst use our weakness to magnify Thy power.

SOLOIST: I hear My people crying in cot and mine and slum;
No field or mart is silent, no city street is dumb.
I see My people falling in darkness and despair,
Whom shall I send to shatter the fetters which they bear?

GROUP: From ease and pleasure save us, from pride of place absolve;
Purge us of low desire, lift us to high resolve,
Take us and make us holy, teach us Thy will and way,
Speak and behold we answer, command and we obey. AMEN.

And behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains and broke in pieces the rocks before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake, and after the earthquake, a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice. I KINGS 19:11-12

UNISON PRAYER - May we hear Thy still small voice,
And follow where it commands. AMEN.

P R O G R A M

GREETINGS - Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Mr. James N. Wood, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council

THE PURPOSE OF THE WORKSHOP - Mrs. M. E. Tilly

PANEL DISCUSSION -

"Procedures of Criminal Justice in the Southern Region: Correction or Defection"

Moderator - Mr. Theodore Freedman, Southeastern Director
Anti-Defamation League

Mr. Clifford Durr, Rhodes Scholar, Lecturer at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Cambridge and Oxford, England

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Director
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Mrs. Henry J. Toombs - Pioneered the beginning of Georgia's Department of Children and Youth, and in establishing The Governor's Legislative Forum

Mr. Hershal Sausier, Georgia Family and Children Services Department

Mr. Stewart Werner, Staff Consultant, Georgia Committee on Crime and Delinquency

AFTERNOON SESSION

March 22, 1967

2:00

UNISON PRAYER -

O Heart, that beats with every human heart,
O Heart, that weeps with every human tear,
O Heart, that sings with every human song,
Fill our slow hearts with flood tides of Thy love;
That they may beat with every human heart,
That they may weep with every human tear,
That they may sing with every human song,
And thus, Through Thee, unite all mankind.

--Quotable Poems

YOUTH JURY - Judge E. T. Brock
Atlanta Municipal Court

THE ATLANTA PILOT PROJECT - Mr. Ronald Seivers

THOSE WHO SEARCHED COURT RECORDS -

DISCUSSION GROUPS - "Behold the Turtle,
He makes progress only when he
sticks his neck out."

--James Bryant Conant

1. Leader - Mrs. Frances Pauley
   Reporter - Mrs. Edward M. Brown
   Consultant - Mr. John Boone

2. Leader - Mrs. J. Ben Stalvey
   Reporter - Mrs. Chris Matheson
   Consultant - Mrs. Niles C. Clark

3. Leader - Mrs. Newton Johnson
   Reporter - Mrs. W. W. Weatherspool
   Consultant - Miss Thelma Stevens

4. Leader - Mrs. Eva Parks
   Reporter - Mrs. W. W. Dodd
   Consultant - Mrs. H. M. Russell

5. Leader - Mrs. Betty Cantor
   Reporter - Mrs. Henry Collins
   Consultant - Mr. Edwin Stanfield

EVENING SESSION

Wednesday, March 22, 1967

DINNER - 6:00 o'clock

WE SING TOGETHER - Led by Mrs. M. L. King, Jr.

SPEAKER - Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

FILMS - "The Odds Against" and
"The Scar Beneath"

Presented by - Mr. John Boone, Director
Crime and Correction Project

Mr. William Farmar, Assistant

GOOD NIGHT

MORNING SESSION

Thursday, March 23, 1967

9:30

Firm in conviction, Never afraid to speak,
Persuasive in conversation,
Patient and understanding with those who do
not agree with us,
Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.

--adoped October 26, 1954, just after the Supreme
Court decision on the desegregation of public schools

WORSHIP - We Sing Together - Mrs. M. L. King, Jr.

MESSAGE - Dr. Evelyn Green, Executive Secretary
Board of Woman's Work
Presbyterian Church in U. S.

THE MARCH 24-25, 1966 - National Womens Organization
Conference on Courts

Mrs. John Patton, Mrs. Newton Fowler, Mrs. George Gunning, Mrs. Betty Cantor, Mrs. Benjamin Mays, Dr. Evelyn Green, Mrs. Niles C. Clark, and Mrs. Edward M. Brown.

Thursday morning - cont'd

THE ALCOHOL PROJECT OF EMORY UNIVERSITY -

Mr. Bruce Herrin
Assistant Professor of Social Work
Department of Psychiatry

REPORT OF DISCUSSION GROUPS - Mrs. John Patton

REPORT ON WORKSHOP - Mrs. Clifford Durr

"LEAD ON, O KING ETERNAL,
WE FOLLOW NOT WITH FEARS"

-- Mrs. H. M. Russell, President
Southeastern Jurisdiction
Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church

Ye that hath faith to look with fearless eyes
Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife
And trust that out of the night and death shall rise
The dawn of amplier life.

Rejoice, whatsoever anguish rend your heart
That God has given you a priceless dower
To live in these great times and have your part
In Freedom's crowning hour;
That you may tell your sons who see the light
High in the heavens - their heritage take
"I saw the power of Darkness put to flight
I saw the Morning break--"

From - Between Midnight and Morning
Sir Owen Seaman
Written for The Book of King Alfred of Belgium

WORKSHOP ON COURTS

Prepared by Mrs. Wm. Wood, Vice President,
League of Women Voters of the United States

Observers Program

Some selective process should be used in recruiting observers. Personal appearance and demeanor are important. Those willing to participate should --

1) Conduct themselves in a polite, well-mannered way.

2) Be willing to sit through proceedings and refrain from making remarks or engaging in conversation with those nearby while the Court is in session.

3) Act like a fair-minded person.

It is wise for observers to work in teams of two. This makes it possible to check with one another when any report is written.

When observing in the Courts the following should be kept in mind:

1) Trials are open. However, any judge has power to exclude the public and to have part of the hearing in private.

2) Know the procedures in the Court to be visited. Attorneys can be helpful in briefings on this.

3) Know the Court schedule -- what cases are coming up, the time the Court opens, etc.

4) Many courtrooms have limited space. Get there in time to get a seat near the front so you can hear. Do not expect special favors in having a seat saved. If offered, do not accept a Judge's invitation to sit on the bench.

5) Areas of interest:
   a. Judge's demeanor toward the person before the Court
   b. Bail
   c. Legal Counsel
   d. Jury selection
   e. Sentencing, fines, etc.

6) Observe several times with the same judge presiding.

7) Observe procedures under more than one judge.

Set up state councils' steering committee to develop regional program emphases.

Sheriffs, J. P's paid on fee system — "piece work" basis

WORLD PROBLEMS

CHURCH AND SOCIETY
Opinion

Issued Occasionally by the Division of Church and Society
Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, U.S.
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Malcolm P. Calhoun, Secretary of the Division
George A. Chauncey, Editor

Number 2 February 1967

ISSUES IN THE DEBATE ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM

George A. Chauncey

The tragic war in Vietnam began over twenty years ago. In 1945, Ho Chi Minh - the immensely popular Communist leader of the nationalist Vietminh League and the man who had spearheaded the resistence movement against the Japanese during World War II - declared the independence of the Vietnamese people, and proclaimed Hanoi as capital. Though he quoted the American Declaration of Independence, his call for recognition fell on deaf ears in our country and among the other major powers of the world. After the Japanese Occupation Forces moved out, the French, who had controlled Vietnam since the 19th century, moved back in. In 1946 the nationalist Vietminh forces attacked the French and the Vietnamese forces loyal to the French, and the French-Indochina War, which was to last eight bloody years, began. During this war the United States gave financial and military supply aid to the French. After the fall of Dien Bien Phu, the French withdrew in accordance with the Geneva Agreements of 1954. The next year, in 1955, we sent in our first "military advisors" to help train the South Vietnamese Army. In 1961, we suffered our first American casualty.

Every war is tragic, but in many ways the strange and complicated war in Vietnam seems unusually tragic. The misery and suffering of the Vietnamese people caused by this war is almost incalculable. An estimated 500,000 persons have been killed in it. A total of well over a million men are now engaged in combat on both sides. Another million persons - mostly women, children and the elderly - have been uprooted from their homes and made refugees by it. Saigon, with three million people, is now the most densely populated city in the world. Inflation, caused by the American presence is almost out of hand. Prostitution is on the rise. And a nation, never really united, is almost continually on the verge of a civil war within a civil war.

But this war is costly not only to the people of Vietnam, but also to the people of our own nation. We have already suffered more than 7,000 dead in Vietnam. We now have over 410,000 troops there, and it is expected that we may need a half million or more. We are spending $2.5 billion per month there. Newsweek estimates that it costs us $375,000 to kill a VC. We have already dropped the rough equivalent of a ton of bombs for every VC soldier. And at this very moment, 10,000 miles from home, young GI's are bombing villages, poisoning crops, and applying the torch to civilian huts - as allies of a people of whom James Reston has said, "the brutality of the Vietnamese to the fellow countryman they capture is almost beyond comprehension."

But the cost of this war to our nation is apparent not only in dollars spent and military personnel involved, but also in our internal division, the loss of

confidence in national leadership, the draining of resources from urgently pressing domestic programs, and anger in the ghettos. The cost is further reflected in the fact that in her policy in Vietnam, America is more isolated from her traditional allies than at any point since the end of World War II; and in the fact that a great number of Asians and Africans mistakenly, though none the less clearly, regard this war as a racially motivated white man's war against colored peoples.

What is this war all about? What kind of war is it? Why are we involved? And how can this tragic slaughter be stopped? These questions constitute the issues in a great debate now going on in our nation. Participants in this debate are not merely a few militarists and right wing radicals on the one side, and doctrinaire pacifists and left wing students on the other, but a host of responsible public officials, organized groups, distinguished churchmen, and millions of ordinary citizens on both sides.

I want to do two things in this paper. First, I want to summarize the basic positions taken by both sides in this great debate, as I understand them. Secondly, I want to suggest some basic responsibilities we have as Christians vis-a-vis this war. My principal sources for this analysis of the issues are Vietnam: Vital Issues in the Great Debate, published by the Foreign Policy Association (from which I have quoted long excerpts); Triumph or Tragedy: Reflections on Vietnam by Richard Goodwin; and the Vietnam Reader edited by Raskin and Fall.

THE ISSUES IN THE DEBATE

Issue #1: What Sort of War is This?

The first basic issue is: What sort of war is this war in Vietnam? Is this a war of armed aggression into which we have been drawn as a defender of the victim? Or is this a civil war in which we have intervened?

Beginning with the Eisenhower Administration, the official American position has been unequivocal: this is a war of aggression by Hanoi, aided and abetted by Peking. According to the Administration, during the population exchange between North and South carried out under the Geneva agreements, Hanoi secreted some thousands of its guerrillas in South Vietnamese hamlets. Then the Communists waited, convinced that Diem would never be able to weld South Vietnam into a unified, viable state and that the area must inevitably fall to them. But according to the Administration, when, after two years, Diem's state seemed to be making steady progress toward social and political stability and it appeared that, if the Communists wanted to take over South Vietnam, they would have to fight for it, they ordered their guerrillas into action. In 1956 the Communists began a campaign of terror and assassination in South Vietnam which, over the years, developed into full-scale war.

If there was any doubt about Hanoi's involvement in this struggle, says the supporters of our policy, it was removed by the proceedings of the September 1960 congress of the Lao Dong (Communist) party in North Vietnam. One of the "momentous tasks" of the party, the delegates were told, is to "liberate the South from the atrocious rule of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen...The North is becoming ...transformed into a firm base for the struggle for national reunification." Terror in the South and infiltrations from the North were intensified, and on June 2, 1962, the International Control Commission issued a special report declaring there was "sufficient evidence to show beyond reasonable doubt" that North Vietnam was guilty of aggression in violation of the agreements.

South Vietnam's admitted rejection of the provision in the Final Declaration at Geneva calling for popular elections throughout Vietnam is defended in two ways. First, it is pointed out that South Vietnam never agreed to the Final Declaration, and was therefore never bound by it. Second, it is argued that the North Vietnamese, crushed under the heel of a ruthless Communist dictatorship, could have had no freedom of choice at the polling booth. Under such conditions, the cards would have been stacked against Saigon. Hence no election was held.

Critics of the Administration interpret events quite differently. They point out that between 1954 and 1956, at least, the reports of the International Control Commission indicate satisfaction with the manner in which Hanoi was fulfilling its obligations under the agreements. During this same period, critics charge, Diem was violating their provisions by the ruthless suppression of all political opposition in South Vietnam, by boycotting exports to North Vietnam (especially rice, for which the Hanoi region had always depended upon the South) and by his refusal, with the support of the U.S., to participate in the elections. It was primarily the election issue, critics of our policy insist, that precipitated the renewal of warfare in South Vietnam after 1956. The insurgents were not Northern infiltrees, nor even predominantly South Vietnamese Communists, but chiefly members of religious sects and old Vietminh fighters who, under Diem's campaign of persecution, had no alternative but to fight or be annihilated. That infiltration finally occurred is not denied; what is denied is that the infiltration can be interpreted as aggression.

It is emphasized, furthermore, that the Geneva agreements established not two states, but only a border along the 17th parallel dividing Vietnam into two temporary zones pending the reunification which was expected to result from the elections. North and South constituted one country, it is argued, and the Vietnamese were fighting Vietnamese in a civil war. Administration critics disagree as to when Hanoi entered the struggle in active fashion, but all of them declare that it was subsequent to 1956, the year of the unrealized elections.

Moreover, critics say, even if Hanoi has by now taken over the direction of the Viet Cong and the National Liberation Front, it is still the South Vietnamese who make up the great majority of the Vietcong's fighting men. According to critic Bernard Fall, even America's own statistics show that at the beginning of 1966 the North Vietnamese constituted no more than 10% of the Viet Cong; and by mid-summer the VC's were still recruiting men inside South Vietnam at the rate of 3 to 4,000 a month.

Is this aggression or civil war? The reality seems to be, according to Goodwin, that there is aggression and there is also civil war. Some of the revolutionaries are Communists, some are not. Some wish to associate with China, others are passionate nationalists. "Neither the country nor the President," Goodwin concludes, "is served by a reduction of the confused and blending tones of history to sharp black and whites."

Issue #2: Why is The U. S. Involved?

A second basic issue concerns why we are there. On what basis did America enter this war? The Administration has listed several bases, to each of which various critics have responded. One argument is that the U.S. has a formal and binding commitment to use its armies to defend Vietnam. Sometimes the commitment is found in the SEATO agreement. Dean Rusk, for example, has said, "it is this fundamental SEATO obligation that has from the outset guided our actions in Vietnam."

Critics respond to this by observing that the language of the treaty is imprecise; that no nation is specifically required to go to war; and that neither our fellow signers (including Great Britain and France), John Foster Dulles (author of the treaty), nor any president has believed or been advised that the treaty required us to send fighting men to Vietnam.

More often, the basis of our commitment is found not in the SEATO agreement but in Presidential pledges. "We are there," (President Johnson told a John Hopkins University audience on April 7, 1965), "because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Vietnam... to dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemies and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong."

Critics respond to this argument with three points. They observe, first of all, that Eisenhower's pledge to Diem in 1954 was, as Eisenhower himself has since explained, a pledge for foreign aid, not a military program. They observe, secondly, that for every statement of Kennedy's, such as his oft-quoted one of 1961: "The U.S. is determined that the Republic of Vietnam shall not be lost to the Communists for lack of any support which the U.S. can render," there is another one, such as his one on CBS-TV in 1963: "We can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisors, but they have to win it - the people of Vietnam - against the Communists." A final point is Hans J. Morgenthau's. He stresses that the pledges were made to a Saigon government that, he contends, we ourselves had installed, "our own agent." "I do not regard this," he comments, tartly, "as a valid foundation for our presence in South Vietnam."

A second Administration argument is the so-called "domino theory," This argument holds that the Vietnamese struggle is a test case for the "wars of liberation" upon which both Peking and Moscow have set their seals of approval; that a Communist victory in Vietnam would show us up as a "paper tiger," with the result that neighboring countries, their confidence in us shattered, would quickly fall into Communist hands; and that a Communist-dominated Indochinese peninsula would ultimately force Japan and the Philippines into a neutralist stance that would, in turn, constrict our defense line to Hawaii, Alaska and the West Coast - "too close," as U.S. News and World Report has put it, "for comfort."

This whole strategic concept is challenged by many observers. Recent history, it is said, flatly disproves the domino theory. No country followed the Soviet Union into communism in 1917 or China in 1949; no neighbor emulated North Vietnam in 1954, or Cuba in 1960. "The 'domino theory,'" writes Professor Morgenthau, "is but a replica of a vulgar Marxism which also believes in the inevitable spread of communism." The theory is held to be invalid even in reverse, i.e., that by stopping communism anywhere, it is discouraged elsewhere. Communism, stopped in Greece, the Philippines and Korea, for instance, went on to succeed in Cuba and North Vietnam, and temporarily threatened Indonesia. From this it follows, says critics of Administration strategy, that Vietnam's importance has been vastly exaggerated; even a Communist victory there would be no catastrophe. Indeed, some American observers argue that a Communist Vietnam might prove a stronger barrier to Chinese expansionism than any Saigon regime which needed U.S. backing for survival. The centrifugal force of nationalism, they believe, plus the traditional hostility of all Indochinese peoples toward the Chinese, would make of Ho Chi Minh (or his successor) another Tito, intent on charting an independent course. It is pointed out that even North Korea, whose survival as a Communist state was unquestionably due to China's intervention in the Korean War, is now showing strong signs of independence from Peking. Jean Lacouture, French journalist and author of Vietnam:

Between Two Truces, put the matter graphically: "Should the U.S....continue to prefer dead Vietnamese to Red Vietnamese, China will have won an historic victory."

A third Administration argument reminds us of what we learned in Munich: by failing to draw the line against Hitler at an early stage, the free world was compelled to draw it under much more difficult circumstances at a later date.

Critics contend that the Munich analogy is very misleading. One such critic, Reinhold Niebuhr, says this: "All historical analogies are inexact...and therefore misleading. The analogy between our defense against Nazism and our defense of South Vietnam against the Communist North is flagrantly misleading. Nazism's military nationalism threatened the moral substance of Western culture, the Jews with extinction and non-German continental nations with slavery. None of these issues is involved in a civil war between two portions of a partitioned nation, one Communist and the other non-Communist."

Issue #3: What is the Solution?

The third basic issue concerns the solution. "Let those...who speak and write about Vietnam say clearly what other policy they would pursue," President Johnson has said. Many have taken up the challenge, and the alternatives offered range across the spectrum. At one end is a highly articulate and mobile minority of pacifists, youthful idealists, and leftists who demand immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of our troops. At the other end of the spectrum are those who demand the immediate mobilization of whatever military power is necessary to crush the enemy. This war must end, they say, with victory on the battlefield, and not with an inconclusive negotiated settlement. National polls indicate that the great majority of Americans favor neither withdrawal nor all-out war. Within this very broad middle-group, however, there is a wide range of alternatives to our present policy. Some want to escalate the war. Others want to de-escalate it. Both seem to agree with the Administration's stated policy on cardinal point: We are fighting not to conquer North Vietnam or destroy the enemy, but to weaken his will to fight sufficiently to bring him to the conference table and reach a settlement which will permit South Vietnam to determine its future in peace. It is on how best to accomplish this that the two schools differ with each other and with the Administration.

The escalators, who appear to be gaining strength in public opinion, believe that the President's buildup and application of our military strength has been slow, overcautious, and to a degree, self-defeating. They want us to consider the whole area - the two Vietnams, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand - as a strategic whole for combat purposes; to throttle China's seaborne flow of supplies by gunfire and port blockade; and to accelerate our attacks on the Ho Chi Minh trail. By what moral right, some military men ask, does the President send hundreds of thousand of young Americans to risk their lives in an alien land, and at the same time deprive them of the most effective available weapons and methods to use against the enemy?

The Administration resists escalation on the ground that it could lead to a broadened conflict, perhaps a nuclear war. "We could make this into a larger war very quickly," Secretary Rusk said last July. "All we would have to do is to turn our backs for five minutes and let events take their course." Our objective, he reminded his listeners, is "to establish a peace, not destroy somebody."

Pressure for de-escalation comes on the Administration from the other side. Some de-escalators believe that Moscow and/or Peking will directly enter the war

rather than permit the Communists to be defeated in Vietnam. If this is so, then it is likely that the present struggle will end in one of three ways: our own withdrawal (and tacit admission of defeat); World War III; or a compromise settlement. If the first two alternatives are intolerable, then the third is inevitable. And if compromise is inevitable - why not now, before more blood is spilled? Anyway, by the Administration's own statements, our purpose in fighting is not "victory" per se, but to get the enemy to quit shooting and talk. How, then, is this to be accomplished? Not, say the de-escalators, by bombing North Vietnam. On the Administration's own showing, they argue, the bombing has neither decreased the flow of men and supplies southward nor has it perceptibly lessened North Vietnam's will to fight. If, as Administration spokesmen have repeatedly said in one way or another, we cannot allow the enemy to shoot their way to the conference table, neither can it be expected that they will allow us to bomb them to the table.

As for what we should do in South Vietnam, most de-escalators appear to approve some variant of the "holding strategy" advocated by Lt. General James M. Gavin, under which we would simply hold what we now have while we seek a political solution through the UN or a reconvened Geneva Conference, or some other way. In any political solution, these critics say, we've got to be prepared to offer the Viet Cong more than a handful of chairs in the Hanoi delegation. In war, political settlements must reflect military realities. The military reality is that the VC occupy half the countryside. We can hardly ask them to accept a defeat at the table they have not suffered in the field.

In response to this criticism, Administration spokesmen have said three things: First, in regard to the Gavin proposal, General Maxwell Taylor has said that "to button up our troops in defensive positions...would constitute the abandonment of our allies on the battlefield...It would destroy all confidence in Vietnam in ultimate success and would encourage the timid and the wavering to turn to the Vietcong for protection." Secondly, as for recognizing the Vietcong, the Administration has taken the position that the VC can come to the conference table as part of the Communist delegation. However, under no conditions could we let them come, through their political wing, the NFL, as Hanoi insists that they come, as the sole representative of the South Vietnamese people. This, Secretary Rusk has said, would "be delivering South Vietnam into the control of the Communist North." Finally, contends the Administration and its supporters, our desire for peace has been manifested many times. Twice we suspended air raids over North Vietnam, once for 5 days and another time for 37 days. We have sent emissaries throughout the world in search of mediators. President Johnson has repeatedly offered to negotiate with Hanoi "without prior conditions"; and we have offered, once peace comes, to finance huge improvement projects of benefit to all of Southeast Asia, including Hanoi. All these initiatives have been rejected by the Communists.

CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITIES

So the debate goes. What is our role as Christians vis-a-vis this war, and this debate about the war? I submit that each of us has at least five basic responsibilities.

The first is to keep the horror of this war before us - on our own consciences, and on the consciences of our fellow countrymen. It may well be that this war is, as the Administration contends, a necessary evil. It may well be that this is the lesser of two evils. It may well be that the suffering to which we are contributing, horrible though it is, is less than the suffering which the world would have to endure were we not there. But even if it is the lesser of two evils, even if it is necessary tragedy

this is an evil, tragic, horrible war which is inflicting great misery on many of our fellow men - and we as Christians must never forget this primary fact. I realize that one cannot listen to the news on radio or TV, glance at his morning paper, or read his favorite weekly news magazine without being reminded that we are at war in Vietnam. I am not convinced, however, that the American people are sufficiently sensitive to the character of this war, of the agony it is causing the Vietnamese people, of the impact it is having on our own GI's. One of our responsibilities as Christians - however we regard the validity of this war - is to keep its bloodstained character before our own eyes and the eyes of our neighbors.

We are called, in the second place, to give the pursuit of peace an appropriate priority - in our prayers, our preaching, our educational program, everything we are and say and do as the church. As the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches declared in a statement approved last February:

> "We realize the longing of mankind for peace not only in Southeast Asia but in the whole world. We are part of all humanity in this. Here, however, as representatives of Christian churches, we believe we have even deeper reason to speak and act for peace. We believe we must seek peace because of the gospel brought and proclaimed by our Lord."

Our third responsibility is to listen to, carefully examine, and critically evaluate the various positions in the great debate on the necessity of this war and the best way to peace. In a matter of this gravity, we dare not rest content with the judgments which other men make for us. On an issue of such consequence, we dare not leave unexamined the presuppositions with which those judgments are made. Theologian John Bennett of Union Seminary in New York, for example, a critic of our policy in Vietnam, contends that American policy is based on three presuppositions, all of which are erroneous. Two of these I've already mentioned: the "domino" theory and the Munich analogy. The third presupposition, says Bennett, is our anti-Communist obsession.

> "We should abandon the assumption (he writes) that a Communist regime is the worst fate that can come to any country, worse than any rightist tyranny, worse than decades of civil war, worse than generations of neglect of the country's social and economic problems."

Bennett may well be wrong in his listing of the presuppositions on which our policy is based, and he may well be wrong in his evaluation of those presuppositions. But he is surely right in reminding us that we are usually more influenced by the presuppositions that we bring to the facts at hand than we are by those facts themselves so that we need continually to examine our own presuppositions and those of our neighbors.

As we endeavor to discover for ourselves what's really going on, what the real issues are, and what alternatives are before us, it seems to me particularly important for us to listen to the views of non-Americans, especially of non-American Christians. I am by no means suggesting that every non-American is necessarily right, and that American policy is necessarily wrong when it is criticized. I am, however, suggesting

that it is extremely helpful for us to see ourselves as others see us; and that a nation whose very claim to independence was founded on "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" still has some obligation to consider those opinions. Of particular value to us as churchmen is the judgment of our fellow churchmen in other lands. The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, for example, reminded us in the statement I have already quoted that the longer this conflict goes on, the more bitter will be the racial and other resentments against us by the colored peoples of the world. This is a warning to us from fellow Christians from all over the world. They may be wrong, but wisdom demands that we at least listen to what they as well as others say.

Our fourth responsibility - after we have studied, discussed, listened and reflected on this matter - is to draw some conclusion as to where we personally stand. I am not calling here for any dogmatism. I am not asking for any premature judgments. And I am not commending rigidity in any judgments - premature or otherwise - that we already have. I am suggesting, however, that while "openmindedness" is a virtue, "moral neutrality" is not; and that when stakes are as high as they are in this issue, it is simply irresponsible for a man to let anyone make his moral judgments for him. The very complexity of this issue, the fact that it is not clearly black or white, tempts all of us to renege on our responsibilities as decision-makers. We simply must not yield to this temptation. With consciences sensitized by the gospel, and committed to the cause of peace, we must carefully study the alternatives before us and then make our decisions.

Our final obligation is to witness to the truth as we see it. If, after careful consideration, it seems to you that this war, though evil, is a necessary evil, that the policy of our government is essentially correct, and that in the pursuit of this policy we are contributing to the long-range peace of the world, then testify to that judgment. You will be in the company of many sensitive Christians. On the other hand, if it seems to you - as it does to me - that this war is an unnecessary evil, that it is politically and morally self-defeating, and in the pursuit of this policy we are increasing the risk of World War III, then - for God's sake and the sake of humanity - speak up.

Civil Liberties

CIVIL LIBERTIES

OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Academic Freedom

A Statement of Principles Governing Freedom for Teachers and Students in Public and Private Schools and Colleges

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.
February 1949

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CIVIL LIBERTIES OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS—
ACADEMIC FREEDOM

A statement of principles governing freedom for teachers and students in public and private schools and colleges.

FOREWORD

For over twenty years the American Civil Liberties Union has been active through its Committee on Academic Freedom in championing the civil liberties of teachers and students wherever infractions have arisen. It has fought restrictive legislation; it has contested in the courts discharges of teachers for their opinions and associations; it has challenged in the courts flag-saluting and "released time"; it has labored with administrative officials of colleges and schools wherever the rights of teachers or students, as interpreted by the Union, have been violated.

It has published and widely distributed three pamphlets, the "Gag on Teaching," setting forth the state laws dealing with compulsory subjects of instruction and the intrusion of religion into education; "What Freedom for American Students?" dealing with the controls of student activities, and a "Statement of the Principles of Academic Freedom."

This pamphlet is an up-to-date restatement of the principles thus long advocated by the Union, but without the factual descriptions of the objectionable practices set forth in previous publications. It is intended as a guide in dealing with issues which constantly arise in the colleges and schools, and which, in our judgment, should be resolved in line with these principles. They cannot all be spelled out to fit particular problems, and we recognize that no formulas will fit them all.

While the general principles are set forth as applicable both to colleges and secondary schools, and to public and private institutions, they are couched in terms primarily applicable to colleges and universities.

Among the recent practical problems which occasion the publication and distribution of this pamphlet, and on which it attempts to offer solutions in terms of democratic principles are:

1. The lack of any accepted policy in our colleges and universities in the chartering of student organizations, especially political, and the approval of outside speakers on the campus. Practices vary so widely in dealing with alleged Communist agencies and speakers—a test of an institution's democratic tolerance—that some agreement on principle is clearly desirable.

2. The dismissals of teachers for the expression of opinions outside the class-room or for political affiliation regarded as unfitting them for their posts. This issue has been high-lighted by the debate over whether an alleged Communist is per se disqualified as a teacher. In some institutions the question has been raised as to whether a teacher expressing anti-Semitic or similarly intolerant views is thus disqualified.

3. The obstacles placed in the way of the organization of teachers in unions affiliated with the trade union movement.

Wherever any such issue arises the Civil Liberties Union attempts to act or to get other agencies to do so, or to join with them in acting. Resort to the courts is rarely possible, because few of the rights violated are enforceable in law. But publicity and negotiation often achieve the desired ends.

The American Association of University Professors effectively uses the powerful weapon of highly qualified professional inquiry and exposure, with black-listing of offending institutions. The National Education Association intervenes where the public school system is involved in situations in which the liberties of teacher opinion and association are curtailed.

These associations and the Federation of Teachers, a union, speak for the profession. The Civil Liberties Union attempts to speak for the public interest in educational freedom. It usually acts promptly and publicly on any issue which deserves its intervention. Teachers and students are invited to communicate at once with the Union wherever such issues arise. Suggestions and advice, based on a knowledge of the best existing practices, will be gladly furnished to any who are anticipating the adoption of policies at any institution in conformity with the principles here set forth.

CIVIL LIBERTIES
OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS
ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Every generation of scholars has had to struggle anew to maintain its heritage of intellectual freedom. In the past the problem has been to protect this heritage against those who openly aimed to limit or to violate it. In our day the problem is, if anything, more difficult. In addition to continuing the struggle against forces which generally distrust intellectual activity, it is to prevent the complete destruction of intellectual freedom by totalitarians,—Communists and fascists,—who aim to undermine the democratic system of which intellectual freedom is an integral part.

The scholar is caught in the multiple crossfire of these groups and of those who are combatting them. What confuses the conflict further is the fact that the totalitarians strenuously insist on being granted the very freedoms which they use to destroy freedom. The anti-totalitarian runs the risk of being drawn into opposition to the very liberties which he champions.

The school is the birth-place of intellectual freedom of every type. Today more than ever before there is a vital need for freedom of research and teaching. The entire world is in the process of fundamental transformation. To avoid chaos or dictatorship, we must not only maintain but extend our heritage of freedom of inquiry and of teaching.

In this changing scene the school, the college, and the university have assumed a more commanding position than they ever held before. The tremendous growth in student enrollment throughout the nation, and the increased average age of the student body, have vastly augmented both the potential effect of our educational system on the community, and the concern of the community in its educational institutions.

In view of their increased importance in the social and political sphere, the schools have attracted the hostile attention of those who identify progressive liberalism with subversive activities. The result is a new and potent threat to academic freedom. It is timely, therefore, to re-examine and to re-affirm the principles upon which academic freedom is based.

WHAT IS ACADEMIC FREEDOM?

Much has been said and written about academic freedom, but the term has been so loosely and variously used that there is manifest need for a clear-cut definition.

Academic freedom is here defined as the liberty to investigate, to present, and to discuss facts and ideas concerning the phenomena of human society and of the physical world in all branches and fields of learning, with no limitations other than those imposed by the generally accepted standards of conscientious scholarship. It includes the right of both teachers and students to be free, both within and without the institutions of learning, from any special limitations regarding the investigation of facts and the expression and discussion of ideas.

Academic freedom, like all other freedoms, is an expanding concept which never remains static but must be continuously reinterpreted in the light of changing events. It is indispensable for an educational institution which is to perform its duty to a democratic commmunity. This duty is to perpetuate and enlarge the sum total of human knowledge, to communicate this knowledge to the youth, and to instill in them a spirit of continuing inquiry. It is the institution's further duty to develop personal creative abilities and socially useful attitudes, and to train its students for participation in the processes of democracy. Without academic freedom, the full performance of this duty is impossible.

Historically, the concept of academic freedom has been largely confined to colleges and universities. This limitation arises from the circumstance that the more controversial aspects of social, economic, and political theory, evolution, philosophy, ethics, and religion, are traditionally reserved for the higher schools, but many of the principles of academic freedom herein advanced apply equally to teachers of primary and secondary schools.

Since education in the United States is carried on by both private and public institutions, and since the community benefits directly from both, the general principles of academic freedom should be applicable to both, with some modifications for institutions under religious auspices.

Traditionally, the concept of academic freedom has been confined to teachers; its applicability to students, even at the college and university level, is often denied. When it is realized, however, that the basis of academic freedom is the philosophy which holds freedom of inquiry and discussion indispensable to the educational institution as a whole, the distinction between student and teacher freedom becomes artificial. We therefore widen the concept to include not only the teacher's right to inquire and to teach but the student's right to inquire and to learn.

A consideration of academic freedom naturally involves three relationships: the relationship of

1. The community to the educational institution.
2. The administration to its teachers.
3. The administration and the teachers to the students.

1. *The relationship of the community to the educational institution.*

The community has the right to demand that the educational institution be competently staffed and capably administered. Matters of curriculum properly are the concern of the professional staff, who are under obligation to be guided by existing professional standards of scholarship and methods. The community has the right to expect that its youth will be made aware of the common principles underlying our general culture and civilization. It has neither the right, nor indeed any social justification to demand that deviations from accepted principles be excluded from teaching. It may properly insist that such deviations be clearly explained as such, and that students will not be led to believe that they in fact meet general acceptance.

The community may properly expect of its teachers a standard of personal conduct comparable to that required of other responsible professional members of the community and a standard of public conduct harmonious with the teacher's position. The teacher must not be deemed to have sacrificed any of his rights as a private citizen. He should be as free as any other person to participate, in his private capacity, in political and social movements, and in any other lawful activities, and to hold and to express publicly his political, economic, religious or other views.

2. *The relationship of the administration to its teachers.*

For the implementation of these principles of academic freedom, it is desirable that the relationship between an administration and a faculty—in all institutions, public and private, colleges and schools alike—should be guided by a definite code of academic behavior, clearly formulated and understood, and accepted by the administration and the teaching staff alike.

The following formulation is suggested, based in large part upon statements adopted in 1940 by the American Association of University Professors, and by the American Civil Liberties Union. These statements have been adapted to the present situation.

(1) *The teacher has the right to freedom of research and publication,* subject only to the adequate performance of his other academic duties.

(2) *The teacher has the right to freedom of discussion in the classroom in matters related to his field.* Instead of avoiding controversial subjects, he should encourage their discussion. It is perfectly possible for a teacher to take a positive stand on public issues and still retain the critical state of mind necessary for research and teaching. In order to exert a beneficial influence upon his students, the teacher must convince them that he is intellectually honest. Considering the influence of his position, he should make clear to his students that whatever views he presents as his own do not constitute a maneuver to influence his students in favor of partisan policies. Furthermore, the teacher should make special efforts to encourage his students to express their opinions, having in mind the limitations set by decency and a proper respect for the opinion of others. In his reading assignments on controversial subjects the teacher should recommend material setting forth different views. A technique valuable in a democracy will result from the freest possible investigation and discussion of divergent opinions.

(3) *The teacher has the right to speak and to write freely on any subject that interests him.* However, in the field of his professional competence, he has a special obligation to speak and to write as a man of learning. When acting as a private citizen, he should be sure that it is plain that he speaks, writes, and acts for himself, not for his institution. He should however be free to use his academic title for purposes of identification.

(4) *As professional workers, teachers have the right to organize to protect their group interests,* or to join existing associations or unions for such purposes. Any attempt on the part of an administration or other agency to prevent the establishment of such an organization, or to hamper its activities, or to discriminate against its members where it is established, would be a serious infringement on the rights of teachers.

3. *The relationship of administration and of teachers to students.*

An educational institution, as a social agency, affords to the nation's youth an opportunity to develop enlightened citizenship in our democracy. Their courses in civics and the social sciences generally will give students a theoretical acquaintance with the democratic process. But it is axiomatic that learning proceeds most effectively when theory is reinforced by practice. It follows that students should learn by experience the nature and functioning of democracy, and thus gain comprehension of its duties and responsibilities, as well as of its rights and

privileges. Faculties should encourage such extra-curricular activities as will provide a working model of democracy and thus furnish a training ground for democratic citizenship.

The democratic way of life depends for its very existence upon the free contest of ideas. This is as true upon the campus as in the community at large. If our students are to grow to political and social maturity, no step should be neglected which will habituate them to the free interchange of ideas, ideas unpopular and strange, as well as favored and familiar.

These primary considerations demonstrate the need for maintaining in the sphere of extra-curricular activities a system analogous, so far as practicable, to the rights of free speech and assembly enjoyed in the community at large. Failure on the part of an educational institution to maintain this principle not only thwarts the development of students, but results in a positive loss to the community. In view of a world situation in which the anti-democratic forces of the extreme right and the extreme left are both rampant, the danger of a repressive policy in regard to student activities becomes apparent. The youth who attends an educational institution in which expression is rigidly supervised is in danger of coming to regard the suppression of free speech as normal and desirable.

The principles set forth below are offered as a guide to the democratic organization and functioning of a student body's extra-curricular activities. They are intended to apply both to the relationship of the administrative authorities and the faculty to the student body as a whole, and to the relationship of the general student organization (whenever it exists) to the rest of the student body. The specific recommendations are arranged as far as possible under the principles to which they correspond.

I

A democracy encourages to the highest degree possible the participation of the governed in the governing process.

1. The regulation of extra-curricular activities should be the function of a joint faculty-student committee, to which the student members should be elected by the student body itself. If a provision of the charter or other basic code of the institution vests such regulation in a dean or other administrative officer, or in the faculty or other body to which students may not be admitted, then the faculty-student committee should act in an advisory capacity, with the presumption that its advice will regularly be followed. Such a faculty-student committee,

whether acting in an independent or advisory capacity, should be concerned with the formulation and interpretation of all rules and regulations governing extra-curricular activities. It should also sit as a judicial committee in all cases involving offenses in the field of extra-curricular activities of such gravity as to entail a student's possible suspension or dismissal. In cases involving disciplinary action other than suspension or dismissal in connection with extra-curricular activities, an appeal to this committee should be permitted.

2. In the election of the officers of, and representatives to, the general student organization, the electorate should include the entire student body, or entire classes or other major divisions of that body, and should not be defined in terms of membership in clubs or organizations. The election of all student officers, committees, and boards should rest solely upon the students themselves, and should not be subject to administrative or faculty approval,—though the authorities may properly set up a uniform system of academic eligibility requirements for the holding of major student offices.

II

A democratic government functions according to clearly defined and well-publicized laws.

A code of rules and regulations governing extra-curricular activities should be clearly and fully formulated to cover the entire policy of the institution with regard to such activities. It should be made public to the academic community. Any changes in this code should be promptly publicized. When simplification, clarification, or interpretation is needed, the matter should, as indicated above, be referred to the faculty-student committee.

III

The democratic way of life neither fears nor avoids any competition in the free market of ideas; it may, however, be necessary to insist that competitive wares be plainly and honestly labelled.

1. Students should be free to organize associations for political, religious, social, athletic, and other proper and lawful purposes. The fact of affiliation with any extra-mural association should not in itself bar a group from recognition on the campus.

2. Any organization for political action or discussion of whatever purpose or complexion, and whether or not affiliated with a particular party, including the Communist Party, should be allowed to organize and be recognized in any educational institution, and no student should

be discriminated against at any time because of membership in any such organization.

3. If after investigation and fair hearings, a student organization is found by the competent authority to be concealing or misrepresenting its auspices and affiliations, such finding may properly be permanently published to the educational institution at large, but such finding should not be the ground for the withholding or withdrawal of recognition, or suspension, or other disciplinary action.

4. Student organizations should be free to invite outside speakers of any political or religious affiliation to speak to them upon any topic. Where a question arises as to a speaker who is to address the general student body, the faculty-student committee should act.

IV

A democracy combats possible abuses not by a system of pre-censorship, but by the definite fixing of responsibility for such abuses, and the application of punitive measures when necessary.

1. In order that the scope of activities of a student organization may be clearly defined, it should be required that each organization applying for *campus recognition* (where recognition is required) submit a constitution or other statement setting forth its proposed purposes and modes of activity. A student organization should be granted recognition unless the provisions of its constitution contravene the standards suggested in Section III above. For administrative purposes it may also be required that each organization file and keep current a list of its officers, but it should not be required to file a list of its members.

2. The use of rooms and other facilities should be made available, as far as their primary use for instructional purposes permits, to recognized student organizations acting within the scope of their constitution. Bulletin boards should be provided for the use of student organizations, and school-wide circulation of all notices and leaflets which come within the constitutional scope of the organization concerned should be permitted. Objections to the content of a poster or piece of literature should not be cloaked under the pretense of safeguarding school property against defacement or littering.

3. A student organization should be permitted to use the name of the school as part of its own name (e.g. 'The Franklin College Sociology Club', 'The Student Self-Government Association of Smithfield High School'), and to use this name in all activities consistent with its constitution. Restrictions may fairly be placed on the use of the school name in extra-mural activities (such as participation in public demonstrations or parades), but any such restrictions should be applied

without discrimination to all student organizations, and should form part of the written rules and regulations referred to in Section II above.

4. In institutions where it is thought desirable to have faculty advisers for student organizations, the student organizations themselves should participate in the choice of the advisers, possibly making their choice from a panel agreed upon by the student-faculty committee. In no case should the advisers exercise undue control over the activities of a student group. Nor should student groups be forbidden to function because no faculty member will consent to serve as their adviser.

5. Students should be permitted to publish such newspapers or magazines as they wish, subject to the provisions for the recognition of student organizations suggested in Subdivision 1 above. No censorship in advance should be exercised over the contents of any publication. If a student editor should abuse the prerogatives of his position in the publication of material, or should otherwise fail to live up to his editorial responsibilities, disciplinary action should be taken, with due regard for the safeguards suggested in Section I, Subdivision 1 above.

6. Any control exercised by the general student organization over other student organizations should be subject to the scrutiny of the faculty-student committee, to the end that the rights of those groups espousing unpopular opinions may be protected.

In addition to the foregoing safeguards dealing with the regulation of student organizations, due consideration should be given to the individual student as a private member of the community. Off the campus, provided that he does not identify himself as a representative of the student body or of the school, the student should freely exercise the same privileges as any other person in political campaigning, in picketing during labor or other disputes, or in other public activities. In the educational institution, similar activities should also be permitted to the fullest extent consistent with efficient educational functioning.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM *and* ACADEMIC RESPONSIBILITY

Their Meaning to Students, Teachers, Administrators and The Community

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Southern Regional Council

A Statement of Principles Concerning the Civil Liberties and Obligations of Students and Teachers in Public and Private Schools, Colleges, and Universities.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N.Y.
April, 1952

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Robert S. Michaelsen, *Iowa*
Ira DeA. Reid, *Pennsylvania*
Edgar Schuler, *Michigan*
Odell Shepard, *Connecticut*
V. T. Thayer, *Virginia*
E. C. Tolman, *California*
William Lindsay Young, *California*
Benjamin Youngdahl, *Missouri*

Foreword

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION is a continuing expression of faith in the vital principles of democracy set forth by the founding fathers in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States and of the several States. The Union believes that these principles are dynamic and that they have permitted us to preserve and extend our civil liberties through everchanging conditions. The Union implements this faith in every appropriate manner available to it.

Academic freedom has the same function in schools and colleges as civil liberties in the community at large. It enables students and teachers to act as responsible members of a democratic educational system within the larger framework of a democratic country. It assures them the rights of freedom of expression, fair procedures and equality of treatment.

Since 1925 the ACLU, through its Academic Freedom Committee has actively championed these rights wherever infractions of them or threats of such infractions have occurred. It has fought against legislation which restricts academic freedom, and for legislation which supports freedom in education. It has intervened with administrative officials. In the courts it has contested expulsions of students, and discharges of teachers because of their opinions, associations, or their exercise of rights as citizens. It has challenged in the courts religious "released time" programs and mandatory flag-salute regulations as unwarranted interference with freedom of conscience and the principle of separation of church and state. It has challenged efforts to control thought, special loyalty oath regulations and special inquisitions which admit hearsay and secret evidence. It has sought to arouse the public to resist the mounting demand for orthodoxy and conformity in political and economic thought. It has recognized the futility and delusiveness of any such orthodoxy.

The ACLU has sought to preserve in our schools and colleges the American traditions of a free market-place for ideas and of cultural diversity. These traditions recognize the need for encouraging differences in views and practices, and benefiting from them.

ACLU work for academic freedom has not been accomplished solely through the courts. Because of the nature of schools and school laws, which frequently do not render litigation advisable or possible, the ACLU has often resorted to negotiation, implemented when need be by publicity and the influence of cooperating organizations.

The relationship of the ACLU to other organizations which also defend academic freedom should be clearly understood. The ACLU maintains an independent position, but has cooperated when feasible with such organizations as the National Education Association (NEA), the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and the American

Association of University Professors (AAUP). These bodies are spokesmen for important professional groups.

The Academic Freedom Committee of the ACLU acts promptly and publicly on issues that deserve its intervention. Teachers and students are invited to communicate at once with the ACLU wherever and whenever such issues arise. Suggestions and advice, based on a knowledge of the best existing principles and practices, are gladly furnished to any who anticipate at any institution the adoption of policies in accord with the principles here stated and interpreted.

This pamphlet is the fifth in a series which ACLU has developed through its Academic Freedom Committee. In "The Gag on Teaching" (1932, 1937, 1940), it described state laws concerned with compulsory subjects of instruction, and with the injection of religion and the churches into education. In "What Freedom for American Students?" (1941), it dealt with controls on student activities. In "A Statement of the Principles of Academic Freedom" (1937), and in "Civil Liberties of Teachers and Students—Academic Freedom" (1949), it offered earlier statements of the principles set forth in this pamphlet.

The need for a new statement on academic freedom arises from a number of current pressing problems in academic freedom:

1. Teachers are being discharged because they hold, or are said to hold, unpopular political and economic views—or because they associate or are said to associate with persons holding such views. The proper criteria of responsible citizenship and teaching competence have been thrust aside. In some instances, loyalty oaths and inquisitorial techniques are used indiscriminately and outrageously in open violation of the civil liberties of teachers. These efforts hurt conscientious liberals vastly more than they do authoritarians, whether Communist or other. These efforts intimidate many more teachers than are formally arraigned or fired.

2. Individual students and student organizations are increasingly subject to investigation. Some administrators are building up permanent student dossiers which, extending far beyond proper official needs, often tend to restrict student participation in extra-curricular activities and to convert the results of worthy intellectual curiosity into permanent damage to individuals. Students are also being unduly restricted in their choice of speakers for student groups.

3. Hysterical, reactionary, or deliberately authoritarian elements in society are attempting to force educational institutions "into line" and are calling for dismissal of administrators where compliance is not immediate. Many administrators, instead of properly maintaining the independence of the schools, yield to and even approve outside pressures.

Improper pressures by sectarian forces are being brought to bear upon the American public school system in the areas of course content, recommended reading, teaching methods and selection of

staff. If successful, these pressures will substitute authority and orthodoxy for the free and healthy play of ideas among responsible democratic minds.

This pamphlet is a new statement of principles long advocated by the ACLU. For the sake of brevity it summarizes the principles without repeating illustrations presented in other ACLU publications. This restatement is intended to be a guide in dealing with issues of freedom and responsibility as they arise.

No briefly stated formulas can fit all cases and all problems. Applications of general principles are indicated as specifically as possible within the space available. Because controversial matters more often attract repressive efforts among students and teachers in colleges and high schools, the pamphlet devotes to them its chief attention.

Academic Freedom and Academic Responsibility

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY are here defined as the liberty and obligation to study, to investigate, to present and interpret, and to discuss facts and ideas concerning man, human society, and the physical and biological world in all branches and fields of learning. They imply no limitations other than those imposed by generally accepted standards of art, scholarship, and science. They include the right within and without institutions of learning to be free from any special limitations of investigation, expression, and discussion. As citizens, students and teachers have the rights accorded to all citizens.

Outside the academic scene the teacher has no less freedom than other citizens. He is not required because of his profession to maintain a timorous silence as a price of professional status. On the contrary his greater knowledge imposes upon him the twofold duty of advancing new and useful ideas and of helping to bury ideas which are outworn. However, since the public may judge his profession and his institution by his utterances, he should make every effort to maintain high professional excellence and at the same time to indicate that he does not speak for the institution which employs him. When he speaks or writes as an individual he should be free from both institutional and public censorship or discipline.

A time of crisis puts pressure on the schools to accept and inculcate current official interpretations of human behavior. Yet it is precisely in time of crisis that it is valuable democratic strategy to encourage the presentation of contrasting viewpoints and to cause students to realize that they are free to draw such conclusions as they think wise. As a member of an academic community and particularly as a teacher, the faculty member is free to present in the field of his professional competence his own opinions or convictions and with them the premises from which they are derived. It is his

duty, on the other hand, not to advocate any opinions or convictions derived from a source other than his own free and unbiased pursuit of truth and understanding. Commitments of any kind which interfere with such pursuit are incompatible with the objectives of academic freedom. To the extent that activities of Communists or others represent violations of law the violators should be vigorously prosecuted. When we attempt to prevent divergent thought, however, we neither strengthen democracy nor weaken its enemies.

Anti-democratic groups can readily obtain a strong hold upon a society stricken with a fear of ideas. Unless we as a people give new enthusiasm and support to traditional American democratic principles and practices, we are in grave danger of being victimized by such groups.

The concept of academic freedom, like the concepts of most of our other freedoms, never remains static. It is continually reinterpreted in the light of changing events and conditions. Of recent years it has been extended in two notable and important directions.

1. It was held until about twenty-five years ago that academic freedom related chiefly to colleges and universities. Now, with increased awareness of the vital significance of each stage in the whole educational process, we realize that all educational institutions must be assured of reasonable freedom.

2. It was earlier held that academic freedom concerned only the interests of teachers and that it only incidentally touched upon interests of students. Now we recognize that the indispensable basis of this liberty is freedom of inquiry and discussion within the whole institution and we realize that the distinction between teacher-freedom and student-freedom is artificial and should be discarded. It is to the interest of the public as a whole that this freedom be maintained for both students and teachers.

Our further discussion of academic freedom and responsibility falls into three sections. These restate ACLU interpretations of what academic freedom and responsibility mean (1) for students, (2) for teachers, and (3) for administrators and the community.

The Meaning of Academic Freedom and Academic Responsibility for Students

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS afford the nation's youth opportunities to develop into enlightened democratic citizens. Courses give students theoretical acquaintance with democratic processes. But learning becomes successful education only when theory finds reinforcement in practice. Both in their classes and through extracurricular functions (including extramural activities) faculties should encourage such activities as will provide democratic experiences.

The democratic way of life depends for its very existence upon the free contest of ideas. This is as true on the campus as in the community at large. If our students are to grow to political and social maturity, no step should be neglected which will habituate them to the free interchange of ideas—unpopular and strange ideas as well as those which are favored and familiar.

These primary considerations demonstrate the need for maintaining in extracurricular activities a system analogous, so far as practicable, to the rights of free speech and assembly enjoyed by the community at large. This system should begin to operate in the early grades in matters consonant with the intellectual and general maturity level of the students and gradually broaden as high school years are reached. Failure of an educational institution to maintain this principle not only thwarts student development but causes positive loss to the community in other ways. With anti-democratic forces rampant in the world, the danger of repressive policies regarding student activities becomes apparent. Some students of educational institutions which rigidly supervise expression may come to regard suppression of free speech as normal and possibly even desirable. Others may come to feel that established institutions are inimical to the public interest rather than designed to serve it.

The principles set forth in detail below are offered as guides to democratic organization and functioning in the extracurricular and extramural activities of a student body and in the relations between administrative authorities and the student body as a whole. They also apply to the relations between a general student organization (where one exists) and the rest of the student body. Specific recommendations are arranged, as nearly as possible, under the principles to which they correspond.

1. *A democracy encourages to the highest degree possible the participation of the governed in the governing process.*

a. *Right of Petition:* Students should have the right to petition school administrators for changes in curriculum, faculty, and school regulations.

b. *Due Process:* No student should be disciplined either by suspension, by notation in his permanent record, or by expulsion, without a prompt hearing at which he is presented with the evidence against him and given the opportunity to answer accusations.

c. *Student-Faculty Committee:* The regulation of extracurricular activities should be the function of a joint faculty-student committee, to which student members should be elected by the student body itself. If a provision of the charter or other basic code of the institution

vests such regulation in a dean or other administrative officer, or in the faculty or other body to which students may not be admitted, then the faculty-student committee should act in an advisory capacity, with the presumption that its advice will be followed. Such a faculty-student committee, whether acting in an independent or in an advisory capacity, should be concerned with the formulation and interpretation of all rules and regulations governing extracurricular activities. It should also sit as a judicial committee in all cases involving offenses in the field of extracurricular activities of such gravity as to entail a student's possible suspension or dismissal. In cases involving disciplinary action other than suspension or dismissal in connection with extracurricular activities, an appeal to this committee should be permitted.

d. *General Student Elections:* In the election of the officers of, and representatives to, the general student organization, the electorate should include the entire student body, or entire classes of other major divisions of that body, and should not be defined in terms of membership in clubs or organizations. The election of all student officers, committees, and boards should rest solely upon the students themselves, and it should not be subject to administrative or faculty approval. There should, of course, be the provision that academic authorities may properly set up a uniform system of academic eligibility requirements for the holding of major student offices.

2. ***A democratic government functions according to clearly defined and well-publicized laws.***

Regulations governing educational and extracurricular activities should be clearly and fully formulated to cover the institution's entire policy on program and student activities. Realistic and practical definitions should be used in place of such general criteria as "conduct unbecoming a student" or "against the best interests of an institution." Regulations should be formulated jointly by administrators, faculty, and student representatives, and should be made public to the whole academic community. Any changes in code should be promptly publicized. When simplification, clarification, or interpretation is needed, the matter should, as indicated above, be referred to the faculty-student committee.

3. ***The democratic way of life neither fears nor avoids competition in the marketplace of ideas. Its health depends upon the encouragement of such competition.***

a. *Freedom of Student Association:* Students should be free to organize associations for political, social, athletic, and other proper and

lawful purposes. The fact of affiliation with any extramural association should not in itself bar a group from recognition on the campus. Any group which plans political action or discussion, of whatever purpose or complexion and whether or not affiliated with a particular legal party, should be allowed to organize and be recognized in any educational institution. The administration should not discriminate against a student because of membership in any such organization.

b. *Statement of Affiliation:* All student organizations should in their charters define as clearly as possible their nature and purpose. Any student organization having an extramural affiliation should make clear the nature of this affiliation. If after due study and consideration the faculty-student committee concludes that the organization concealed, misrepresented or otherwise failed to make clear its purpose or affiliation, such finding may properly be continuously published to the educacational institution at large. Experience has shown that this is the most appropriate form of discipline for such cases, and that it is far more effective from the educational standpoint than withdrawal of recognition, suspension, or other disciplinary action. The emphasizing of the "publication" procedure in no sense implies a condoning or justification of concealment or misrepresentation.

c. *Guest Speakers:* Student organizations should be as free as any other responsible group of citizens to invite speakers to address them on any subject. We Americans should never be afraid of ideas. Citizens and especially students should have the right to hear persons who are in the forefront of controversy even though they are under suspension or indictment, at liberty pending appeal, or free after serving sentence.

4. ***A democracy combats possible abuses not by a system of precensorship but by definite fixing of responsibility for such abuses and the application of disciplinary measures when necessary.***

a. *Chartering of Student Organizations:* In order that the scope of activities of a student organization may be clearly defined, each organization applying for campus recognition (where recognition is required) should be obliged to submit a constitution or other statement setting forth its proposed purposes and modes of activity. A student organization should be granted recognition unless the provisions of its constitution contravene the standards suggested in Section 3 above. For administrative purposes each organization should be required to file and keep current a list of its officers, but it should not be required to file a list of its members.

b. *Organization Use of School Facilities:* The use of rooms and other

facilities should be made available, as far as their primary use for instructional purposes permits, to recognized student organizations acting within the provisions of their constitutions. Bulletin boards should be provided for the use of student organizations, and school-wide circulation of all notices and leaflets which come within the constitutional purposes of the organization concerned should be permitted. Objections to the content of a poster or piece of literature should not be misrepresented as efforts to safeguard school property against defacement or littering.

c. *Organization Use of School Name:* A student organization should be permitted to use the name of the school as part of its own name (*e.g.,* "The Northfield College Sociology Club" or "The Student Government Association of Smithfield High School"), and to use this name in all activities consistent with its constitution. Restrictions may fairly be placed on the use of the school name in extramural activities (such as participation in public demonstrations or parades), but any such restrictions should be applied without discrimination to all student organizations. They should also form part of the written rules and regulations referred to in Section 2 above.

d. *Advisers for Organizations:* Student organizations should select their own faculty advisers. No student group should be forbidden to function because of the lack of a faculty adviser. If no other faculty member is available, an administrative officer should serve as adviser. In no case should the advisers dominate the activities of a student group.

e. *Publication:* Students should be permitted to publish such newspapers or magazines as they wish, subject to the provisions for the recognition of student organizations suggested in subdivision (a) of this section. No censorship in advance should be exercised over the contents of any publication. If a student editor should abuse the prerogatives of his position in the publication of material, or if he should fail to live up to his editorial responsibilities, disciplinary action should be taken, with due regard for the proper safeguards stated in 1(b) above. Where there is a newspaper monopoly, adequate representation of minority viewpoints should be assured. Students should be permitted to sell publications that they produce. Humorous periodicals produced by students are ordinarily sold on school premises, and similar privileges should be accorded political publications. No distinction should be made between local publications and intercollegiate publications with local campus sponsorship.

f. *Student Controls Over Student Organizations:* Any control exercised by the general student organization over other student organizations should be subjected to scrutiny to the end that the rights of all student groups may be protected, even those espousing unpopular opinions.

5. ***Students should have the full rights and responsibilities of all citizens of a similar age.***

a. *Off-Campus Activities:* No college or university administrator should attempt to control the off-campus behavior of individual students in regard to their political, social, and economic activities (See also 4(c) above).

b. *Penalties:* No student should be penalized for exercising his rights as a citizen, even when this involves criticism of the school administration.

The Meaning of Academic Freedom and Academic Responsibility for Teachers

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY of teachers embraces two distinct areas: (1) the conduct of a teacher apart from specifically professional responsibilities and (2) his conduct in teaching and other activities directly related to professional responsibilities. An examination of the following principles reveals that the ACLU aligns itself with those adopted by the American Association of University Professors in 1947 and reaffirmed in 1950.

1. ***When not engaged in specifically professional activities, the teacher should be able to function with the freedom of any other citizen.***

a. *Freedom of Association:* In his private capacity the teacher should be as free as any other citizen to participate in political, religious, and social movements and organizations and in any other lawful activity, and to hold and to express publicly his political, religious, economic, and other views. The fact of his being a teacher should not debar him from any activities open to other citizens.

b. *Freedom of Expression:* The teacher should be as free as any other citizen to write on any subject which interests him. In the field of his professional competence he should speak and write mindful of the special responsibilities that professional standards impose. When acting as a private citizen, he should make it clear that he speaks, writes, and acts for himself and not for his institution. He should, however, be free to use his academic title for purposes of identification.

c. *Freedom to Organize:* Like any other professional or non-professional worker, the teacher should be free to organize with others to protect group interests, or to join existing unions or other organizations for such purposes. Any attempt on the part of an administration or other agency to prevent the establishment of such an organization,

or to hamper its activities, or to discriminate against its members, is a serious infringement on the freedom of teachers.

d. *Oaths:* Teachers should not be required to take any special oath of loyalty to the government. We object to the irrelevance and futility of such special oaths and to their use as thought-control devices. No one should be subjected, as a condition of holding a teaching position, to any test of religious belief or of political belief other than his pledge to support the Constitution of his state and of the United States. A test oath is the first step toward tyranny.

2. ***The criteria of performance for a teacher should be those associated with personal and professional integrity in a democratic society.***

a. *Professional Independence:* The basic question in this regard is whether the schools and colleges of a democracy should be independent institutions guided by professional standards of learning and teaching and scholarship, or whether they should be instruments of current national policy or of other special interests. The ACLU takes the position that the educational system in a democracy should be independent of government policy or that of any other special interest and free to carry out its own highest standards.

b. *Criteria of Appointment and Tenure:* A teacher should be appointed on the basis of his teaching ability and his competence in his professional field, not on the basis of his race, nationality, creed, religious or political belief or affiliation; a proper exception exists in the right of a private institution of publicly declared faith, denomination or special function to select teachers on a basis harmonious with its public declaration. Continuation of appointment and the granting of continuing tenure should depend upon a teacher's performance as a teacher. None of the factors excluded from entering into appointment should influence continuation of appointment.

As a classroom teacher, the teacher should seek to promote an atmosphere of free and earnest inquiry. This should include discussion of controversial issues without the assumption that they are settled in advance or that there is only one "right" answer in matters of dispute. Studying a philosophy or a social theory for the purpose of approving or denouncing it is not studying it with an open mind. Such discussion should include presentation of divergent opinions and doctrines, past and present, on a given subject. The teacher's own judgment forms a part of this material. If his judgment is clearly stated, his students are better able to appraise it and differ from it on the basis of other materials and views placed at their disposal than they would be if he were to attempt to conceal his bias by a claim to "objective" scholarship.

No set procedures for conduct of a class or for use of materials can guarantee the teacher's own integrity or take its place.

c. *Relationship of a Teacher's Views and Associations to his Teaching Position.* The central issue, in considering a teacher's fitness, is his own performance in his subject and his relationship with his students. The ACLU opposes as contrary to democratic liberties any ban or regulation which would prohibit the employment as a teacher of any person solely because of his views or associations, such as Communist or Fascist.

The ACLU does not oppose the ouster or rejection of any teacher found lacking in professional integrity. It will not defend a teacher duly discharged after proof that he has misused his position to pervert the academic process.

On the other hand, the ACLU steadfastly opposes any ban or regulation which would prohibit the educational employment of any person solely because of his personal views or associations (political, religious or otherwise). Even though a teacher may be linked with religious dogmatists or political authoritarians, the ACLU believes that he must nevertheless be appraised as an individual.

In advocating the principle of not imposing any tests on the beliefs or associations of teachers in public institutions the ACLU has been challenged by those who contend that a democratic society can not tolerate in its public schools teachers with anti-democratic beliefs or associations. The contention would be defensible if we could secure common agreement on what we mean by democratic and anti-democratic.

If we accept the views of dominant forces current at any one time or place there will be no end to the tests imposed on the fitness of teachers. If Communists are the main target today, as anarchists, socialists and the I.W.W. were a generation ago there will be some other main target tomorrow. What we do today to outlaw from teaching members of presently detested organizations creates the precedents by which all freedom of teaching can be destroyed. The ACLU stands on the principle that it is far better for our democracy to run the calculated risks of establishing freedom than to suffer the already proved dangers of repression.

Believing that an individualized judgment (as against generalized condemnation) is a basic democratic value, the ACLU urges the necessity for appraising the work of the individual teacher. The recent drives to discover Communist teachers illustrate the dangers of proceeding without specific charges that relate to a person's own conduct. In point of fact few Communists have been found in the nation's schools and colleges. But campaigns to expel Communists from educational posts have rarely stopped at their first objective; they have instead resulted in attacks upon persons who merely hold unpopular opinions. As a

consequence, teachers everywhere have been made less courageous and less independent in the pursuit of truth, more cautious and more subservient.

The harm done by a few teachers who might be undetected in misusing their teaching positions for political or religious ends, is far less than the harm that is done by making all teachers less responsible and less courageous. The political or religious screening of all teachers is far more dangerous to education than the presence of the occasional teacher who is misusing his profession. Intelligent, qualified persons are discouraged from going into the teaching profession by the knowledge that they may be dismissed for nonconformity.

The ACLU will intervene in appropriate cases involving the discharge of a teacher when action is taken by administrative officials without a prior unfavorable judgment by the teacher's colleagues based on professional incompetence, immoral conduct, or perversion of academic process.

d. *Campus Relations With Students Outside the Classroom:* The same standards of professional conduct which govern the teacher in the classroom should be observed by him elsewhere on the campus.

e. *Freedom of Research:* As a scholar and research worker, the teacher should be free to pursue truth in whatever form best expresses his convictions.

The Meaning of Academic Freedom and Academic Responsibility for Administrators and for the Community

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS are the center of any educational institution. Academic freedom and responsibility therefore serve and benefit the community to the extent that they are regarded as the right and obligation of students and teachers. It is the duty of adminisrators to provide the atmosphere in which academic freedom will flourish.

Let us look at what academic freedom and academic responsibility should mean to administrators and to the community in terms of the relationships (1) between the community and the educational institution, (2) between the administrator and the community, and (3) between the administrator and students and teachers.

1. *The Community has the right to demand that the educational institution shall be competently staffed and capably administered.*

a. *Control of Curriculum:* Matters of curriculum properly are the responsibility of the professional staff who are under obligation to be

guided by high professional standards of scholarship and of teaching methods and by full awareness of the community's educational needs. The community has the right to expect that its youth will be made aware of the common principles underlying our general culture and civilization. It has neither the right to, nor indeed any social justification for, insistence that a discussion of deviations from accepted principles be excluded from the curriculum. It may properly insist that teachers do not present deviant ideas in such a manner as to imply that they are generally accepted.

b. *Personal Conduct of Teachers:* The community may properly expect of its teachers a standard of personal conduct comparable to that required of other responsible professional members of the community and a standard of public conduct harmonious with the teacher's position. The teacher must not be deemed to have sacrificed any of his rights as a private citizen. He should be as free as any other person to participate in his private capacity in political and social movements and in any other lawful activity and to hold and to express publicly his political, economic, religious and other views.

c. *Separation of Church and State:* Parents and citizens generally have a right to expect that in the public schools and colleges there will be no effort by the staff to offer instruction or to institute ritualistic or dramatic presentations of a sectarian nature. The United States Supreme Court has reaffirmed that in the public schools as elsewhere in our governmental life there must be a "wall of separation" between the churches and governmental agencies. Parents also have a right to anticipate that, when it is contrary to their religious convictions, their children will not be obliged to receive military education or to render flag salutes. It is of course equally valid that such parents should have no right to interfere with the requirement of such practices upon the part of other children.

d. *Curriculum Content by Legislation:* The ACLU looks with apprehension upon the practice of determining curriculum content by means of legislative statute. The ACLU feels that this opens up an avenue for powerful groups to impose their educational ideas upon an unsuspecting community.

2. *The administrator should serve and not dominate a school system or college.*

a. *Creation of an Atmosphere of Freedom:* Administrators are often tempted to regard themselves as something more than facilitators of the study and teaching functions of their schools. Opportunism and considerations of expediency exert pressures upon them to restrict the areas of free investigation, discussion, and creation permissible to students and teachers. Our schools develop as mediums of growth and

opportunity to the extent that administrators are able to resist the temptation to seek safety or prestige by emphasis upon their function as leaders.

b. *Liaison Functions:* Administrators, whether public or private, see themselves properly in two principal perspectives. On the one hand, the community entrusts them with the task of representing reasonable and legitimate community objectives in the administration of the schools. When special pressures bear heavily upon them, they can perform their proper role only by withstanding such pressures in the interests of broad and continuing community obligations. On the other hand, the community entrusts administrators with the task of serving as a liaison between itself and the desirable ferment to be found in a healthy body of students and teachers. In other words, the administrator should understand quite sympathetically and broadly the reasonable and legitimate objectives of both community and student-teacher body, and he should attempt as well as he can to facilitate the long-term aims of both. When there is a necessary choice, the freedom and responsibility of students and teachers should always have priority.

c. *Resistance to Pressure:* The administrator should resist the efforts of pressure groups which seek to eliminate experimental curriculums, or which seek to influence the curriculums in a particular direction against the advice of the professional staff.

Transportation

Memorandum from . . . . **AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS**

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. : TRafalgar 9-4500

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1951
Southern Regional Council

October 8, 1951

To: Community Relations Councils & Group Relations Agencies
From: Leo Pfeffer

In September of this year a reservation clerk employed by the American Airlines at La Guardia Airport in Queens County New York approached us with a complaint that he had been discharged because of his refusal to use a code designation for Negroes on passenger reservations. He informed us that all reservation clerks were instructed during their training period, to use the code so that the Company might be able to seat a Negro passenger next to another Negro passenger where practicable. Aside from the question of our complainant's discharge, we felt that the practice, squarely raised an important issue in the New York Civil Rights Law. The New York Civil Rights Law prohibits racial or religious discrimination in places of public accommodation, and it was our contention that a prohibition against discrimination included segregation. We, therefore, filed a complaint with the District Attorney of Queens County in which we charged that the action of the American Airlines constituted a violation of the New York Civil Rights Law.

At the request of the District Attorney, we prepared a brief in support of our contention. Thereafter a conference was held with the District Attorney, at which were present the Attorneys for the Company, CLSA on behalf of the American Jewish Congress and the discharged employee of American Airlines, and the District Attorney. The Company submitted a letter to the District Attorney in which it admitted that it used the code E-111 to designate Negro passengers, but claimed that it had discontinued the practice of segregating Negro passengers on planes. It undertook and did issue a directive to all employees to discontinue forthwith the use of any code to designate Negro passengers or to make any reference to the race of a passenger applying for reservations.

This assurance was accepted by the District Attorney and American Jewish Congress. However, at our request the District Attorney sent a communication to every air line operating at LaGuardia Airport and International Airport, both of which are in Queens County, stating his opinion that segregation of Negro passengers constitutes discrimination in violation of the civil rights law and directing discontinuance of any code or other means to designate Negro passengers. In this respect the District Attorney followed a precedent established by Frank Hogan, District Attorney of New York County in 1943 when he sent a communication to all newspapers in New York County expressing his view that the use of the term "restricted or selected clientele" by resorts in their advertisements violated the civil rights law and subjected the newspaper to prosecution. That letter resulted in discontinuance of the use of these terms in New York advertisements.

We believe that you may find our brief useful and are therefore enclosing a copy.

CLSA Reports
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th St., New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

PROPOSALS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS TO THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION ON THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION (WICKS-ROMAN LAW)

The Wicks-Roman Law (Chapter 285 of the Laws of 1952) which becomes effective on July 1st of this year, entrusts the New York State Commission Against Discrimination with the responsibility for the enforcement of the State's long-standing policy against discrimination in public accommodations. The American Jewish Congress has for many years concerned itself with the problems of racial and religious discrimination, not only against Jews but against all minorities, and the Commission has always considered the suggestions it has offered concerning the laws which it administers. We therefore believe it appropriate to offer a number of suggestions to the Commission which may be helpful in evolving a program for the effective administration and enforcement of the new Law. Accordingly, we respectfully submit the following proposals.

1. <u>The adoption of regulations</u>

Effective enforcement of the Law can better be assured, if indeed it is not required, by the promulgation of regulations

setting forth the procedures to be followed in utilizing the Law and substantively interpreting, wherever necessary, its language and policy. The substantive provisions of the Wicks-Roman act have been a part of the laws of this State for almost three quarters of a century, and many cases have been decided by the courts interpreting much of the language contained therein. The procedure prescribed by the act has been in operation at least since 1945, when the Law Against Discrimination in Employment was enacted. There is therefore ample background of law and administrative experience to enable the Commission to promulgate regulations.

Among the matters which might properly be the subject of procedural regulations are a definition of who constitutes an "aggrieved party" entitled to file complaints under the Law; the use of a uniform complaint form; the policy and practice of self-initiated investigations by the Commission; the policy and practice of publicity on satisfactory settlements or adjustments of complaints; and the policy and practice of attempted reconciliation in absence of jurisdiction to hold a hearing and issue a cease and desist order on a specific complaint.

On substantive matters, regulations might appropriately be issued defining the meaning of "discrimination" in terms of segregation, inferior service, etc.; defining the meaning of the term "private" and specifying the conditions for exemption as an "institution, club, or place of accommodation which is in its nature distinctly private"; defining the exemption of religious and denominational institutions; setting forth policy and practice

with respect to discriminatory advertisements published in local newspapers by out-of-state resorts; and defining what constitutes a discriminatory advertisement (e.g., "Near Christian Churches").

These are but some of the items which might appropriately be the subject of regulations. Such regulations, however, should not be issued until after a public hearing at which individuals, industry representatives and organizations concerned with the problem of discrimination are given an opportunity to present their views. The American Jewish Congress would be prepared, at such a hearing, to present its suggestions as to regulations in specific form.

2. Educational program

We urge the Commission to undertake a program to educate both the resort industry and the public to their rights and duties under the Law. We note that the Commission has recently notified all resort owners and operators in the state that the Law will shortly be in effect, at the same time explaining its meaning and requesting the industry's cooperation in its enforcement. From time to time, additional mailings should be made. In addition spot announcements might be made on radio and television, or whole programs devoted to convincing the industry and the public that adherence to the Law is in the best interest of both industry and public. Posters and display cards should be placed on trains and buses serving the resort areas. Resort operators should be required to display the text or a summary of the Law in the lobby of their hotels at or near the registration or reservation desk. The American Automobile Association and the travel bureaus should be requested to include a short

educational message in their literature, and other media of mass communication should be employed for this purpose. In addition, the newspapers should be given full information regarding the enactment and operation of the law and should be encouraged to publish news and feature stories and editorials stressing the importance of human rights and equal treatment to all races and creeds. Similar programs, modified as far as necessary, should be adopted for the other industries affected by the Law.

3. Industry co-operation

A determined effort should be made to obtain widespread industry co-operation. We believe that most resort, hotel and restaurant owners are not prejudiced and would gladly comply with the requirements of the Law if they were assured that it would be uniformly administered, and that their problems and suggestions would receive fair consideration. For that purpose, we propose the setting up of industry committees of owners of summer resorts, hotels, restaurants and other places of public accommodation. These committees should be invited and encouraged to work with the Commission and its staff in achieving a smooth administration of the Law.

4. Government co-operation

The co-operation of all state and municipal agencies should be sought in the administration of the Law. Thus, the brochures and other material published by the state to advertise its attractiveness as a vacation area should contain educational material on the state's policy of human rights and equality.

The offices of municipal licensing bureaus for hotels and restaurants should be requested to keep exposed literature explaining the Law and its importance so that applicants for licenses will be able to obtain ready information.

5. Newspaper advertisements

The Commission should undertake a continuing check on newspaper advertisements of resorts and restaurants. It should seek the cooperation of the newspapers and urge them to refuse advertisements which are intended or are likely to facilitate discrimination. Under New York law, as interpreted by the courts, newspapers clearly have a legal right to refuse to publish such advertisements. The new Law, we believe, imposes a legal duty on newspapers to reject them since the publication of such advertisements would constitute aiding and abetting discrimination prohibited by the Law. In any case, the Commission should impress on newspapers their moral obligation to avoid any conduct which facilitates discrimination.

6. Interstate Cooperation

Statutes providing for the administrative enforcement of laws against discrimination in places of public accommodation now exist in five contiguous states, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Cooperation among these states will be of great value in the enforcement of these laws. One of the arguments most widely used against laws prohibiting discrimination by resorts is the fear of loss of business to resorts in nearby states where anti-discrimination laws do not exist or are not enforced. Whatever validity this

argument may have can be countered by uniform enforcement of the equal accommodation laws in these five states.

It is therefore particularly important that the Eastern States Conference of Commissions Against Discrimination use its machinery to obtain uniform enforcement in the field of public accommodations. We suggest further that at least one meeting during each session of the Conference be open to representatives of the regulated industries and of organizations concerned with the enforcement of the laws.

The foregoing are some of the steps which the Commission might take to help assure compliance by the respective industries with the new Wicks-Roman law. Of course, these suggestions are not exhaustive. We do believe, however, that they encompass a practical and effective approach to the enforcement of the Law and we therefore respectfully submit them for the consideration of the Commission.

Respectfully submitted,

Will Maslow

Leo Pfeffer, of counsel.

June 23, 1952

Pub Accom

Memorandum from . . . . **AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS**

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

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Southern Regional Council

June 23, 1952

TO: Community Relations Councils and Group Relations Agencies

FROM: Leo Pfeffer

I enclose a copy of a memorandum submitted by the American Jewish Congress to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination containing proposals on the enforcement of the law against discrimination in places of public accommodation. That law (the Wicks-Roman Law) was enacted by the New York State Legislature this Spring and goes into effect on July 1, 1952. It gives the Commission, which now administers the 1945 Law Against Discrimination in Employment, power to administer the law which forbids discrimination in hotels, resorts, theatres, retail stores, and other places of public accomodation.

With the enactment of this statute and a similar one in Rhode Island this year, there are now five states which provide for the administrative enforcement of public accommodations statutes. The first state to adopt this procedure was New Jersey which, in 1949, enacted the Freeman Law, drafted by AJCongress. Connecticut followed suit the same year and Massachusetts in 1950.

The enclosed memorandum suggests, among other things, the adoption of certain substantive and procedural regulations, the initiation of an educational campaign, and steps to insure cooperation by other government agencies.

Enc.

CLSA Reports
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
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To: Jewish Community Relations Councils
Group Relations Agencies

From: Will Maslow

RECENT AMENDMENTS TO PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION LAWS

An amendment extending the coverage of the Massachusetts statute prohibiting discrimination by places of public accommodation, resort and amusement was adopted by the Massachusetts Legislature and signed by Governor Herter on June 2, 1953.

The amendment enlarging the definition of places of public accommodation to include motels, cabins, swimming pools and numerous other facilities and services not previously covered by Massachusetts law, was adapted from a model definition of places of public accommodation recently prepared by the Commission on Law and Social Action of AJCongress. Abraham T. Alper, president of the New England Division, AJCongress, and Gerald Berlin, New England CLSA representative, attended the bill-signing ceremonies.

Although the Massachusetts amendment follows the model definition prepared by CLSA quite closely, certain changes were made by the Massachusetts Legislature which limit the scope of the new definition. For example, coverage of hospitals, dispensaries and clinics is limited to those operating for profit, leaving non-profit hospitals free to discriminate. Another exemption (limited in the CLSA definition to charitable organizations operated by or in connection with a religious organization) has been changed to exclude all charitable organizations from the operation of the law whether or not they are connected with religious institutions. Finally, the new amendment contains some unnecessary enumeration of specific places of public accommodation.

Massachusetts' action extending the coverage of the public accommodations statute was emulated by the 1953 Connecticut legislature. However, the Connecticut amendment rather than defining places of public

accommodation in greater detail as was done in Massachusetts struck out the existing specific enumeration of places of public accommodation and substituted a more inclusive definition. A place of public accommodation is now defined by Connecticut law as "any establishment ... which caters or offers its services or facilities or goods to the general public." The Connecticut definition lists specifically only "public housing projects" and the newly-added "publicly assisted housing." The Connecticut legislature also amended the public accommodations statute to prohibit segregation or "separation."

Ignoring the new trend evidenced in several Eastern states of vesting enforcement of public accommodation statutes in an administrative agency, the Oregon legislature recently enacted a law prohibiting discrimination by public accommodations and providing for enforcement by the aggrieved party in civil suits. Damages up to $500 may be recovered. Oregon is the first state to adopt a public accommodations law since 1909 and increases to 19 the total of such statutes.

The State of Washington which has had a four line statute since 1909 making discriminatory denials of public accommodations a misdemeanor, enacted an amendment defining the terminology used in that statute. The broad definition now given the statutory language, particularly the enlarged definition of "places of public resort, accommodation, or amusement" should enlarge the scope of and increase the effectiveness of the statute. However, like the Oregon statute the enforcement of the Washington Act must still depend on complaints by aggrieved persons to prosecuting attorneys and court actions for damages.

June 8, 1953

CLSA Reports

COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
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AMENDMENT TO MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-DISCRIMINATION STATUTE
ENLARGING THE DEFINITION OF PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

Section 92A of chapter 272 of the General Laws, inserted by chapter 117 of the acts of 1933, is hereby amended by striking out the second paragraph and inserting in place thereof the following:- A place of public accommodation, resort or amusement within the meaning hereof shall be defined as and shall be deemed to include any place whether licensed or unlicensed, which is open to and accepts or solicits the patronage of the general public and, without limiting the generality of this definition, whether or not it be (1) an inn, tavern, hotel, shelter, roadhouse, motel, trailer camp or resort for transient or permanent guests or patrons seeking housing or lodging, food, drink, entertainment, health, recreation or rest; (2) a carrier, conveyance or elevator for the transportation of persons, whether operated on land, water or in the air, and the stations, terminals and facilities appurtenant thereto; (3) a gas station, garage, retail store or establishment, including those dispensing personal services; (4) a restaurant, bar or eating place, where food, beverages, confections or their derivatives are sold for consumption on or off the premises; (5) a rest room, barber shop, beauty parlor, bathhouse, seashore facilities or swimming pool; (6) a boardwalk or other public highway; (7) an auditorium, theatre, music hall, meeting place or hall, including the common halls of buildings; (8) a place of public amusement, recreation, sport, exercise or entertainment; (9) a public library, museum or planetarium; or (10) a hospital, dispensary or clinic operating for profit; provided, however, that no place shall be deemed to be a place of public accommodation, resort or amusement which is owned or operated by a club or institution whose products or facilities or services are available only to its members and their guests nor by any religious, racial or denominational institution or organization, nor by any organization operated for charitable or educational purposes.

Approved by Governor
June 2, 1953

Loyalty Investigation

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

September 30, 1953

The widespread denunciation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities for releasing testimony of Benjamin Gitlow labeling the late rabbis, Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes, as Communist collaborators in the early 1920's has focussed attention anew on the abuses of legislative investigating committees. You may be interested therefore in the attached analysis of the entire Gitlow episode and the issues it has raised. Your comments on this will be most welcome.

Shad Polier,
Chairman, Executive Committee

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THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES: A CASE HISTORY OF THE ABUSE OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Throughout its long and turbulent history, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been criticized for injuring innocent people, confusing popular understanding of the meaning of Communism, attempting to throttle social and economic views it disliked and otherwise misusing its functions. The recent attack on the deceased rabbis, Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes, is the latest and one of the most alarming illustrations of the Committee's procedures. Because this episode has widespread significance, we are setting forth an analysis of the affair.

On September 11, 1953 the House Committee on Un-American Activities released to the press without comment four volumes of testimony delivered before a sub-committee sitting in executive, i.e., private, session in New York City on July 6, 7, 8, 13 and 14, 1953. The testimony consisted in the main of statements by ex-Communists linking Protestant clergymen to the Communist Party. The volumes are entitled "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area."

Included in the 310 pages of testimony released was one statement by Benjamin Gitlow reading as follows (p. 2077):

> "To be specific: Before the creation of the front organizations,* the ministers who carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it were limited in numbers.
>
> The outstanding ones among them were, besides Dr. Harry Ward, Dr. William B. Spofford, Jerome Davis, Rev. Tucker P. Smith, Rev. Irwin St.John Tucker, Rabbi Judal (sic) L. Magnes, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Rev. Sidney Strong, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise."

This was the first indication anyone had had that the names of Drs. Wise or Magnes had been mentioned by any witness before the Committee.

The paragraph of Gitlow's testimony concerning Dr. Wise and Magnes was incorporated in the Associated Press account of the attack on the Protestant clergy and published throughout the country on September 12, 1953. It is significant that many newspapers, on their own initiative, refused to publish this paragraph and omitted any reference in their stories to Dr. Wise or Magnes; a sufficiently large number, however, did use the Gitlow attack on the rabbis so that it immediately became a matter of national interest.

The Gitlow testimony

Benjamin Gitlow gave his testimony on July 7, 1953 in New York City before Representative Kit Clardy (Rep.-Mich.) and Francis E. Walter (Dem.-Pa.), a sub-committee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Questioned by Robert L. Kunzig, Committee Counsel, Gitlow

*Identified previously by the witness as before 1922.

described himself as one of the top officials of the Communist Party in the United States from 1919 to 1929, when he was expelled. At the time of his expulsion, he was general secretary of the Party in charge of its work in the textile unions. Mr. Kunzig stated that the main purpose for which Gitlow had been invited to testify was to give his "experience in connection with the relationship of the Communist Party to religion."

Gitlow began by describing the Communist Party as an atheistic organization that nevertheless had a policy of infiltration of religious organizations and named a half-dozen Protestant clergymen who had "worked closely" with the Party.

Mr. Kunzig then asked whether Gitlow could tell how the Communists infiltrated "the religious field." He replied that before he answered he would deal briefly with "the tactic of the united front adopted by the Communists in 1922" after their policy of instigating revolutions in Germany and elsewhere had failed.

This united front policy, according to Gitlow, resulted in the formation by the Communist Party of many united front organizations in the United States. He then continued: "To be specific: Before the creation of the front organizations, the ministers who carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it were limited in numbers" (underlining added). He then named "the outstanding ones among them" as Rabbi Magnes, Rabbi Wise, Rev. John Haynes Holmes and six other Protestant ministers of whom three had already been named by him. There was no other references by Gitlow to Drs. Wise or Magnes or any other rabbi.

It is evident that Gitlow in his references to Wise and Magnes was referring to the five years between November, 1917, the date of the Soviet revolution and 1922, or a period thirty years before the date he testified.

Dr. Magnes left the United States and emigrated to Palestine in 1922 settling permanently in that country. In 1925 he became Chancellor of the Hebrew University in Palestine. Gitlow clearly therefore was referring to events before 1922.

Far more shocking than Gitlow's performance was that of the Committee. It allowed him to make his thirty-year old charges without requiring him to substantiate them with the slightest evidence. Gitlow was not questioned at all about this reference to Wise or Magnes. He was not asked how he knew about the alleged Communist collaboration, whether it was based on his personal knowledge or hearsay or when the collaboration took place. It will be noted that Gitlow lumped together the ministers "who carried out the instructions of the Communist Party" with those who "collaborated" with it, as though there were no differences in the two accusations. The sub-committee did not ask Gitlow what he meant by the term "collaborated." Judging by the Committee's past record, "collaboration" may mean anything from taking a public stand on an issue paralleling that of the Communist Party to joining an organization that is any time dominated by Communists. The term, however, as the ordinary reader would understand it, means conscious, deliberate and systematic cooperation. In the present state of public opinion, a charge that an individual has "collaborated" with Communists is almost equivalent to branding him a traitor.

On September 24, 1953, the Peekskill (N.Y.) Evening Star published a letter from Benjamin Gitlow (a resident of the area) defending himself against attacks because of his testimony concerning Dr. Wise and Magnes. In the course of his letter, he wrote:

> "It was the purpose of this testimony to show how the communist movement, from its very inception--though anti-religious and in principal atheistic--was able to attract a number of well-meaning, liberal and social-minded religious leaders such as Rabbis Magnes and Wise. The charge was not made that they were ever communists or members of the Communist Party."

It will be noted that Gitlow was now retreating if not recanting, Rabbis who he had previously sworn had "carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it" were now described as "well-meaning, liberal and social-minded religious leaders" who were never "members of the Communist Party" or "communists." Gitlow apparently draws a distinction between communists with a small "c" and members of the Communist Party. Drs. Wise and Magnes, he stated, fell into neither category. They are now described merely as "well-meaning" leaders whom the "communist movement" was able to "attract." Here again Gitlow gives no dates nor any other evidence to support his assertion and again uses a vague and meaningless word like "attract" to indicate a relationship with the communists.

Had the Committee shown the slightest responsibility or sense of fair play, it would have refused to countenance this denunciation, on the unsupported assertion of one witness, based on nebulous charges thirty-years old. Instead, heedless of the injury it might do to

the reputations of two dead rabbis, it made Gitlow's testimony public. The Committee thereby immunized Gitlow from civil or criminal libel proceedings (in New York it is a crime maliciously to defame the reputation of the dead) and allowed anyone now to republish this portion of the official transcript of the testimony with impunity.

Reactions to the "Charges"

The public reaction to the Gitlow smear was instantaneous and vigorous. Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, and Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, issued a joint statement which was printed in full by the New York Times and given generous space throughout the country.

The Goldstein-Eisendrath statement described the action of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as "a shocking and frightening betrayal of elementary public responsibility and decency," expressed the hope that "this climactic revelation of the irresponsible character of the Committee's procedures will move the American people to action in defense of their liberties" and concluded that Gitlow's charge was "a contemptible and vile desecration of two of the most noble and revered names in American Jewish history."

Thereafter many leading American organizations and many distinguished American citizens, Jewish and non-Jewish, joined in denouncing this latest action of the Velde Committee.

The national board of the National Council of Churches of Christ, the central body of American Protestantism, condemned the "utter

disregard of the American tradition of fair play" in releasing accusations against the two dead rabbis "revered not only by their co-religionists but millions of other Americans" and described the Committee's action as "yet another example of the abuse of the Congressional investigative process."

The Synagogue Council of America, representing the major congregational and rabbinic groups in this country, condemned the Velde Committee for its "cowardly attack." The National Community Relations Advisory Council scored the "irresponsible" publication of unsupported charges and called upon Congress as "its first order of business when it reconvenes" to adopt fair rules of procedure for Congressional investigating committees.

Rabbi Irving Miller, president of the Zionist Organization of America, accused the Committee of "almost unbelievable irresponsibility" and called the charges against Rabbis Wise and Magnes "fantastic" and "ridiculous." The board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made public a resolution denouncing the "unsupported charges." (Dr. Wise in 1909 had been one of the founders of the NAACP.) Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in a public statement called Gitlow's testimony "a reckless attack" and urged the Committee that "testimony given in secret hearings should not be made public until the Congressional Committee has weighed carefully possible unfair impact upon the reputations or memory of honorable Americans who can no longer defend themselves." The

Community Church of New York (of which Dr. John Haynes Holmes is minister emeritus) and the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue defended the records of Dr. Holmes and Dr. Wise and called upon Congress to adopt a code of fair procedures. The Community Church stated:

> "The practice of releasing unchecked and unanswered testimony to the public, without making adequate effort to determine whether or not it is accurate or true, and without presenting the full records of the individuals, is a violation of the sacredness of individual personality."

Dr. Holmes, a lifelong friend and co-worker with Dr. Wise in innumerable civic and social causes, was for many years chairman of the board of the American Civil Liberties Union whose constitution bars Communists from holding office or staff positions.

Several influential newspapers including the New York Times, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the New York Post assailed the Committee. (Other editorials may have been published but they have not come to out attention.) The New York Times reminded its readers that the Committee for more than a decade had been "playing fast and loose with the reputation of citizens whose views on economic and social matters differed from its own." The St. Louis Post-Dispatch in an editorial entitled "A Devious Attack" rebuked the committee because it "did not have the courage to make an honest statement of their own. They merely released the testimony of the witnesses and let this completely unsifted gossip stand for evidence." The New York Post point of view is epitomized in the title of its editorial: "They Can't Talk Back."

The only dissenting voices that have come to our attention are The Tablet, the official organ of the Roman Catholic diocese of Brooklyn, which supported Gitlow's attack on Dr. Wise, and Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, who expressed his faith in the integrity of Gitlow.

The Velde Committee Rules of Procedure

The Wise-Magnes incident dramatizes the need for the reform of the procedure of legislative investigating committees and focusses attention on the wholly inadequate rules of the Velde Committee that made possible an attack on the memory of two deceased and revered rabbis.

On July 15, 1953, the Velde Committee made public its "Rules of Procedure," the first rules it has ever adopted (Cong. Rec., July 16, 1953, p. 5076). The Rules indicate some awareness that innocent persons may be injured by the procedures of the Committee. Thus Rule IV A(1) provides that if a majority of the Committee or a sub-committee thereof believe that the interrogation of a witness in a public hearing might "unjustly injure" the reputation of other individuals, the Committee shall conduct such interrogations in an executive session. Testimony in executive sessions must be kept "secret" and "shall not be released or used in public sessions without the approval of a majority of the Committee" (Rule IV A (3)).

The same awareness of this unjust injury is indicated by another rule entitled "Rights Of Persons Affected By A Hearing" (Rule X) that requires the Committee "where practicable" to notify any person that has been named in a public hearing before it as "subversive, Fascist, Communist, or affiliated with one or more subversive-front organization, who has not been previously so named." Such notice is to be given "within a reasonable time" after the naming. A person thus notified may within 15 days of such notice request the opportunity of testifying in public about such accusations (Rule XB).

These rules are obviously inadequate to prevent such incidents as the Gitlow smear. Nor indeed could any rule be formulated that would hold the Committee even to elementary notions of fair play or decency in releasing testimony given in secret session. Obviously a committee with any sense of responsibility would have on its own motion rejected out of hand the flimsy assertions of Gitlow concerning alleged conduct thirty years ago.

More basic than rules regulating procedure are rules limiting the scope of the Committee's investigative power. Today it is authorized by the standing rules of the House to investigate "the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities." But the rules do not and indeed could hardly define "un-American." What is "un-American" for the House Committee on Un-American Activities evidently is, as the New York Times has put it, views on social and economic matters differing from its own. As long as the Committee is given carte blanche to libel anyone living or dead as "un-American," no reputation in the United States is safe.

Failing a complete overhauling of the Committee's functions, the next most important step is to reconstitute the Velde Committee and others like it. It is obviously not enough to man the Velde Committee with lawyers, according to the custom of the House, for lawyers when they sit on legislative investigating committees apparently forget all they have learned about due process and fair play and the evaluation of evidence. Members of such committees should be those who have demonstrated that they value responsibility, objectivity and judicial standards of fair play more than headlines.

While these larger goals are being fought for, half-way measures must be sought. One is the adoption of rules of procedure designed to place some check upon the hit-and-run-tactics of the Committee. For example, rules should be adopted that would (1) forbid the Committee to make public any testimony injuring the reputation of any living or dead person, unless the Committee itself evaluates such testimony and makes detailed findings about it; (2) forbid the release of such defamatory testimony until the person defamed or the representatives of the deceased person have been given a copy of the accusation and the opportunity to comment thereon; and (3) compelling the Committee if it makes public the accusation, simultaneously to release the answer or defense. Such rules are necessary because the Wise-Magnes incident is not an isolated one. The Committee through its long and stormy history has rarely been able to distinguish between accusation and judgment or ever been able to evaluate a person's record as a whole.

Conclusion

Drs. Wise and Magnes have been revered too long by millions of Americans for their reputations to be tarnished by a witness like Gitlow or an agency like the Velde Committee. What is frightening about the episode is not the injury done to a living person or the memory of a dead one but rather the utter lack of responsibility on the part of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. If Dr. Wise and Dr. Magnes can be labelled as Communist on the naked assertion of a notoriety-seeking witness, then no reputation is safe in America.

The spontaneous indignation and resentment of distinguished organizations and individuals is healthy and reassuring. But their sense of outrage must be focussed upon constructive goals; the redefinition of the functions and reform of the procedures of legislative investigating committees. This reform can only be accomplished by the building up of a sound public opinion and tradition that will hold up to public scorn any legislator violating the common decencies. When the conscience of America is so aroused that it no longer is good politics to smear innocent people, effective rules of procedure can be adopted to preserve and protect our American tradition of fair play.

Will Maslow

9/30/53

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

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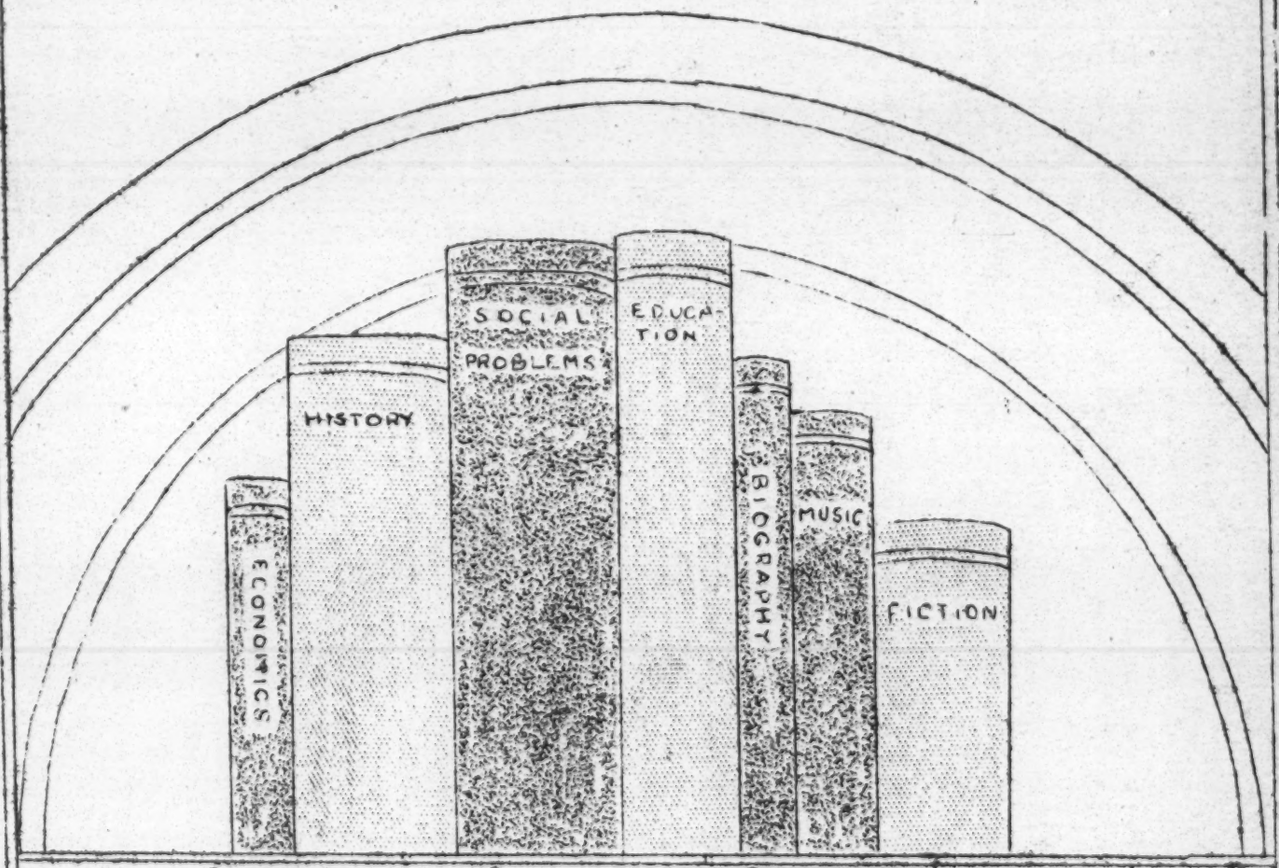

Emergency Education Program

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

NEW JERSEY

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

William H. J. Ely
State Administrator
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THE AMERICAN NEGRO

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State Supervisor, Negro Adult Education

Compiled By
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PROGRAMS AND AGENCIES

*****
***
*

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****

AUTHORS

	PAGE
ALLEN, JAMES S.	23
ARTHUR, GEORGE	21
AZIKIWE, NNANDI	12
BAKER, PAUL E.	23
BANCROFT, FREDERICK	14
BARTON, REBECCA CHALMERS	24
BECKWITH, MARTHA WARREN	15
BERRY, ERRICK	8
BOND, HORACE MANN	11
BOWEN, TREVOR	20
BRAWLEY, BENJAMIN	14, 16, 20
BROWN, INA CORINNE	24
BROWN, MRS. JOSEPH	11
BROWN, STERLING	17
BUELL, RAYMOND	12
BULLOCK, RALPH W.	2
CALVERTON, V.F.	15
CAMPBELL, THOMAS MONROE	12
CAMPION, C.T.	2
CARTER, CHARLES W.	15

PAGE

CATTERALL, HELEN TUNICLIFF 20

CLINCHY, EVERETT R. 18

COCKE, SARAH JOHNSON 9

COLEMAN, MRS. GEORGE P. 14

COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, CHICAGO 26

CONNELLY, MARC 16

COSTLEN, HARRIET GIFT 9

CULLEN, COUNTEE 16

CUNEY-HARE, MAUD 16

CUTHBERT, MARION 17

DABNEY, WENDELL 20

DAVIS, FRANK MARSHALL 15

DETWEILER, F. G. 22

DICKERMAN, HALLIE F. 9

DOWD, JEROME 21

DUBOIS, W.E.B. 10, 20

EHRLICH, LEONARD 2

EMBREE, EDWIN R. 19

EVERETT, FAYE 20

FAUSET, ARTHUR HUFF 2

FAUSET, JESSIE REDMON 9, 10

FELDMAN, HERMAN 5

FERRIS, WILLIAM H. 10

FISHER, RUDOLPH 8

FLEMING, WALTER 11

FRAZIER, E. FRANKLIN 22

GORDON, TAYLOR 2

GORER, GEOFFREY 1

GOSNELL, HAROLD F. 4

GREENE, LORENZO J. 4

PAGE

GUERARD, ALBERT 19

HALL, EGERTON E. 4

HANKINS, FRANK H. 1

HARRIS, ABRAM L. 3, 26

HAYNES, GEORGE EDMUND 25

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE J. 11, 18

HERTZ, FREDERICK 1

HEYWOOD, CHESTER D. 13

HILL, JOHN LOUIS 22

HOGAN, INEZ 9

HUGHES, LANGSTON 10, 16, 17

JENNESS, MARY 3

JOHNSON, CHARLES S. 5, 21, 24

JOHNSON, EDWARD A. 14

JOHNSON, GUY B. 16

JOHNSON, J. ROSAMOND 17

JOHNSON, JAMES WELDON 7, 10, 15, 16, 17, 21

KENNEDY, LOUISE VENABLE 4, 25

KENNEDY, EMMET R. 7

KERLIN, ROBERT T. 25

KING, WILLIS J. 22

KLINEBERG, OTTO 22

LARSEN, NELLA 9

LANIER, LYLE H. 25

LASKER, BRUNO 23

LEIPER, HENRY SMITH 19

LEWINSON, PAUL 13

LITTLE, ARTHUR W. 11

LOGGINS, VERNON 16

LUNN, ARNOLD 3

PAGE

MAYS, BENJAMIN E. 12

MCKAY, CLAUDE 1, 8

MILLER, MAE 13

MOTON, ROBERT RUSSA 25

NEARING, SCOTT 19

NICHOLSON, JOSEPH W. 12

ODUM, HOWARD W. 16

OLDHAM, J. H. 19

OVINGTON, MARY WHITE 3

PADMORE, GEORGE 11

PETERKIN, JULIA 7

PETERSON, JOSEPH 25

REED, RUTH 22

REID, IRA D. 4

REUTER, EDWARD BYRON 18, 23, 24

RICHARDSON, WILLIS 13

ROBESON, ELISSA 2

ROSS, FRANK A. 25

RUSSELL, GARTH THOMAS 24

SCHUYLER, GEORGE S. 7

SELIGMANN, HERBERT 21

SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD 14

SHUFELDT, R. W. 1

SPERO, STERLING D. 3

SPIVAK, JOHN 8

SUTTON, D. MANNERS 7

SWIFT, HILDEGARDE HOYT 13

THURMAN, WALLACE 8

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, Bureau of the Census 25

PAGE

VANDERCOOK, JOHN W. 2

VINOGRADOV, ANATOLII 7

WASHINGTON, BOOKER T. 3

WASHINGTON, E. DAVIDSON 17

WAXMAN, PERCY 2

WEATHERFORD, WILLIS D. 13, 24

WESLEY, CHARLES H. 4

WHITE, WALTER 8, 24

WOODSON, CARTER GODWIN 4, 10, 12, 13, 14, 23

WOOFTER, T. J. 19, 22

WORK, ERNEST 11

WORK, MONROE 25

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION 3

WORMLEY, BEATRICE F. 15

WYLIE, I. A. R. 7

YOUNG, DONALD 18

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

A SELECTED READING LIST

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
ANTHROPOLOGY	1
BIOGRAPHY	1
ECONOMICS	3
FICTION	6
HISTORY, EDUCATION, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	10
MUSIC AND LITERATURE	14
SOCIAL PROBLEMS	18
SOURCE BOOKS	25
BOOKLETS AND PERIODICALS	27
PROGRAMS AND AGENCIES	30

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PREFACE

During the past quarter century, several hundred books, and innumerable pamphlets and reports have been published, dealing with race relations. This is particularly true of material on the American Negro. From this heterogeneous mass of material, this bibliography has been prepared. It is by no means submitted as a complete bibliography of material on the Negro, but is intended as an aid to the lay reader in his selection of the books that will give the best possible information on the various phases of Negro life.

Acknowledgement is deservedly made to the Works Progress Administration of New Jersey through which this and other productions of the Education Section have been made possible.

James A. Pawley
Assistant State Supervisor
Of
Negro Adult Education

Hackensack, New Jersey
June 1, 1937

EXPLANATIONS

Authors:

Where the letter "N" appears in parenthesis following the name of the author, it is an indication that the author is a Negro. Where there is no such notation, the racial identity of the author could not be determined, or else, he is other than Negro.

Ratings:

The asterisk above and following the title of a book indicates an evaluation placed upon the book by the reviewers.

One star (*) means the book is at least worth the time necessary for reading. Two stars (**) mean that the book is recommended for reading. Three stars (***) indicate that the book is highly recommended, while four stars (****) mean that the book is indispensible.

Where no stars appear, the value of the book can best be determined by the individual reader.

Indices:

All materials are listed alphabetically according to title. Subdivisions are also listed alphabetically.

To further aid the reader, there is also an alphabetical listing of authors.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

A SELECTED READING LIST

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ANTHROPOLOGY

AFRICA DANCES, Geoffrey Gorer, Alfred A. Knopf Company, New York, $3.50.

An exciting and lively book covering an English author's visit to West Africa. Contains valuable anthropological data.

AMERICA'S GREATEST PROBLEM: THE NEGRO, R. W. Shufeldt, F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia, 1915.

A scientific treatment of racial differences between Negroes and whites in the United States. The prevailing tendency is an attempt to prove the inferiority of the Negro. The scientific material upon which the author has established his premises seems to have been hand picked; hence the book is biased. Technical.

RACE AND CIVILIZATION,**** Frederick Hertz, translated by A. S. Levitus and W. Entz, Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

This book, of European origin, vigorously attacks the theory of Nordic superiority. The author takes each theory and argument intended to place races in ascending or descending scales according to superior traits and points out the weaknesses of any such attempt. Objective.

RACIAL BASIS OF CIVILIZATION, THE,**** Frank H. Hankins, Alfred A. Knopf Company, New York, 1926.

The book is considered "a critique of the Nordic Doctrine". Among the important conclusions of Mr. Hankins treatise are: that the matter of producing human beings that make for progress is one of eugenics rather than race and that great cultures have been built upon mixed races. Anthropology. Excellent treatment.

BIOGRAPHY

A LONG WAY FROM HOME,*** Claude McKay, Lee Furman, Inc., New York, 1937, $3.00.

An autobiography of a well known Negro poet and author. In the story he travels to England and Russia where he is associated with radical movements. He attempts to justify his writings and alignments and lashes his critics. Recommended.

BLACK MAJESTY,**** John W. Vandercook, Harper Brothers, New York, 1928, $2.50.

A biography of Henry Christophe of Haiti. Born a slave, he became a boot boy, stableman, waiter, soldier, general, president, and king! Under him, Haiti became a world power. The book in content, form and illustrations is well done. It contains 207 pages and is a complete biography.

BLACK NAPOLEON, THE,*** Percy Waxman, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1931, $3.50

The story of Touissaint L'Ouverture is interestingly and entertainingly told in this book. The struggles and achievements of this famous Negro character are favorably appraised.

BORN TO BE,*** Taylor Gordon(N), Covici-Friede Co., New York, 1929.

Taylor Gordon tells with striking bluntness, the swift and exciting incidents in the life of a person born black and unheralded. Royalty had wined and dined him. America had thrilled to his voice, before his fortieth birthday. His observations on race problems, and the aims and ambitions of the Negro are set down with an understanding simplicity. Autobiography.

FOR FREEDOM,*** Arthur Huff Fauset (N), Franklin Publishing & Supply Co., Philadelphia, 1927.

An introduction to the slave trade with a number of biographical sketches of Negroes who played a definite part in American history. Stories are told in simple language. Interesting and informative. Good biographical sketches for children.

GOD'S ANGRY MAN,** Leonard Ehrlich, Simon and Schuster Co., New York, $2.50

A forceful biography of John Brown in novel form. Contains much interesting dialogue. A high point is noted in the related conversation between John Brown and the eminent Negro abolitionist, Frederick Douglass. Readable. Informative.

IN SPITE OF HANDICAPS,** Ralph W. Bullock(N), Association Press, New York, 1927.

A simple volume prepared for the primary purpose of improving race relations. Intended for use by religious groups. Contains several brief biographical sketches of prominent Negroes who have attained distinction in their particular fields.

OUT OF MY LIFE AND THOUGHT,** C. T. Campion, Henry Holt Publishers, $2.50.

The author tells of his experiences in South Africa. He speaks clearly and fearlessly against the evils of colonization and native exploitation. Interesting reading.

PAUL ROBESON, NEGRO,*** Elissa Robeson(N), Harper & Brothers, New York, 1930.

An intimate history of the life of Paul Robeson written by

one who should know; his wife. Includes his boyhood, college days and other high spots in his career. A very interesting, beautifully illustrated biography.

PORTRAITS IN COLOR,*** Mary Ovington, Viking Press, New York, 1927.
Among the twenty personalities included in these interesting short biographical sketches are: James Weldon Johnson, Marcus Garvey, Max Yergan, Mordecai W. Johnson, W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Ernest E. Just, Dr. George Washington Carver, Langston Hughes, Roland Hayes and others. The author whose intimate contacts with Negroes during the past 30 years have given her a good background, has captured the high-lights of the lives of these people and has very beautifully portrayed them for the reader. Excellent biography.

SAINT IN THE SLAVE TRADE: PETER CLAVER, A,** Arnold Lunn, Sheed and Ward Co., New York.
An account of Peter Claver who for nearly forty years toiled among the slaves in the harbor of Cartagena. A Saint of abnegation rather than organization, who made himself the slave of the slaves. Recommended as valuable reading.

TWELVE NEGRO AMERICANS,**** Mary Jenness, The Friendship Press, New York, 1936, $1.50.
The author introduces outstanding Negroes who have made commendable progress but may not be so well known. The selection is made from different fields: education, religion, business, farming and work among students and young people. A bird's-eye view of what is being accomplished by Thomas Monroe Campbell, William Lloyd Imes, Lewis E. Anthony and others.

UP FROM SLAVERY,**** Booker T. Washington(N), Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, New York, 1900, $2.00.
A story of a slave who became one of America's foremost citizens and educators. Recommended to all persons interested in the study of the American Negro. An autobiography.

ECONOMICS

BLACK WORKER, THE,**** Sterling D. Spero & Abram L. Harris(N), Columbia University Press, 1931, $4.50.
A careful and studied approach to the Negro's role in the history of American labor. It offers a penetrating analysis of the policies and practices of the American Federation of Labor and the autonomous international unions within and without the Federation. It clearly shows how those organizations, with craft-conscious complacency, have mis-read the trends in American industry. An excellent economic reference.

LANDLORD AND TENANT ON COTTON PLANTATION,*** Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Washington, D. C., 1936.

A study of landlord-tenant relationship conducted in the seven southeastern cotton states by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The Report includes social and economic data relating to persons who have been of particular concern to the administrators of programs of rural relief and rehabilitation. The findings have a bearing, not only on relief problems, but on tenancy problems in the south and other areas. An excellent report. Up to date.

NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1925**** Charles H. Wesley(N), Vanguard Press, New York, 1927.

An exhaustive survey of the development and transition of Negro labor in the United States from the period of slavery to the entrance of Negroes into industrial occupations in large numbers. It contains valuable tables, references and maps, and should be of inestimable value to those interested in an exhaustive study of the Negro's working conditions.

NEGRO MEMBERSHIP IN AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS,*** Ira De A. Reid(N), The Department of Research and Investigation of the National Urban League, New York, 1930.

A detailed and exhaustive study of the Negro and organized labor in the United States from 1866-1929. Many of the experiences of Negro workers within and without the ranks of organized labor are discussed. The status of Negro workers may be fairly estimated as a result of this compilation. A factual economic report by a specialist in the field.

NEGRO PEASANT TURNS CITYWARD, THE,*** Louise Venable Kennedy, Columbia University Press, 1930.

This is an analysis and study of the causes and effects of Negro migration to northern cities in recent years. The social and economic influence of migration upon housing, health, and race relations are treated in a clear and concise manner. Objective in treatment.

NEGRO POLITICIANS,*** Harold F. Gosnell, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1935.

The obstacles to political achievement and economic advancement, as they affect the Negro in an American city, are pointed out in a detailed account of his progress in American politics from the Civil War to the present time. Methods used and results obtained in the efforts of a Negro community to obtain elective and appointive political office, in Chicago politics, are set down in an understandable and interesting manner. Objective treatment.

NEGRO WAGE EARNER, THE,**** Lorenzo J. Greene(N), and Carter G. Woodson(N), Van Rees Press, 1930.

A scientific study of occupations and occupational trends of Negroes in the United States. Replete with diagrams, tables, and an extensive bibliography. Invaluable to students of economics and to interracial groups.

NEGRO WAGE EARNER OF NEW JERSEY,*** Egerton E. Hall(N), Rutgers University Press, 1935.

A picture of the social and economic status of the Negro wage

earner in New Jersey. Contains tables, charts and an extensive bibliography. Recommended to those interested in studying the economic conditions of the Negro in New Jersey.

RACIAL FACTORS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY,**** Herman Feldman, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1931.

A factual text that is the result of studies participated in by members and friends of the Inquiry, a national organization for the promotion of co-operative studies of problems in human relations. It pictures the economic exploitation of the Negro and the Oriental, of the racial prejudice which determines the work and pay of these "inferior" races and of the careless assumptions which fix the status and environment of these groups in the communities where they live. Part II is an outline of social and industrial remedies,

SHADOW OF THE PLANTATION,**** Charles S. Johnson(N), The University of Chicago Press, 1932, $2.50.

The writer deals with life, love, religion, changing family organization and the unchanging situation of the rural Alabama Negro. Done with scientific thoroughness and accuracy. Interesting in its presentation of human values.

FICTION

One of the most effective methods of presenting the Negro to the public has been through printed material. In the field of literature and particularly in fiction, gross misrepresentations have been made of the Negro and Negro types. In discussing Negro fiction, William S. Braithwaite in a chapter of Alain Locke's "New Negro", quotes a passage from an article in an issue of "Independent":

> "During the past few years stories about Negroes have been extremely popular. A magazine without a Negro story is hardly living up to its opportunities. But almost every one of these stories is written in a tone of condescension. The artists have caught the contagion from the writers, and the illustrations are ninety-nine times out of a hundred purely slapstick stuff. Stories and pictures make a Roman holiday for the millions who are convinced that the most important fact about the Negro is that his skin is black. Many of these writers live in the South or are from the South. Presumably they are well acquainted with the Negro, but it is a remarkable fact that they almost never tell us anything vital about him, about the real human being in the black man's skin. Their most frequent method is to laugh at the colored man and woman, to catalogue their idiosyncrasies, their departure from the norm, that is, from the ways of the whites. There seems to be no suspicion in the minds of the writers that there may be a fascinating thought life in the minds of the Negroes, whether of the cultivated or of the most ignorant type. Always the Negro is interpreted in the terms of the white man. White-man psychology is applied and it is no wonder that the result often shows the Negro in a ludicrous light."

It should be also pointed out that many stories written by Negro and white authors have treated characters lightly or disparagingly primarily because the reading public will accept no other form.

J. A. P.

FICTION

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN EX-COLORED MAN, THE,**** James Weldon Johnson(N), Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York, 1927.

The author has selected a Negro as a fictitious character for whom he has written an autobiography. The story, however, is not so much the account of the life of a man who "passes" but is actually a composite biography of the Negro of the United States. The race consciousness and attitudes of the entire group are therein expressed.

BLACK APRIL,*** Julia Peterkin, Bobbs Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1927.

An interesting novel by a white author who is familiar with Negro conditions. In this story a sincere attempt has been made to portray the language, customs and the philosophy of the Negro inhabitants of an isolated South Carolina community bounded by the sea.

BLACK CAMEOS,** Emmet R. Kennedy, Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1924.

An attempt is made in this book to introduce the songs, stories and poems of Negro life in Louisiana in the dialect of that area. Much reference is made to the contributions of the Negro to the increasing mass of Negro literature.

BLACK CONSUL, THE,** Anatolii Vinogradov, The Viking Press, $2.75.

A historical novel of absorbing interest in spite of some strictures. Robespierre is limned with great skill. As a great figure in Haitian history, Toussaint L'Ouverture has not been particularly well done. An interesting story of Haitian life.

BLACK GOD,**** D. Manners Sutton, Longmans Green & Co., New York, 1934, $2.50.

A story of M'Kato and his quest for revenge by the side of the little river in the Belgian Congo, is told in an accurate picture of the life and people in an African settlement. How M'Kato had his hands cut off because he dared to oppose the taking of his sister by his boss, is striking. "Black God" was a selection of the Book of the Month Club. It is a tale no book lover should miss.

BLACK HARVEST,** I. A. R. Wylie, George Doran Co., New York, 1926.

A novel dealing with miscegenation. A giant Negro, the offspring of a black French soldier and a German woman, becomes very much a German, and finally, a world power through his literary genius and his ability as an organizer. The author attributes the downfall of the giant to his mixed blood.

BLACK NO MORE,*** George S. Schuyler(N), The Macaulay Co., 1931.

The story is a new treatment of the color question. Its main theme concerns the discovery by Dr. Crookman, a Negro scientist, of a serum which bleaches black skin white, turns thick lips thin and makes kinky hair straight. It is a satire on white as well as black people. The irony of the whole matter lies in the fact that after all the Negroes in America have undergone this scientific process, they are so white, whiter even than many of the Nordics, that whites

and blacks alike begin using Egyptienne stain to give a light brown tinge to the pigment of the skin, thus solving for all time, in one great stroke, the vexatious race problem. Fiction. Objective. Readable.

BLACKER THE BERRY, THE,** Wallace Thurman(N), The Macaulay Company, New York, 1929.

The difficulties and hardships encountered by the central figure of this story, a dark-skinned Negro girl, are vividly shown. The contempt of Negro men for the darker Negro girl is also a pronounced revelation. Interesting reading.

CONJURE MAN DIES, THE,** Rudolph Fisher(N), Covici-Friede Company, New York, 1931, $2.00.

A most engaging mystery story by an author who knows Harlem and Harlemites. Frimbo, a Butongo King, steeped in the age-old wisdom of his ancestors, comes to Harlem to live, to experiment, to learn. He conducts a psychic laboratory, tells of the past, the present, foretells the future. Frimbo "hits the numbers" once a week regularly, for $10. Frimbo is murdered. Suspicion points to the numbers king and to a half dozen other characters. Frimbo comes back alive, and confounds the police. The story ends after a couple of neat twists in plot action. Good reading. Interesting characterization of low types.

FIRE IN THE FLINT, THE,*** Walter F. White(N), Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York, 1924.

A novel, which shows many sides of the race problem in the South from the Negro's point of view. Peonage, rape, lynchings, the lack of law protection for Negroes; and the defenselessness of Negro women, are some of the questions touched upon. Interesting reading.

FLIGHT,*** Walter F. White(N), Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York, 1926.

An octoroon marries a white man, but finally returns to the race she was forced to desert.

GEORGIA NIGGER,** John L. Spivak, Brewer, Warren and Putnam, Inc., 1931, $2.50.

A book of great power and poignancy; a picture astounding and unforgettable, of ignorant, oppressed and helpless Negroes caught in the net of race prejudice in Georgia.

HOME TO HARLEM,* Claude McKay(N), Harper & Brothers, New York, 1928, $2.50.

Valuable only for social comment. Crude in form. Full of beer flats, pool halls, and cabarets. Contains sketches of the sordid life of some Negroes. Its strength is in the writer's comments on Negro habits and customs.

MOM DU JOS,** Errick Berry, Doubleday, Doran & Co., $1.75.

The story of a little Negro baby doll that had been stolen by monkeys. Beautifully illustrated. Fiction. Children, six to ten years.

NICODEMUS AND HIS GRAN' PAPPY,** Inez Hogan, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 300 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., 1932, $1.00.

An exciting adventure story for children from four to eight years. Artistically illustrated in three colors. Highly recommended.

NICODEMUS AND HIS LITTLE SISTER,** Inez Hogan, E. P. Dutton & Co., 286-300 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., 1932, $1.00

In a delightfully simple style the author relates the adventures and misadventures of a little Negro boy and his baby sister. Beautifully illustrated in color. Highly recommended for children from four to eight years.

OLD MAMMY TALES FROM DIXIE LAND,**** Sarah Johnson Cocke, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 681 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1911, Reprint 1926.

A collection of fascinating stories for bed-time. Realistically written in Negro dialect and interspersed with many nursery songs. Typical old southern Negro folk tales.

PASSING,** Nella Larsen(N), Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York, 1929.

A story outlining the agonies and apprehensions suffered by a Negro who "passed" for white. The character around whom the story is built becomes almost wholly absorbed by the white world and still craves for the race which he, according to white standards, belonged to. Interesting, entertaining, but unreal.

PLUM-BUN,*** Jessie Redmon Fauset(N), Frederick A. Stokes & Co., New York, 1929.

The discriminations practiced against Negroes in public places, of which numerous instances are given and the advantages and disadvantages of "passing" for white, are emphasized by the Negro author in this story. The main characters become intimately acquainted, but it is only after a long period of time that the fact of "passing" is revealed to each other.

QUICKSAND,*** Nella Larsen(N), Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York, 1928. $2.50.

A story of the inner life and events of the central years of a girl's life. A subjective, modern, sophisticated novel with few characters. Helga Crane, a girl of mixed parents, refuses to marry a well-to-do Danish man and finally marries a poor Negro preacher from Alabama. Well written, full of color and details.

STEVEN KENT,*** Hallie F. Dickerman, The Hartney Press, New York, 1935, $2.00.

An interesting novel dealing with miscegenation. Steven Kent, a "percentage" Negro, suffers untold agonies because of his mixed blood and because of unpleasant relationships with his parents; one of whom is "passing". A gripping story, timidly handled.

THAT WAS A TIME,**** Harriet Gift Costlen, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 300 Fourth Avenue, New York, 1937, $2.50.

Mammy Lou, the slave-heroine, tells the story of her life. Born in Africa, she was brought to America on a slave ship. Her happy and harrowing experiences on the plantation where she was enslaved, her

supervised and thwarted love-life, her devotion to the "kind-hearted 'Marse Jim'", her quaint philosophy, her description of the old south after the war, and finally her peaceful passing, with the words of the spiritual, "I done done what you told me to do" on her lips, makes a poignantly beautiful, soul-stirring novel. Highly recommended.

THERE IS CONFUSION,**** Jessie Redmon Fauset(N), Boni & Liveright, Publishers, New York, 1924.

A most interesting and well-written novel by one of the best Negro authors, which given an insight into the intimate problems and life of the best types of Negroes. Many of the humiliations and subjugations of this group of Negroes are expressed in the story.

WAYS OF WHITE FOLKS, THE,*** Langston Hughes(N), Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York, 1934, $2.50.

The author writes a book in which he is laughing at "white folks" on all rounds of the social ladder. He knows white people and how to laugh at their foibles along the color line. Readable. Informative.

HISTORY, EDUCATION, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AFRICAN ABROAD, THE,** William H. Ferris(N), Tuttle, Morehouse, & Taylor Press, New York, 1913, Vol. I&II.

A colorful dissertation upon the Negro in various countries and cultures. Very detailed in its presentation of theories concerning the race. Treats the development of religion, ethnological background, contemporary status, and future possibilities.

AFRICAN BACKGROUND OUTLINED, THE,*** Carter G. Woodson(N), The Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C. $3.25.

This work undertakes to serve two purposes. It gives a brief history of the Negro in Africa, and it actually outlines courses in the study of the Negro in Africa, Europe, and America. Among the courses outlined in detail are: "The Negro in Africa", "The Negro in the European Mind", "The Negro in America", "The Negro in Literature", "The Education of the Negro", and "The Religious Development of the Negro". Along with each heading and sub-heading appear bibliographical footnotes and comments. Authentic history.

BLACK MANHATTAN,**** James Weldon Johnson, Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1930, $2.00.

The book deals with slavery, the results of the Civil War, and the Negro's struggle for freedom against racial prejudice and discrimination, and follows his northward migration to Harlem. It shows Negro development in music, art and literature and gives an evaluation of Harlem and its possible future.

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION,*** W. E. B. DuBois(N), Harcourt Brace & Co., 1935, $4.50.

A book containing much well-documented material, through which the author interprets the period in American history between 1860

and 1880, with special reference to the efforts and experiences of Negroes. Of much benefit to students of history and racial backgrounds.

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN SOCIAL ORDER, THE,*** Horace Mann Bond, Prentice-Hall Inc., New York, 1934, $2.75.

A book of 501 pages giving a grave, yet justifiable indictment of the treatment by the whole nation, in general, and the "Old South" in particular, of America's forgotten child, the Negro child of school age. Its chief contribution is Mr. Bond's ability to interpret the most significant problems of Negro education in the American social order. Valuable to teachers and sociologists.

ETHIOPIA: A PAWN IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY,*** Ernest Work, Macmillan Co., New York, $2.50.

A sympathetic and fair treatment of the Ethiopian question based on a first hand study of the country and a careful analysis of official records and other valuable documents. Scientific in its approach. Recommended as an aid in the study of the Ethiopian people.

FREEDMEN'S SAVING BANK, THE,** Walter L. Fleming, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1927.

A brief, but clear statement of the economic condition of the Negro at the close of the Civil War is contained in this study. The strong and weak points of the Freedmen's Saving Bank, its origin, function and development, and its value as a moral and financial bulwark for the Negro are set down in an interesting and understandable manner.

FROM HARLEM TO THE RHINE,**** Arthur W. Little, Covici-Friede Co., New York, 1936, $3.00.

The story of New York's colored volunteers. A record of the 15th New York National Guard Regiment from its backhanded beginnings to its spectacular, heroic finish as the 369th. Highly recommended as a source of information of the achievements of the Negro as a soldier.

HISTORY OF THE ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR AMONG COLORED PEOPLE, THE,** Mrs. Joseph S. Brown(N), Des Moines, Iowa, 1925.

A short and authentic history of the Order of the Eastern Star among colored people. In addition to a foreword by J. C. Scott, International Grand Patron of the Order, it contains the official statement adopted by the International Conference of Grand Chapters and a statistical report and directory for the entire country.

HOW BRITAIN RULES AFRICA,*** George Padmore, Lathrop Lee & Shepherd, New York, 1936.

A detailed indictment and expose of the procedures and techniques of contemporary imperialistic exploitation. It draws a conclusion that the British and French empires are colored, since Arabs, Africans, Egyptians, Indo-Chinese, and Hindus form the majority of the population. A good study in imperialism and international relations.

LIBERIA IN WORLD POLITICS,*** Nnandi Azikiwe(N), Arthur H. Stockwell, London, 1935.

Discusses the origin of the Black Republic, the importation of the first slaves to Virginia, including several colonization projects and back-to-Africa migrations. The tragic financial history of the country, and particularly the ramifications involving its destiny by its agreements with the American Firestone Company, are thoroughly and objectively discussed.

LIFE IN A HAITIAN VALLEY,**** Melville J. Herskovits, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1937, $4.00.

The author presents an exhaustive study of peasant life in a remote Haitian Valley. He discusses the African and French origins of Haitian customs and an analysis of the attitudes of the Haitians. Authoritative. Well written. Highly recommended.

MIS-EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO, THE,**** Carter G. Woodson(N), The Association Publishers, Washington, D. C., $2.15.

The author attempts to show that education in America has been carried out without thought of the Negro. The Negro, therefore, knows practically nothing about his background, his present possibilities, and what the present age requires of him. He argues that at present, the Negro is engaged in meaningless imitation of others rather than in self-development. A very stimulating and thought provoking volume.

MOVABLE SCHOOL GOES TO THE NEGRO FARMER, THE,** Thomas Monroe Campbell(N), Tuskegee Institute Press, 1936, $2.00.

A story of the struggles of the southern Negro farmer and the difficulties which the Tuskegee movable school attempted to correct. The movable school was a successful experiment in rural engineering. An autobiography of the author, the first Negro Agricultural Extension agent in the United States, is very inspiringly written. Recommended.

NATIVE PROBLEM IN AFRICA, THE,** Raymond Buell, Macmillan Co., New York, 1928.

These volumes contain records of events and conditions in Africa. Each section of the continent is treated separately. A short history of the coming of the white man and the appropriation and exploitation of native lands is given as a basis for understanding the native labor problem. In volume II, the discussion is of South Africa, Basutoland, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, Kenya, Janganyika Territory, Uganda Nigeria, the Gold Coast Sierra Leone and French Equatorial Africa, the French Mandates, the Belgian Congo and Liberia, Excellent for its information relative to imperialism and economic exploitation.

NEGRO CHURCH, THE,*** Benjamin E. Mays(N), and Joseph W. Nicholson(N), Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, 1933.

The first comprehensive contemporary study of the Negro church. A detailed study of Negro religious life. Treats in an interesting manner the origins, ministry, message, program and other phases of the Negro church. Contains 17 chapters, 315 pages, many tables, maps, and case studies. The author apparently wishes to awaken more active

interest in the Negro church on the part of the public, stimulate improved leadership, and to aid social scientists and others interested in the development of the Negro church. Invaluable to students of Religion and to those desiring to learn the background of present-day manifestations and activities of Negro religious bodies.

NEGRO COMBAT TROOPS IN THE WORLD WAR,** Chester D. Heywood, Commonwealth Press, Worcester, Mass., 1925.

An excellent account is rendered in this book of the activities of the Negro troops during the World War. The bravery and patriotism of Negro soldiers are extolled. Much light is thrown upon the attitudes of Negro and white troops toward each other.

NEGRO FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA, THE,*** W. D. Weatherford, George H. Doran Co., New York, 1924.

In this book an attempt is made to give the general reader just the information desired in reference to the African background of the Negro; his coming to America; his present religious, social, educational and economic conditions. In addition, the race problem from a constructive point of view is fairly portrayed. Objective. Highly recommended to students of social problems.

NEGRO HISTORY IN THIRTEEN PLAYS,*** Richardson(N), & Miller(N), Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C., 1935, $3.25.

In these thirteen plays the authors have made a special effort to dramatize the history of the Negro. One of these plays dramatizes Samory of Soudan and Menelek of Abyssinia. Another deals with Antonio Maceo of Cuba, Christophe and Toussaint L'Ouverture of Haiti. The Negro history in the United States is well taken care of with plays based on Crispus Attucks, Sojourner Truth, Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, William and Ellen Craft and Frederick Douglass. Valuable to students. Pleasant reading.

NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY, THE,**** Carter G. Woodson(N), Associated Publishers, Inc., Washington, D. C. Sixth Edition, 1922, 1924, 1927, 1928 and 1931.

The best authoritative history of its kind on the Negro in the United States. Negro life and history as influenced by contact with Caucasians is discussed. It has numerous illustrations, 35 chapters and 650 pages. Its purpose is two-fold, first to show how the influence of the Negro has affected the history of the nation, and to serve as an adequate reference in furnishing material to students of race relations interested in Negro studies. Recommended as a text book in courses in Negro history.

RACE, CLASS AND PARTY,*** Paul Lewinson, Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1932, $3.75.

A history of Negro suffrage and white politics in the South. Contains results of surveys and questionnaires.

RAILROAD TO FREEDOM, THE,**** Hildegarde Hoyt Swift, Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1932, $2.50.

A story of the part played by Negro women in aiding the escape

and the freeing of slaves. The author was drawn to this interest from her knowledge of the authentic history of Harriet Tubman's escape from slavery. As a girl, she learned from her parents, the story of this amazing woman, the builder of a railroad which was not only responsible for her freedom but for the freedom of hundreds of others. Easily readable.

SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, A,*** Edward A. Johnson, Edward A. Johnson, Raleigh, N. C., 1891.

An interestingly written history of the achievement of the Negro in America from 1619 to 1890. Especially designed to meet the levels of elementary school children. Valuable.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, A,**** Benjamin Brawley(N), Macmillan Co., New York, 1913, $2.00.

An exhaustive social history of the American Negro written in clear and beautiful English. A handy volume of 311 pages. Recommended as a text book.

SLAVE TRADING IN THE OLD SOUTH,*** Frederick Bancroft, The J. H. Furst Company, Baltimore, $4.00.

Slavery is shown as an industry that was promoted by persons of the highest social standing. Valuable as a work in offsetting much distorted history which attempts to make Negro slavery in the United States a benevolent institution.

STORY OF THE NEGRO RETOLD, THE,*** Carter G. Woodson(N), The Associated Publishers, Inc., Washington, D. C., 1935.

A text book designed for the student, embracing the development of the Negro on an international basis as well as in America. It provides the connecting links of the Negro in American History which are usually omitted or slightly treated by white historians. A valuable record of the Negro from ancient times through the present era. Text book. Recommended as an introductory work to Negro history.

VIRGINIA SILHOUETTE,*** Mrs. George P. Coleman, Press of the Deitz Printing Company, Richmond, Virginia, 1934, $1.25.

A collection of hitherto unknown and unpublished letters relating to the early slave problem. Together with these letters is a reprint of "A Dissertation on Slavery" by St. George Tucker, in which he presented a proposal for the gradual abolition of slavery during the early slave era. The volume sheds a new light upon the beliefs and attitudes of many persons in regard to slavery during the period when many Americans were being troubled in their search for a deterrent to the vicious slave practices.

MUSIC AND LITERATURE

ADVENTURES OF THE BLACK GIRL IN HER SEARCH FOR GOD, THE,*** George Bernard Shaw, Dodd, Mead and Co., New York, 1932.

A very cleverly written satire on denominations and religions.

It is an attempt to rescue the Bible in its one and only surviving message, the ideal of God. It criticises the pseudo-christianity of the churches. This black adventuress encounters and questions members and groups representing all of these sects, none of whom, to her sincere heart, have the real spirit of God. Delightfully illustrated and thought provoking. Must be read twice to be appreciated.

ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN NEGRO LITERATURE, AN,*** V. F. Calverton, Modern Library Publishing Co., 1929.

A small volume chock full of interesting and valuable excerpts from outstanding novels, spirituals, and essays. The poetry, songs and "blues" are all the work of Negro authors. A very concise but inclusive anthology.

ANTHOLOGY OF NEGRO POETRY,** Arranged by B. F. Wormley(N), and Charles W. Carter(N), Education Section, W. P. A., New Jersey, 1937.

This recently compiled anthology is very nicely edited and contains selections from practically all of the Negro poets of consequence along with a brief biographical sketch of the majority of them.

BLACK MAN'S VERSE,** Frank Marshall Davis(N), Black Cat Press, Chicago, 1935, $3.00.

In this work the author admits his delight in experimenting with free verse. His subjects are drawn from life. With a surging vitality varying from a note of social protest to an expression of sheer enthusiasm of living, he presents pictures of the masses, mammoth cities, a people under oppression, cabarets, beer gardens, lynchings, death, and love as well as every odd mixture of life. The poems possess much merit.

BLACK ROADWAYS,*** Martha Warren Beckwith, The University of N. C. Press, 1929.

A study of the folklore of the Negroes in Jamaica, written with great simplicity. The author shows how integral and important to the lives of many simple country-folk, are the superstitions, signs, and rituals which hold them so powerfully. Very interestingly written.

BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO POETRY, THE,**** James Weldon Johnson(N), Harcourt Brace and Co., 1921, $2.00.

This excellent anthology of Negro poetry contains sketches of 40 authors and many of their most important poetic contributions. Many of the modern Negro poets are included. Among them are: Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Sterling Brown and Arna Bontemps. The transition of Negro poetry is also well treated.

BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO SPIRITUALS, THE,**** James Weldon Johnson(N), Viking Press, 1925.

The origin, development, form, and meaning of Negro spirituals are thoroughly discussed by the author. The book is interspersed by musical arrangements of spirituals made by J. Rosamond Johnson and Lawrence Brown. Highly recommended. One of the best text books on the subject.

CAROLING DUSK,*** Countee Cullen(N), Harper Brothers, New York, 1927, $2.50.

An anthology of verse by Negro poets. The volume contains a faithfully representative collection of verse. It is characterized by prettiness rather than by great feeling or profound philosophy. Short sketches of the lives of each contributor make interesting reading.

DREAM KEEPER, THE,** Langston Hughes(N), Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York, 1931, $2.00.

A selection of sixty poems by the famous Negro poet, taken from both "The Weary Blues" and "Fine Clothes To The Jew", with the addition of twenty-one new ones. The book is divided into five sections arranged according to mood, including short lyrics of great beauty, stanzas in serious vein, rollicking songs, and some very fine Negro "blues".

GOD'S TROMBONES,*** James Weldon Johnson(N), Viking Press, New York, 1927, $2.50.

The power of the Negro preacher and the saving faith of a people are recorded for other generations, in this collection of Negro sermons. Unique. Outstanding. Beautifully done.

GREEN PASTURES, THE,*** Marc Connelly, Farrar & Rhinehart Inc., 1929.

An unusual and interesting play which attempts to present certain aspects of the religious life and belief of Negroes who for the most part are wholly illiterate. Moses, Aaron, Gabriel and God are portrayed as everyday people and made to fit into the everyday lives of Negroes as members of the racial group.

NEGRO AND HIS SONGS, THE,*** Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, University of N. C. Press, 1925.

A collection of Negro songs of various types, with interpretations of meanings and origins made by the author. The songs in this volume were collected in Northern Mississippi and in Northern Georgia; a few others, used for comparative purposes, are chiefly from North Carolina and Tennessee.

NEGRO AUTHOR, HIS DEVELOPMENT IN AMERICA, THE,*** Vernon Loggins, Columbia University Press, New York, 1935, $5.00.

A large volume in which the author expresses his views on Negro writers. It is written in favor and appreciation of what Negro authors have given to the world. Valuable reading.

NEGRO GENIUS, THE,**** Benjamin Brawley(N), Dodd, Mead & Co., N. Y. 1937.

The author tells of the outstanding achievements of Negro actors, singers and poets. He points out that the Negro has earned distinction which is far more significant than he has been given credit for. A special feature is the place given to young Negro writers and artists who are beginning their careers.

NEGRO MUSICIANS AND THEIR MUSIC,*** Maude Cuney-Hare(N), Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C., 1936.

Thirty-three pages of this book are devoted to a detailed account

of African music, including instruments and festivities. The author traces the African influences on American Negro music, Negro folk songs, design, rhythmic patterns, mode and text. Much of the book is devoted to a discussion of pioneer and contemporary Negro musicians. For those desiring a general knowledge of Negro musicians, and Negro music, this book is highly recommended. Non-technical.

ROLLING ALONG IN SONG,**** J. Rosamond Johnson(N), Viking Press, New York, 1937, $3.50.

A comprehensive collection of more than eighty Negro songs and ballads. It is a chronological survey of American Negro music with eighty-seven arrangements including ring shouts, spirituals, work-songs, plantation ballads, chain gang, jail-house, and minstrel songs, street cries and blues. Excellent.

SECOND BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO SPIRITUALS, THE,**** James Weldon Johnson(N), Viking Press, New York, 1926, $3.50.

An arrangement of over one hundred Negro songs with their original melodies, rhythms and harmonies. A pertinent discussion of the reasons for variations in Negro folk-songs and the effect of spirituals on American music. All of the musical arrangements are by J. Rosamond Johnson.

SELECTED SPEECHES OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON,*** E. Davidson Washington, Doubleday Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1932, $2.00.

A volume including the most important speeches from Booker T. Washington's first address before the National Education Association at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1884 to his last public appearance in 1915.

SOUTHERN ROAD,** Sterling Brown(N), Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1931, $2.50.

A portrayal of Negro folk character. Negro life on the levee, in the cotton fields, in the cabin, and in crowded Northern cities is realistically depicted. All the sufferings, the joys, and the sorrows in the life of the Negro are expressed in verse.

ST. PETER RELATES AN INCIDENT,** James Weldon Johnson(N), Viking Press, New York, $2.00.

This volume contains a group of selected poems and has 105 pages. The scene of the principal poem is laid in heaven where the unknown soldier proves to be a Negro. At first written for private distribution, these poems were later published in book form because of public demand.

WEARY BLUES, THE,*** Langston Hughes(N), Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York, 1927, $2.00.

Langston Hughes grips reality to the rhythm of the blues. Doubtless he has struck an original note. Neither Vachel Lindsey nor Carl Sandburg imprisoned the soul of the Negro or the meter of his life in their syncopated poems. These poems have caught the essence of their period.

WE SING AMERICA,**** Marion Cuthbert(N), Friendship Press, New York, 1936, $1.00.

This volume contains facts about American Negroes in story form.

Stories of Negroes who came to America with the first explorers and of the many different types of Negro people today, are included. Excellent for children. Highly recommended.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

ALL IN THE NAME OF GOD,** Everett R. Clinchy, The John Day Co., $2.00.

The story of Jewish-Protestant-Catholic conflict in the United States. The prejudices and antipathies attending the struggle for status by each of the groups are pointed out, and factors affecting the same, such as economics, population, history, and philosophy are considered. All exist "in the name of God". Readable. Valuable for comparison.

AMERICAN MINORITY PEOPLES,** Donald Young, Harpers Publication, New York, 1932, $3.50.

A study of prejudice, immigrants, Negroes and Indians. In the light of inate and social barriers, the author feels that man is not a free agent, nor does logic rule the world.

AMERICAN NEGRO, THE,*** Melville J. Herskovits, Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York, 1928, $1.75.

The theory that the American Negro is developing a new racial type is supported in this volume. The following discussions are to be found in chapters: (1) "The Amalgam He Represents (2) The Physical Type He Is Forming (3) The Description of His Physical Type (4) White Values For Colored Americans (5) His Significance for the Study of Race." Highly recommended as a text in sociology.

AMERICAN NEGRO, THE,**** Donald Young, The American Academy of Political and Social Science (The Annals, Vol. 140) Philadelphia, 1928.

This volume presents, in a series of surveys and articles, specific facts about Negro family life, health, crime, economic status, religion, art, literature, education and a host of other aspects of the everyday lives of Negroes. The articles and reports contained therein have been contributed by specialists in their fields such as: Herbert A. Miller, W. E. B. DuBois, E. B. Reuter, E. Franklin Frazier, James Weldon Johnson, Kelly Miller, Charles S. Johnson, George E. Haynes, Alain Locke, Eugene Gordon, R. R. Moton, and Walter White. Very highly recommended.

AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM, THE,**** Edward Byron Reuter, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1927, $2.75.

An authoritative text on the "Negro Problem". A presentation and analysis of the facts which create problems and determine solutions. Many of the superficial solutions which have been proposed for the so-called "Negro Problem" are attacked and shattered and directions are indicated for better inter-racial adjustments. An excellent sociological text. Good for race relationship studies. Technical.

BASIS OF RACIAL ADJUSTMENT,*** T. J. Woofter, Jr., Ginn & Co., Boston, 1925.

The authenticity of this text may be attributed to The Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation. Many phases of Negro life in the United States today are discussed. The usual elements involved in any study of Negro life: population, health, economic situation, crime, politics, and religion, are here considered.

BEYOND HATRED,*** Albert Guerard, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1925.

This volume is a study in comparative democracy. The mere machinery of suffrage, and the indefensible proposition that, "all men are created equal", is not democracy in its complete form. Democracy is, in the author's view, a spirit: the spirit of brotherhood. Part II, discusses "Democracy and Race". This section ends with the following striking statement: "Races as well as individuals are to be presumed innocent until they are proved to be guilty, and to the accusations so freely leveled against the Colored race and hybrids, a sober mind in the present state of our knowledge, can only return a verdict 'not proven'". The thinly veiled humor and finely inter-woven irony of the author add flavor to the already seasoned work. Very highly recommended to students of race problems.

BLACK AMERICA,** Scott Nearing, Vanguard Press, New York, 1929, $3.00.

A very profusely illustrated analysis of the political, social and economic condition of the Negro in the United States. Health and housing are adequately stressed and photographed.

BLACK YOEMANRY,** T. J. Woofter, Jr., Henry Holt Co., New York, 1930 $3.00.

An account of the language, customs, and institutions of St. Helena, a small island off the coast of South Carolina. This community is one of the few places in the United States where something of the pre-slave life of the Negro is manifested. Historical. Sociological. Fascinating.

BLIND SPOTS,*** Henry Smith Leiper, Friendship Press, New York, 1929, $1.00.

A brief discussion of the "Race Problem" involving minority races and their contacts with other groups in America. Suggestions for a solution are made from the Christian angle. This book was intended primarily for use among church and religious groups. Easily readable. Valuable. Non-technical.

BROWN AMERICA,**** Edwin R. Embree, The Friendship Press, 1931, $1.25.

A well written, easily understood book by a liberal white southern author which serves as an extremely good introduction to the study of the race problem. The book touches briefly upon the beginnings of the Negro in America and describes the race's cultural gifts to the nation through folk art, music and the fine arts. Highly recommended.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE RACE PROBLEM,**** J. H. Oldham, George H. Doran Co., New York City, 1924, $2.25.

The book discusses whether or not the Christian Church has any

contribution to make to the solution of racial problems, and if so, what the nature of that contribution is to be, and how it can best be made. Every phase of the race problem is touched upon in this work.

COLORED SITUATION, THE,** Faye P. Everett(N), Meador Publishing Co., Boston, 1936.

The compilation of a series of essays upon Negro activities, and racial problems. Among the contributors are: A. Philip Randolph, George E. Haynes, Albon L. Holsey and several other distinguished Negro leaders. An attempt is made to cover the entire sphere of Negro activities in the social, economic and cultural life of the United States.

CINCINNATI'S COLORED CITIZENS,*** Wendell P. Dabney, Dabney Publishers, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1926.

A thorough, comprehensive treatment of the historical, cultural, civic, social and economic life of Negroes residing in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio. The book is valuable for its treatment of the early Negroes in Cincinnati; the educational facilities for Negroes; the development of the church; business, government employment, housing, and the historical sketches of prominent Negroes. An encyclopedia for anyone interested in the life of the Cincinnati Negro. Technical.

DIVINE WHITE RIGHT,*** Trevor Bowen, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1934.

This ironically titled book deals with relations between whites and Negroes in the United States. It is an arresting study of America's sorest racial problem, justice for the Negro. It is a vigorous indictment against the "divine white right" to discriminate against another race. The author offers constructive criticism and suggests how recovery agencies combined with organized labor, should proceed in creating a New Deal for the Negro. The book shows careful and painstaking work done with honesty, and forthrightness. A thought provoking book for the advanced student of race relations.

EARLY NEGRO AMERICAN WRITERS,**** Benjamin G. Brawley(N), University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

A presentation of selections from Negro writings from Colonial times to the Civil War. A scholarly authoritative work wherein the early Negro American authors are evaluated. Highly recommended.

GIFT OF BLACK FOLK,**** W. E. B. DuBois(N), The Stratford Co., Boston, 1924, $2.00.

The book points out the fact that the Negro is, and has been a distinct asset to America. He has contributed to labor, militarism, literature, music, etc., and the faith, hope and tolerance of his religion has played a spiritual role in this country.

The book is particularly valuable, not so much for its new information but for its form of presentation and its literary style. Should be read.

JUDICIAL CASES CONCERNING AMERICAN SLAVERY AND THE NEGRO,*** Helen Tunnicliff Catterall, Carnegie Institute, Department of Historical Research, Washington, D. C., 1926.

This volume contains cases on American slavery and the Negro taken

from the records of the Courts of England, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. The work is especially valuable for the light which it throws upon social conditions surrounding slavery, and the background out of which much of the law respecting slavery developed.

LIFE ON THE NEGRO FRONTIER,*** George Arthur, Association Press, New York, $2.00.

An informative volume for one interested in the work of social agencies and social movements affecting Negro life. The author presents his work with a dispassionate attitude and a balanced judgement. Recommended as a text on social agencies and problems.

NEGRO AMERICANS, WHAT NOW?*** James Weldon Johnson(N), Viking Press, New York, 1934, $1.25.

A volume of 103 pages in which the author deals with some of the dilemmas of Colored Americans and makes suggestions for a cure to their ills. Unlike other solutions offered, such as an exodus, or physical force, he proposes the integration of the race into the life of the nation. This new line of attack should prove valuable and interesting to inter-racial organizations and students of race relations.

NEGRO FACES AMERICA,*** Herbert Seligmann, Harper Brothers, New York, 1920, $1.00.

A review of the conclusions of anthropologists with references to alleged racial differences in capacities. Analyzes the social and psychological factors at work in different parts of the country, where the race question is acute. Gives a comprehensive discussion of race riots, politics, race relations and the economic problems of the Negro. Easily readable.

NEGRO IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, THE,**** Charles S. Johnson(N), Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1930, $4.00.

This text written by an eminent American sociologist, is the result of a comprehensive survey of books, reports and researches describing the conditions of the Negro in every part of the United States. It is a complete, authentic symposium on the historical background, health, housing, education, civil rights and other factors affecting the Negro. The author presents the views of several well known specialists in economics, biology, health, race relations, etc., on Negro problems. This sociological text is invaluable to the student of race relations.

NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE, THE,*** Jerome Dowd, The Century Company, New York, 1926.

The historical background of the American Negro is discussed briefly. A large part of the book is devoted to the contributions of the Negro to America since Emancipation. Although generally brief, the information contained in this volume is the result of much minute research and contains much authentic material. Well written. Valuable. Interesting.

NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE,** Willis J. King, The Methodist Book Concern, New York & Cincinnati, 1926.

A book which lists many of the Negro's contributions to America; sets down the ills and difficulties faced by the Negro group; and attempts, through the Christian approach, to aid in eradicating some of these ills and difficulties. Its special emphasis is on producing a change in the attitudes of the Christian adherents of the dominant group.

NEGRO FAMILY IN CHICAGO, THE,**** E. Franklin Frazier(N), University of Chicago Press, 1932, $3.00.

A comprehensive, scientific analysis of the Negro family in Chicago. The author traces the historical development of the Negro family from the ante-bellum period up to the present time. A masterly treatment of the cultural, sociological, and economic factors influencing the development of the Negro family. Replete with charts, graphs, tables, and an abundance of sociological data.

NEGRO ILLEGITIMACY IN NEW YORK CITY,*** Ruth Reed, Columbia University Press, New York, 1926.

An analysis of 500 case records secured from New York social service agencies. Recommended to students of social work.

NEGRO INTELLIGENCE AND SELECTIVE MIGRATION,** Otto Klineberg, Columbia University Press, 1935.

A compilation of psychological research made by the author with the assistance of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences.

A generous number of graphs and tables comparing peoples of various sections of the country are included. Results of several nationally known intelligence tests are given. Technical.

NEGRO NATIONAL ASSET OR LIABILITY?** John Louis Hill, Literary Associates Inc., New York, 1930.

An informative treatise which is the result of more than a decade of inter-racial associations. The author has gone minutely into the delicacies of race relations, blood mixtures, race origins, inheritance, environment and religion. An interesting mixture of facts and philosophy. Easily readable. Recommended to those interested in the study of the so-called "race problem".

NEGRO PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES, THE,*** F. G. Detweiler, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922, $3.00.

The Negro Press in the United States has been given an exhaustive study in this serious attempt to find out the character of publications issued by Negroes. Several chapters of this volume indicate the scope and extent of this study. The titles of these chapters are: "The Negro Press in Slavery Days", "The Negro Press In Freedom", "Favorite Themes of the Negro Press", "What is in a Negro Paper", "The Demand For Rights", "Other Solutions of the Race Problem", "Negro Life", "Negro Criticisms of Negro Life". Of interest to the lay reader and of particular interest to news analysts and students of race problems.

NEGRO PROBLEMS IN CITIES,**** T. J. Woofter, Jr., Doubleday Doran & Co., Garden City, 1928, $2.50.

A study made through the cooperation of the Institute of Social

and Religious Research under the direction of the author. It is divided into four sections each edited by a specialist; Neighborhoods, Housing, Schools, and Recreation. The report is the result of surveys in sixteen cities. Facts and materials from six of these cities were used in the analysis. A text. Authentic. Sociological.

NEGRO PROFESSIONAL MAN IN THE COMMUNITY, THE,**** Carter G. Woodson(N), Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C., 1934, $3.00.

According to this author, the social and economic insecurity of the Negro may be attributed to the development of a false set of values whereby the professional man becomes all things at all times in the Negro community. "The mere title of 'doctor' or 'lawyer' elevated the belittled one to a place of importance and leadership that only tended to add a tissue paper roof to the cellophane structure of black economy". The professional class, says the author, more than any other, intensified the belief that the element of racial discrimination was the chief and foremost cause of the Negro's plight. Highly recommended.

NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES, THE,*** James S. Allen, International Publishers, New York, 1936.

The author of this book discusses the race question from the Marxist's point of view. It is the opinion of the author that only a change in the political and economic philosophy of the country will eliminate the "Negro question". The volume contains valuable statistics, economic and social data on the Negro people. Important as a contrast to current economic and social practices. Highly recommended.

NEGRO-WHITE ADJUSTMENT,*** Paul E. Baker, The Association Press, New York, 1934, $3.50.

A compilation of interesting, informative data gathered from clippings, speeches, and reports of groups such as the Y. M. C. A., The Commission for Interracial Cooperation, The Federal Council of Churches, The Urban League, The N. A. A. C. P., and the Communist Party. The author presents the "aims" expressed by executive officers rather than attempts at criticism. Excellent for Interracial groups and sociological study.

RACE AND CULTURE CONTACTS,**** E. B. Reuter, McGraw-Hill Book Co., $3.00.

A collection of thirteen essays based on the 1933 meeting of the American Sociological Society which had as its central theme, "Race and Culture Contacts". Of particular interest are the papers of Professors Frazier and Johnson on Negro families. Dr. Johnson's essay on "Negro Personality Changes in a Southern Community" gives brief testimony to the qualitative changes that have taken place in the racial personality since slavery. Timely and valuable for those interested in sociological study.

RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN,*** Bruno Lasker, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1929, $4.50.

An examination of the ways in which children acquire mistaken opinions of, and irrational attitudes toward people of a different

race or nationality; and a discussion of ways to create better understanding. Highly recommended.

RACE CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO,*** Rebecca Chalmers Barton, Arnold-Busck, Copenhagen, $2.00.

A reference work which has been distributed throughout European universities by the author. A scientific medium written to aid in displacing the "jazz" stereotype which "unprejudiced" Europe assumes is the typical American Negro. For those Americans and Europeans who insistently demand the complete stratification of Negro life and types in one volume, this book is highly recommended.

RACE MIXTURES,*** Edward Byron Reuter, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1931.

The intermixture of different races is approached from a sociological point of view in this volume. The causes and effects of intermixture and intermarriage of Negroes and whites in America are concentrated upon by the author. A textbook.

RACE PSYCHOLOGY,*** Garth Thomas Russell, McGraw-Hill Co., New York, 1931.

The volume presents noteworthy deductions relating to racial and mental differences, such as: "1. Racial differences in mental traits are due to one of two causes - modification or selection. 2. Differences in intelligence of races are explained by the influence of nurture and of selection. 3. A proper ethnic program for unfortunate groups would do much for so-called 'inferior peoples' as it does on a small scale for individuals. 4. Esthetic principles are the same for all peoples. 5. There are no racial differences in musical traits. 6. Differences found in races, in the results of studies of racial differences in mental traits, are due to nurtural factors." Many tables and charts round out this valuable study. A text. Highly recommended tc students of race problems.

RACE RELATIONS,**** Willis D. Weatherford & Charles S. Johnson(N), D. C. Heath & Co., New York, 1934, $3.20.

Study of an adjustment between whites and Negroes in the United States. The book has 29 chapters, 555 pages. The authors draw heavily on surveys and statistical reports, writers of history, anthropology, sociology and biography. A valuable text book for college students interested in a comprehensive study of the Negro-white relationship in America.

ROPE AND FAGGOT,*** Walter White(N), Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929.

The author discusses the factors behind lynching. The various complements of lynching - economic forces, race prejudice, religion, sex, politics, journalism, and theories of racial superiority and inferiority based upon faulty or insufficient scientific evidence, are isolated and examined.

STORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, THE,**** Ina Corinne Brown, Friendship Press, New York, 1936, $1.00.

An authoritative survey of the African backgrounds of Negroes, and of social and religious progress of Negroes since emancipation.

Excellent introduction. Easily understood. Highly recommended.

STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE ABILITIES OF WHITES AND NEGROES,*** Joseph Peterson and Lyle H. Lanier, William and Wilkins Co., Baltimore, 1929.

This text is a result of studies made by the authors. Among the comparisons made and discussed in the book are: Part 1, "Comparative Tests of Twelve Year Old White and Negro Children". The results tend to show the mental superiority of the white. These studies have been thoroughly and painstakingly done. Valuable.

TREND OF THE RACES, THE,** George Edmund Haynes(N), The Council Of Women For Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, New York, 1922.

The author who is an authority on race relations, analyzes facts and situations which bear upon race relationships and makes suggestions for a Christian solution to the problems arising therefrom.

VOICE OF THE NEGRO, THE,** Robert T. Kerlin, E. P. Dutton & Co., 681 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1920.

A compilation from the colored press of America for the four months succeeding the Washington riot of 1919. Designed to show the Negro's reaction to this and similar events which followed the World War. The entire Afro-American press, consisting of two dailies, a dozen magazines, and nearly three hundred weeklies has been drawn upon. Topically arranged. Readable. Recommended.

WHAT THE NEGRO THINKS,** Robert Russa Moton(N), Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, New York, 1928, $2.50.

The author of this book attempts to present the view of the Negro on the many sided problems with which the Negro is faced. Among the serious problems discussed, are segregation, discrimination, lack of economic opportunities, etc. The volume is indicative, of course, of the opinion of one group of Negroes.

SOURCE BOOKS

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEGRO MIGRATION, A, Frank Ross and Louise Venable Kennedy, Columbia University Press, 1934, $5.00.

This is a bibliography covering the books and journal articles published since 1865 which bear upon the Negro, with selected and indexed digests of their contents.

NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES,**** 1920-1932 United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1935.

A pertinent report published by the Government containing facts and figures on the Negro as found in the United States, based on United States Census Reports. The volume is a supplement to "The Negro Population, 1790-1915". An invaluable source of information regarding the progress and status of the Negro in the United States.

Extensive in scope and detailed in compilation. An indispensable reference work for any scientific study of the Negro. Technical. Invaluable.

NEGRO YEAR BOOK,**** Monroe N. Work(N), Negro Year Book Publishing Co., Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1925-1932.

The Negro Year Book provides a succinct, comprehensive and impartial review of the events which affect the interests and indicate the progress of the Negro. It furnishes a compact but comprehensive statement of historical and statistical facts arranged for ready reference. It is a permanent record of current events and at the same time an encyclopedia of historical and sociological facts. Exceptionally useful to students. Highly recommended.

WHO'S WHO IN COLORED AMERICA,*** Third Edition, 1930, 1931, 1932, New Kirk Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, $10.00.

Life sketches of the leading men and women of Negro descent. Given in brief language without criticism. Tells of the progress the Race is making and things every person wants to know. Highly recommended for every colored school and college. The library of every minister, teacher, doctor, lawyer, business man, and race leader, as well as the public library.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

NEGRO IN CHICAGO, THE,**** Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922, $4.00.

This is a compilation of the records of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations on investigations of the Chicago race riot of July 1919, and of living conditions of Negroes in the North, and detailed statements of what the Commission considers are the main factors in the adjustment of racial difficulties. Highly recommended.

******

NEGRO AS A CAPITALIST, THE,*** Abram L. Harris(N), The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, 1936.

This is a detailed study of the role of the Negro in the economic development of the western world. The following chapters are of particular significance to students of economics:
1. Africa and the Rise of Capitalism; 2. The Accumulation of Wealth Among Negroes Prior to 1860; 3. The Economic Basis of The Negro Middle-class.

The volume shows the struggle of the Negro to gain economic status and social position by erecting within the larger frame-work of capitalism a small world of Negro business enterprise, hoping thereby to develop his own capitalistic-employer class and to create employment opportunities for an increasing number of Negroes in white-collar occupations.

BOOKLETS AND PERIODICALS

Because of the rapidity of changes in the field of social studies, there has been a growing tendency to issue pamphlets on contemporary questions rather than to publish expensive books. Most of these pamphlets are written by the same authorities who would ordinarily publish books. These pamphlets usually contain a digest, synopsis, or symposium on the issue at hand.

Due to the fact that there exists an almost inestimable number of such materials, only a few can be given in this list. The ones listed, however, have a definite bearing upon the Negro and his problems.

From time to time a number of magazines publish articles, and sometimes devote an entire issue to a certain phase, or phases of Negro life in America. Several such articles or issues are also included in this list.

Several nationally known organizations interested in inter-racial relationship, together with their programs, are also contained in this bibliography.

J. A. P.

BOOKLETS AND PERIODICALS

Periodicals

(Best Known Negro Publications)

CRISIS, THE, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Monthly. 15¢ per copy $1.50 yearly.

FLASH, weekly newspicture magazine published by Flash Publishing Co., 715 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., 10¢ per copy $4.50 yearly.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, THE, published by the faculty of the College of Education, Howard University, Washington, D.C., Quarterly. $2.50 yearly.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, THE, published by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., Washington, D. C., Quarterly. $1.25 per year.

OPPORTUNITY, Journal of Negro Life, Published by National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York City. Monthly. 15¢ per copy. $1.50.

SERVICE, published by Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, Monthly. 15¢ per copy. $1.50 yearly.

SOUTHERN WORKMAN, THE, published by Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, Monthly. 10¢ per copy. $1.00.

Also

INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE, a publication of the Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York. 50¢ yearly.

Articles in Magazines and Periodicals

CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE AMONG NEGROES IN GARY, INDIANA, Monthly Labor Review, February, 1936.

COTTON CHOPPER'S STRIKE, THE, Information Service, June 27, 1936

ENTER THE COTTON PICKER, R.K. Straus. Harper's Magazine, Sept. 1936.

HARLEM: DARK WEATHER VANE, Alain Locke. Survey August 15, 1936.

I AM A NEGRO, Paul Williams, The American Magazine, July 1937

KING COTTON'S SLAVES, Scribner, October, 1935.

MIRACLE IN GARY: NEGRO GROPES TOWARDS ECONOMIC EQUALITY, B. B. Fowler, Forum, September, 1936

NEGROES: WORKING AND JOBLESS, J. S. Himes, Jr., Survey. August 15, 1936.

RELIEF BENEFITS OF RURAL NEGROES IN EASTERN AND WESTERN COTTON AREAS, Monthly Labor Review, February 1936.

SOUTHERN FARM TENANCY: WAY OUT OF ITS EVILS, E. E. Embree, Survey, March 1936.

SURVEY GRAPHIC, March 1925.

* * *

Booklets

AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, Robert B. Eleazer, Conference on Education and Race Relations, 20¢ per dozen, $1.50 per hundred.

A brief survey of the Negro's part in American History.

COTTON-GROWING COMMUNITIES, a 43 page booklet on cotton-growing communities in rural Alabama.

COTTON PICKER, THE: FRIEND OR FRANKENSTEIN, Common Sense, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City. 25¢

Problems of the New Rust cotton picking machine, and their thrilling solution.

DEMOCRACY AND THE NEGRO, Marion Cuthbert, Social Action, September, 1936. 10¢

EVERY TENTH PUPIL, Edwin R. Embree, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 16 pages, free.

GLIMPSES OF NEGRO AMERICANS, 6¢ a copy, $4.00 a hundred, $30.00, a thousand.

A 24 page booklet, attractively illustrated, giving in concise and interesting form facts about eight areas of Negro life today.

METHODS OF ACHIEVING RACIAL JUSTICE, Rachel Davis DuBois and Rosie Nelson, Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations, 1936. 25¢

A study outline for church leaders. Adaptable for use by other adult discussion groups.

NEGRO STEPS UP, THE, The Home Boards, 1936. 12 pages. Free.

PLIGHT OF THE SHARECROPPER, Norman Thomas. 1934. 34 pages.

REVOLT AMONG THE SHARECROPPERS, Howard Kester. Covici-Friede, 1936.

SHAME OF SCOTTSBORO, Scottsboro Defense Committee, 112 East 19th Street, New York, 1936, 5¢ per copy.

SCHOOL MONEY IN BLACK AND WHITE, Julius Rosenwald Foundation, 490 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Free.

STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL LIBERTY ON THE LAND, American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square, New York, 1935. 48 pages. 10¢

TRUE FREEDOM FOR NEGRO AND WHITE WORKERS, F. R. Crosswaith and A. B. Lewis, Negro News Service, 1936, 59 pages. 10¢

UP BY THE BOOTSTRAPS, Margueritte H. Bro, Reprint from Christian Century, 75¢ per hundred, single copies free.

WILL THE CHURCH DEMAND RACIAL JUSTICE, Hubert Herring and others.

WISDOM, MODERATION AND JUSTICE: THE CASE OF ANGELO HERNDON, Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense, 112 East 19th Street, New York, 1935, 2¢ per copy.

* * * *

PROGRAMS AND AGENCIES

Programs

AMERICAN NEGRO CHILD AT WORK AND PLAY, M. I. Whepley and others. 1936. 20 pages. Department of World Fellowship, Congregational Educational Society. A five session unit for primary groups. 10¢

COURSE FOR ADULTS ON THE NEGRO, A. M. B. DeBardelenben.

I, TOO, AM AMERICA, Janet Seville. Reprinted from Presbyterian Tribune. 2 pages. Council for Social Action. Single copies free.

NEGRO FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS, Beth Torrey. 1936. 25 pages. 10¢ Department of World Fellowship. Congregational Education Society. A five session unit for junior groups.

PROGRAM ON RACE RELATIONS, A, Mrs. H. O. Hatcher. Mimeographed. President's Exchange. 3 pages. Free.

RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY, Laura E. Aspinwall, The Department of Race Relations, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. 6 pages.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S COURSE ON THE NEGRO, Ina Brown.

The above booklets and materials may be secured through any of the following services.

Agencies

Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 703 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

Conference on Education and Race Relations, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

Council For Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City, New York.

The Department of Race Relations, The Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York.

Foreign Language Information Service, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Indian Rights Association, 995 Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

National Conference of Jews and Christians, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City, New York.

National Negro Congress, 717 Florida Avenue, Washington, D. C.

National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York City, New York.

Office of Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

Publication Department, The Progressive Education Association, 310 W. 90th Street, New York.

Social Relations Departments of many denominational groups.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS UNIT

NEGRO ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM

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ALABAMA "The Citizens' Councils of Alabama"

A very strong Citizens' Council movement headed by State Senator Sam Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, Alabama. Headquarters are in Montgomery. The group claims some 80,000 members and the claim is probably accurate. A second group, the North Alabama Citizens' Council is largely discredited though its leader, Asa Carter, remains active throughout the South.

ARKANSAS "The Citizens' Councils of Arkansas"

Originally a weak movement, this group has shown considerable growth during past year. Councils of the state are led by James D. Johnson of Crossett with considerable help of Curt Copeland of Hot Springs. Membership claims run high though 20,000 is probably the maximum realistic figure. Group is not all-powerful in state but is very capable of doing considerable damage in localities where integration might be considered.

GEORGIA "The States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc."

This group has offices in downtown Atlanta with William T. Bodenhamer as Executive Director. Bodenhamer is a Baptist Minister, a State Legislator and formerly school principal and superintendent and president of a Junior College. Has support of the Governor and Senator-elect Herman Talmadge. Is strongly backed by one of its founders, Roy V. Harris of Augusta. No membership claims have been made and estimates are difficult. However efforts at membership drives have not been conspicuously successful and the group probably has a very small official membership.

LOUISIANA "The Association of Citizens' Councils of La."

President is State Senator William Rainach of Summerfield. Headquarters are in Homer. Group claims to prefer the "quiet and legal approach." Membership is difficult to determine. The New Orleans Citizens' Councils claim a membership in excess of 50,000 though that figure is probably a maximum for the state. A second group, "The Southern Gentlemen" of Baton Rouge is active though of small membership and little influence.

MISSISSIPPI "Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi"

Administrative offices of this group are in Jackson. Executive Secretary is R. B. Patterson, the man given credit for forming the first Citizens' Council in the South. Current membership is approximately 80,000. This is the fountainhead of the Council movement in the South and it is significant that the temporary office of the "Citizens Councils of America" are located in the Jackson Mississippi Council office. The group has a thorough hold on the state and will be of considerable influence for years to come.

NORTH CAROLINA "The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc."

Headed by Dr. W. C. George, professor at the University of North Carolina Medical School. Group has some strength and a membership estimated at 20,000, though it has significant opposition in the state. It may be significant that during the past 12 months the state legislature and the general atmosphere of the state have been very much akin to the mood which the Patriots have sought to create.

SOUTH CAROLINA "The Association of Citizens' Councils of South Carolina"

A moderately strong group with headquarters in Charleston. S. Emery Rogers of Summerton is Executive Secretary and an active leader. Current membership is probably in excess of 30,000. The group is powerful but not accepted by many people in the state, partially as a result of disagreement with the methods of the group and partially because the movement is thoroughly involved in politics. The group is best known for economic reprisals against any opposition.

TENNESSEE

There are several active resistance groups in Tennessee. The Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation is located in Chattanooga and receives support from several local citizens of wealth and influence. The Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government is headed by Donald Davidson, well known writer and professor at Vanderbilt University, Nashville. The Citizens Councils of Tennessee have their headquarters in Memphis and draw their greatest strength from that area. None of these groups have a large membership but all have been active and influential in such areas as Clinton.

TEXAS

Texas too has several resistance groups of which the Citizens' Councils is the strongest. Dr. D. E. Masters is Chairman of the Association. The group was especially active in supporting the pro-segregation referendum of the election of July 28th, in the state Democratic party primary. Membership claims run around 20,000.

VIRGINIA

Virginia has a number of small, and largely ineffective, resistance groups of which The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty, headed by W. E. Maxey Jr. of Richmond is probably the strongest. This group claims some 15,000 members in 37 chapters. The Ace Carter faction of the Citizens' Councils have been organized under John Kasper of Washington, D.C., as a unit of the "Seaboard White Citizens' Council." Group has little membership but has been outspoken and gotten considerable publicity.

Resistance Groups and Minorities other than the Negro

Both Catholics and Jews have been subjected to attack from the various resistance groups. This is especially true of the half-hidden anti-Semitism which one finds in typical hate literature. However, these two groups have received little attention since the Southern Resistance movement is concerned primarily with the Negro and integration. The most damaging effect to these minorities comes through the creation of a general atmosphere of prejudice.

Suffice it to say that prejudice directed toward any minority group or minority opinion has no course other than to affect all minorities. By and large an analysis of current resistance group activity indicates that prejudice is built on a refusal to recognize human differences whether physical or spiritual. Any campaign to maintain and propagate such prejudice will inevitably reach into all areas of human contact and such campaigns, regardless of the immediate subject matter, must be considered dangerous if prejudice itself is so concerned.

Resistance Groups and Anti-Labor Activity

Considerable opposition has been directed to the national unions and individual national leaders, especially Walter Reuther of the UAW. Many of the leaders of the various resistance groups have a public anti-labor record. Two movements have been started either from these groups or with their strong support. The Southern Federation of Labor was organized in Birmingham as an answer to the national unions in opposing integration. This movement has been largely unsuccessful. A second group has been formed in Tennessee, the Southern States Conference of Union People headed by Arthur A. Canada, chairman of the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation. This group seems well financed but has only been in operation for several months.

By and large the interests of resistance groups are in direct opposition to the interests and welfare of organized labor and it is only logical to find that resistance groups express this opposition in their programs.

An Application For Membership

—IN THE—

STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY

J. B. STONER, Archleader (*in full, unlimited Authority*)

To the Archleader of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY:

I, the undersigned, being a true and loyal White, Gentile, Anti-Jewish Resident of North America, do most respectfully and honestly request you to grant me membership in the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY. I am of good character, temperate habits, honest, sound of mind, and recognize the fact that the Lord Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God. I shall always respect your right to expel me from membership at any time you choose. I shall always recognize your Authority over and within the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY as being full and unlimited.

I gladly agree to support fully, and without any reserve whatsoever, your full and unlimited Authority over and within the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, because I know that there must be unity, and peace and harmony within ANTI-JEWISH ranks, if North America is to be freed from Jewish control. I recognize and agree to the fact that all Authority within the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY emanates from you; and, that you can always withdraw Authority, where given, at any time you choose. Insofar as affairs of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY are concerned, you have the full and unrestricted right to do and to un-do, to give orders and to rescind orders. So long as I remain a member of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, I shall comply with your Authority and orders.

I, hereby, renounce any and all political allegiance to any and all other political parties and persons, and henceforth, give my full political support to you, so long as I remain a member of this Party. After your death, or if you ever resign from your position as Archleader, the same political support that I owe you shall be freely and automatically given to your legitimate Successor, and after his death or resignation, to his legitimate Successor, and on down the line, however you provide, so long as I maintain my membership in this Party. If ever, at any time, I become unwilling to support you, I shall promptly and unhesitatingly resign from the Party by sending you a written resignation which will become effective at the very moment it reaches you, unless it specifies a later date, so that unity and peace and harmony may continue to prevail within the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY. I know that the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY does not want any members that are not in accord with it. If ever I resign from the Party, as provided above, I shall no longer owe you any political support whatsoever. So long as I remain a member of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, I shall fully and fanatically support and follow you.

If ever I am entrusted with, or happen to learn, any secret or secrets of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, I will never betray such, even if I leave the Party. If ever I resign from the Party, I shall honestly return any and all of its property and/or funds that may have been entrusted to me. I shall always be honest with the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY.

I agree to vote for and support any and all candidates of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY that run for or seek public office. I agree to make it a policy to vote in every general election—insofar as I am able—and to vote for the candidates of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, so long as I remain a member of the Party. I will also encourage my Anti-Jewish friends and neighbors to vote for the Party's candidates; in fact, I will even assist them to the polls. At every election in which candidates of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY are involved, I will fanatically strive to see to it that at least 50 non-members go to the polls and vote for the candidates of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY. I will do more than my part.

I assure you that I shall never believe Jewish or Jewish-inspired lies that are directed against you and/or the Party. Lying Jew-controlled newspapers will never deceive me; I will always believe you in preference to them or anybody like them.

I recognize the fact that Christianity is the one and only true religion, and that all other so-called religions are false. I believe in always putting America First. I believe in upholding the Constitution of the U. S. A. I believe in ANTI-JEWISM and my viewpoint is always ANTI-JEWISH. I believe that no Jews whatever should be allowed to live in North America. I believe that North America is rightfully for White Gentiles only, and for White Gentiles that are Christians in particular. I shall gladly support your policy to end the Jew menace in a strictly legal way. I believe that ANTI-JEWISM is a leading Christian virtue and an essential American virtue. The Jews must be destroyed—legally, of course—for the good of Christianity and America; but, I do hope that God will have mercy upon their souls. I know that ANTI-JEWISM is invincible, irreproachable, irrepressible, and positively irresistible. ANTI-JEWISM cannot be stopped. ANTI-JEWISM is Christian and American. ANTI-JEWISM serves God and Country.

I shall follow and support you in the fight against the Jews with a fanatical Christian zeal that will make men marvel, and with a patriotic American fanaticism that, with the blessings of God, shall free North America from Jewism. Henceforth, I shall use the Christian battle-cry and greeting of "Down with the Jews!"

Upon my honor, I assure you that I speak the truth in this Application. I sincerely hope that it will please you to grant me membership in the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY. May the Jew-devils soon perish. Down with the Jews!

Signed _____

Residence Address _____

Business Address _____ City & State _____

Occupation _____ Date _____ Phone _____

+ NOTE—IT TAKES MONEY TO FIGHT JEWS. DONATIONS TO THE PARTY ARE NEEDED AND APPRECIATED.

ADDRESS STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, ROUTE 3, CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY

§

FREE AMERICA FROM THE JEWS!

The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY is a political Party whose main purpose is to serve CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA by obtaining enactment of proper laws or Constitutional Amendments making it unlawful and impossible for Jews to live in North America. The Jews hate CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA and are nefariously working to destroy both. The Jews are too evil to be allowed to live. A law or a Constitutional Amentment must be enacted making it a criminal offense to be a Jew, punishable by death. The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY proposes to obtain its objectives by spreading the TRUTH, and by electing the proper Anti-Jewish men to public office, and, thereby, obtaining enactment of the proper laws. When you go to the polls, always vote for the candidates of this Party. The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY insists that its entire program be accomplished in a strictly legal way. The Satanic Jews must be put to death in accordance with irresistible laws that command such.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY believes in ANTI-JEWISM. ANTI-JEWISM is a leading Christian virtue and a leading American virtue. All Jewish influence in North America must be eliminated. The Jews are the worst enemies of CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA. The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY demands an end to everything Jewish, so as to clear the way for CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA. ANTI-JEWISM is irresistible!

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The Jews, those vipers of hell, control and oppress our beloved AMERICA. The Jew-devils control the Public Press, with few exceptions, as well as the radio and the motion picture industries. The Jews even control newspapers that are allegedly owned by non-Jews because, due to Jew methods, Jew control does not depend upon actual ownership. As a result of such, we Americans are continually subjected to lying Jew propaganda.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The Jews have such a strong control over our Government that they are able to persecute and imprison Americans for being true and loyal to our AMERICA, and to persecute and imprison Christians for being true and faithful to our Lord, Master, and Saviour, Jesus Christ, the Son of God. AMERICA must be freed from the Jewish yoke. AMERICA rightfully belongs to us Americans, not to the Jew-devils.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The Jews constitute a foreign invader within our midst. They intend to completely enslave us Americans. One of their main weapons against us is Communism. Communism is a Jew idea; it was started by Jews; and, it has always been promoted by Jews. Communism is Jewish. Without the Jews, Communism would cease to be a threat. Communism is one of the principal means by which the Jews intend to destroy CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA, and set up a Jew-communist world dictatorship over us. The Jew-devils must be destroyed. If our great and beloved AMERICA is to live, Jewry must die. The Jewish race must cease to exist.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY believes in CHRISTIANITY - AMERICA First - upholding the Constitution of the U. S. A. - freedom of Speech and Press - separation of Church and State - large Old Age pensions - High Wages, Mass Production, and Fair Profits - a much Higher Standard of Living for the American Farmer - White Supremacy - North America for White Gentiles only - resettlement of all niggers in North America back in Africa with better living conditions for them in Africa than here - resettlement of all Orientals in the Orient - an end to the Jewish Institution of divorce - and an end to Jewish Internationalism.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

Men and women, Protestants and Catholics, native-born and foreign-born Americans, young and old are all invited to apply for membership in the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, insofar as they are eligible. All of us real Americans must join together to free our glorious and dearly beloved AMERICA from the evil Jews. May the Jew-devils soon perish. If you are a White, Gentile, Anti-Jewish, Christian American, and honestly desire to do your part for CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA by joining the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, sign your name below, enclose this in an envelope, and mail it to the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY—Route 3—Chattanooga, Tennessee. Information will then be sent to you explaining how to apply for membership. Tomorrow may be too late. ACT TODAY!

NAME_____ CITY_____

ADDRESS_____ STATE_____

‡ Regardless of whether or not you join the Party, you should read THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST Versus THE JEWS, Christianity's Attitude Toward The Jews As Explained From The Holy Bible, a book published by the Party. It is a book that proves from the Holy Bible that the Jews are not God's chosen people; but, that instead, we Christians are God's chosen people. The Jews are the children of the devil, vipers, poisonous snakes, serpents, world's chief liars, and the leading murderers. The Jews comprise the synagogue of Satan. Those people that are persuaded to agree with the Jews and to side with them are two-fold more the children of hell than the Jews themselves. The wrath of God is come upon the Jews to the uttermost! The Jew-devils are due to perish. It is the duty of the rulers and governments of the world to destroy the Jews. Read this book that tells the truth about what the Holy Bible actually says about the Jews. Price $2.00 per copy.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

MURRAY'S HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

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DANIEL MURRAY, Editor in Chief

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37

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THE EGYPTIANS, i. e., ETHIOPIANS, INVENTED THE ALPHABET

It will be recalled by those who keep abreast with current events, that in the famous discussion of the " Negro Question " between Senators J. R. Burton, of Kansas, and Benjamin R. Tillman of South Carolina, in their celebrated debate before the Western Chautauquas, it was asserted by Senator Burton, " That the world was indebted to the ancestors of the Negro for the alphabet, the very foundation of present-day civilization. " It may be stated that no assertion by Senator Burton made during the acrimonious debate was so bitterly challenged by Senator Tillman and the press of his section, as the one crediting the ancestors of the Negro with the alphabet. It was admitted on both sides that if Senator Burton was correct, the whole fabric of argument upon which has been built the theory denying the Negro's intellectual equality, must fall to the ground, and it would only be a confession of ignorance upon the part of a speaker or writer to attempt to further maintain it. In view of the above, the following is regarded as very important.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET.

It must be admitted by all, sufficiently informed to speak on this subject, that Egypt and Babylonia were the two greatest nations of remote antiquity, and that the progressive character of the Egyptians renders the claim for them of having invented the alphabet not improbable. In the 2nd volume of " The Historians' History of the World," page 347, it is stated that the tradition and belief of many scholars, that the Phœnicians invented the alphabet, is unsustained. It is therein asserted that the Phœnicians as commercial traders brought it to the Greeks, having first obtained it from the Egyptians. That there is little to justify the prevalent idea as to the Phœnicians inventing it. It may be asked " Why was not this brought forward before? " The explanation is given in a note on page 368 of the " Historians' History of the World," wherein it is shown that Viscount de Rouge, who in 1854 sent to the French Academy the result of his research on the origin of the alphabet, in which the credit is given to the Egyptians and which is now accepted by nearly all scholars, never got his paper published until 1874, the original sent in by him twenty years earlier, it is said, was accidently (?) destroyed.

The following is from Volume 2, page 347, " The Historians' History of the World ":

" As to the exact origin of the alphabet, modern scholars are still somewhat in doubt.[1] The Greeks themselves ascribe its origin to the Egyptians, believing that the Phœnicians had adopted a modified alphabet from the hieroglyphics. There were others, however, among the ancients who ascribed the origin of the Phœnician alphabet not to Egypt, but to Babylonia and curiously enough this discrepancy amongst ancient authorities is exactly matched by the discordant opinions of the scholarship of our own day. It is admitted on all hands that the Phœnicians did not themselves invent their alphabet. But whether the foundation upon which they built it was the hieroglyphic or hieratic spirit of the Egyptians, or the elaborate cuneiform syllabary of Mesopotamia, is not even now clearly established.

The theory of Egyptian origin found about the middle of the 19th Century an able and strenuous advocate in the person of Viscount de Rouge, who elaborated the theory which specifically accounted, or attempted to account for the different letters of the Phœnician alphabet, as to Egyptian origin. He based his comparisons not upon the hieroglyphics, but on the modified forms of the hieratic script, believing with good reason that the Phœnicians obtained their alphabet at a very early date, — perhaps something like 2,000 B. C. He logically confined his analysis to an observation of the oldest specimens of the hieratic writings that were accessable, in particular using the Prisse Papyrus, which, as good fortune would have it, chanced to be written in a very clear, bold hand. This hieratic script, as is well known, follows the hieroglyphics themselves in using at once an alphabet, a syllabary, and a modified form of ideographs. It is one of the most curious facts in the history of human evolution that the Egyptians having advanced through the various stages of mental growth necessary to the evolution of an alphabet, should have retained the antique forms of picture writing and of syllabic representations of sounds after they had made the final anylsis which gave them the actual alphabet, and that to the very last they should have used a jumble of the various forms of representation in all their writings.[2] The feat of the Phœnicians, according to the theory of de Rouge, was to select from the Egyptian characters those that were purely, or almost purely, alphabetic in character, and recognizing that these alone were sufficient, to reject all the rest. Simple as such a selection seems when viewed from the standpoint of later knowledge, it really must have required the imagination of the most brilliant genius to effect it.

The theory of de Rouge was so ably supported through comparison of the most ancient known in-

[1] This more especially related to a similar announcement in 1821, by Champollion overthrowing the old legend of Cadmus and the Alphabet, but before his death Champollion made good his claim for the Egyptians and deRouge took up his work and confirmed it.

[2] It is not more surprising than the fact that the great English scholar Dr. Thomas Young should work for twelve years in an effort to discover the key to the trilingual inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone, and abandon the further effort, ignorant of the fact that he had really discovered the key.

scriptions of the Phœnicians with the hieratic alphabet of the Egyptians that it was almost at once accepted by a large number of scholars, and for many years was pretty generally regarded as having solved the old-time puzzle of the origin of the Phœnician alphabet. More recently, however, the theory of de Rouge has been called in question and the old theory of Pliny, which ascribed the origin of the alphabet to the Babylonian script rather than the Egyptians, has been revived by modern archeologists. Professor Deecke attempted to derive the Phœnician alphabet from the later Assyrian. This attempt, however, has been characterized as refuting itself in the very expression, for it can hardly be in question that the Phœnician alphabet was in use long before the later Assyrian came into existence. A more logical attempt, however, has been made to draw a comparison between the Phœnician and the ancient Accadian, which was the classical speech of Mesopotamia and the model on which the later Assyrian itself was based. This theory, first suggested, perhaps, by Prof. Wuttke, found an able advocate in Dr. J. P. Peters, and more recently has been sanctioned by the high authority of Prof. Hommel. Their opinions, on the other hand, have been ardently combatted by the advocates of the theory of de Rouge, and the subject is as yet too obscure and the data are too few for a final decision."

TESTIMONY OF THE ROSETTA STONE.

If a solitary doubt in the mind of an unprejudiced scholar remain touching the right of the ancestors of the African race to be credited with the origin of the alphabet, after reading the foregoing, it should be removed by reading the story of the "Rosetta Stone" found at page 1, of Volume 1, "Great events by famous historians," a work published in 1905 in 16 volumes through the cooperation of English and American scholars.

Probably no more interesting chapter in history can be found, so far as the colored man is concerned, than the one detailing the finding in 1799, while Napoleon's soldiers were erecting a fort in Egypt, of the "Rosetta Stone" and the efforts of the scholars of the world to read the inscriptions. After years of effort the key was at last discovered by Dr. Thomas Young, of England, in 1818, but he did not unlock the door. That was reserved for Jean Francois Champollion, a Frenchman, who in 1822, deciphered the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, thus unlocking the enigma of the Sphinx and thus the vast secrets held by the monuments of Egypt for centuries were disclosed to the world. Champollion proved by irrefragable testimony, that the Egyptians developed the alphabet as we now have it, minus the additions since the 3rd century, and this alphabet of twenty letters they originated centuries before the Phœnicians were heard of. It is true they neglected the vowels, as did the early Semetic alphabet, but that in no wise lessens their claim. Champollion's work at his death was taken up by Viscount de Rouge, whose testimony we have already given. Beginning in 1834, he labored for twenty years to establish the truth of history and vindicate the claim of the Egyptians. The mysterious disappearance of his MSS. after the French Academy had decided to print the same in 1854, seems singular and highly suggestive. It, however, saw the light in 1874.

ETHIOPIC LITERATURE.

It will surprise many to learn through investigation the extent of Ethiopic Literature. It is true that the oldest monuments of the Ethiopic language does not extend beyond the first centuries of the Christian era, but the bud was in evidence and later bloomed. An Ethiopic literature of great importance came into existence after the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia, in the fourth century, predominantly, however, of a religious character, its use being chiefly seen in the translations of both the Old and New Testament and all the apocryphal and semi-biblical books of that period, the translations following the Great Versions. There has been found at times much other literature of Ethiopic origin, which consist of translations of Greek and even Coptic works, also many Arabic books. Theological and religious works such as collections of old Canons, homilies, exegetical and dogmatical writings, particularly, those of Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom and the Fathers of the Monophysitic Church. Lectionaries for the year, particularly, the Fast at Passion Time, horologia, liturgies, etc. There were also writings by Joseph Ben Gorion, George Ben Amid, Abushaker and others in sacred and profane history and chronology, together with works relating to philosophy and natural sciences. Among the Ethopic works thus spoken of must be listed many Abyssinian treatises of dogmatic character, prayer books, formulas for meditation, eulogies, biographies of Saints, Martyrs, Monks, many of these emenations arising from the Monkish delight in miracles. Besides these, there were also large works on native history and annals of the various Kings (from which James Bruce in the 2nd Volume of his travels has given us extracts) the same being a mixture of Geez and Ethiopic-Amharic. Much was also written during this early period on medicine, witchcraft, exorcism and divination by superstition, either in Ethiopic-Amharic or Amharic alone. Hymns, lyrical poems, such as were available for the uses of the church, seem to have been in most favor. Of real poetic genius exhibited in books, etc., in the Ethiopian language, there are but little evidence, but that the germ was there is proved by the later evolution and development of Higiemonte, Francis Williams, Job Ben Soliman, Phillis Wheatley and others of pure Ethiopic origin. This literature is very fully represented in manuscripts in all the large libraries in Europe, especially in Rome, Paris, Oxford, Tubin-

gen, Vienna, Frankfort-on-the-Main, London and Berlin. Since the Abyssinian War of 1868, when England overthrew King Theodore, the collection of the British Museum has become the largest in Europe. Catalogues have been published of these MSS. the latest in London in 1870.

CRETE-A-PIERROT. (Fort). A wonderful exhibition of the Negro's valor as a soldier.

This world-famed fortification that halted for two weeks and baffled an army corps under Lieut. Gen'l. Leclerc of the French Army in 1802, must ever stand as an exhibition of the marvellous soldierly qualities of colored troops in action. The fort itself has little claim to distinction. It was constructed about 1792, by two colored engineers, Laplaine Sterling and Louis Guy, Sr., to aid in the defence of the region largely occupied by people of color, against the infamous Augustine and M. Borel, and their maurauding band of salt miners. The fort was situated on the right bank of the river l' Artibonite, which is an important Haitien stream, and southeast of Petite-Rivière. Here the two mulatto engineer officers, highly rated as such by General Rigaud, both of whom had been educated in France, constructed a fort, which during two weeks baffled the ablest engineers in Napoleon's army to reduce. From March 9th to March 24, 1802, it was the scene of battle conflict that has scarcely a parallel in the military annals of modern times. Twice before it had proved its great strength. In 1794-5, Major Chris. Morney and Captain Blanc Casenave, two colored officers under Toussaint, used it victoriously against the English and Spanish invaders seeking to possess San Domingo. In the defence they were aided, it is true, by many pro-slavery colonists who hoped to continue the slave system, notwithstanding the two French commissioners, Sonthonax and Polverel, had by proclamation, August 29, 1793, declared all slaves enrolled under them emancipated. In February, 1802, following the landing of Leclerc's army, General Dessalines occupied the place with 1,300 men, and set in place about a dozen cannon on its ramparts, and in other ways prepared to obstruct Leclerc's march into the interior. March 1st Dessalines took 400 of the men and posted them on a pass in the mountains, leaving Generals Lamartinière and Magny, to hold the fort at all hazards. The first named assumed command of the 900 men remaining and during the following fifteen days held at bay the entire French army approximating 20,000 men. Gen. Lamartinière at the time was but 28 years of age, but had been educated as a soldier in the best military schools of France. He was loyally supported by his men, not one of whom proposed surrender, though surrounded by an overwhelming force. To break down the stubborn defence of the black soldiers in Crêté-a-Pierrot, Generals Boudet, Hardy, Debelle and Rochambeau, each led in succession an attacking column of five or six thousand men, but to no purpose. Then General Pamphile de Lacroix and lastly the General in Chief Leclerc, directed the attack, but all were in turn baffled. The fort was of rectangular form and in military engineering, known as a Redan, with one hundred feet in each length. A large moat, very deep, surrounded the fort and rendered storming extremely difficult and hazardous. Lamartinière's provisions were soon exhausted and the men compelled to subsist on dogs, cats and horse flesh, but none were favorable to surrender, though the garrison was summoned several times. In the night of the 24th of March 1802, General Lamartinière decided to cut his way out, having killed in the ranks of the French, more than 2,000 men, twice as many as his entire command. In this courageous attempt he was successful; indeed, it is said, the French were willing to let him go.

The seige by Toussaint's army against Jacmel in 1799 and its heroic defence by officers and men of color, is also entitled to the world's admiration. The same may be said in a larger degree, of General Jean Louis Villatte, a man of color, whose marvellous and resourceful defence of Cape Francais from September, 1795, to March, 1796, against the combined naval and land forces of England and Spain, is only equalled in modern military annals by General Elliot's defence of Gibraltar in 1704. The aspect of the place in no wise indicates the great engineering skill displayed in its construction by Sterling and Guy. The visitor on beholding Crêté-a-Pierrot, is at a loss to understand, why the small fort there should be so famous, and is moved to profound astonishment when told that an European army, 20,000 strong composed of Napoleon's veterans of the Egyptian Campaign, soldiers who had successfully withstood on many a field the shock of battle, when arrayed against the world's best fighting men, had been halted and held two weeks before that fort manned by 900 black soldiers, and that four divisions of Leclerc's army, led by famed commanders were compelled to submit to a repulse. Gen. Lacroix in 1819 wrote a history of the French expedition to San Domingo, and at pages 158-170 tells of Lamartinière's defence of Crêté-a-Pierrot, which he characterized as unparallelled in modern military annals. He says, General Leclerc was so chagrined over the matter that he feared to tell Napoleon the truth, but made, instead, a false report. There is no English account save what is here given and in connection with a sketch of General Lamartinière (which see). The fullest account will be found in Madiou's " Histoire d'Haiti," tom 2, p. 205 et seq. Fuller than Lacroix's sketch. And there, in the space of 15 days, " Crêté-a-Pierrot " became a historic name, with thousands of echoes to reverberate it as long as the grim story of the siege and its horrors shall find an interested listener. Years after, the French veterans sitting around the campfires, listening to the stories of fierce battles, and as evidence of the superiority of their own experience, ever and anon someone would arise and proudly exclaim, " I was at Crêté-a-Pierrot."

It is stated that learning of the approach early in March, 1802, of General Leclerc's forces, General Dessalines, then in Fort Crêté-a-Pierrot, seated himself near the powder magazine and taking a torch asked, "Who with me will guard this place? Those willing to be slaves to the French, leave now, and those remain, who like me, intend to die free men." Not one left. "We will all die for liberty!" they cried. "If the French enter that gate," said Dessalines, "I will fire the magazine." These brave words no doubt stimulated the men in their determined defence. And though Dessalines had then, when the fight begun, left the fort to prepare a cover for retreat if necessary, the spirit of his words and example was still there.

MILBURN, RICHARD. i. e., "Dick Milburn, composer of 'Listen to the Mocking bird.'"

It has long been observed that the African possessed certain musical traits of a high order, and that with proper training he was destined to reach a commanding place in the musical world. This opinion is amply sustained by the career of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, who by his genius attained in 1907, to the highest honors accorded a musician. And to-day, he is spoken of and his music played throughout Europe and America. As great and musically prominent as Mr. Coleridge-Taylor is to-day, the same was accorded to George A. P. Bridgetower, also a colored man, and in honor of whom Beethoven dedicated his famous musical composition, known as the "Kreutzer Sonata." Then there was the Chevalier Georges, the companion about 1776–1793 of kings, queens, princes and the European nobility generally. Richard Milburn, author of "Listen to the Mocking bird," lacked the scientific training of the aforementioned, but had musical taste. In the work of establishing the authorship of this once popular song, happily we are able by reference to the minutes of the Phil. Library Company, an organization of colored men that met at stated periods in the lecture room of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, to fix the same beyond doubt as belonging to Richard Milburn. Dick Milburn, as he was familiarly called, had the faculty of whistling to an extraordinary extent, while at the same time he was sufficiently skilled as a performer, to accompany himself on a guitar. He was a barber by profession, and in the leisure moments of his vocation turned his attention to imitating the birds and particularly the mocking bird. Some of the members of the Library Company, aware of his cleverness in this respect, induced Milburn to add to the interest of their meetings by an exhibition of his marvelous power. Those who have heard the celebrated Mrs. Shaw give an exhibition in whistling, which she did with great success in Europe and America, can form a correct estimate of what possibilities there are in that form of entertainment. The minutes of the Phil. Library Company noticing the presence and performances of Mr. Milburn at several of their meetings, attest beyond dispute the claim made in Milburn's behalf. It seems that Mr. Septimus Winner a skilled musician and publisher, induced Milburn to whistle it before him while he wrote down the bird-like notes. The song was afterwards published by Mr. Winner and during the years between 1855 to 1865, was the *piece de resistance*, of the minstrel companies and serenading parties. The following from the "Philadelphia Tribune," in January, 1908, is of interest:

The world, in general, has accepted the music of "Listen to the Mocking Bird," as the product of "Sep" Winner. This has been disputed; especially in these columns. Last week, our townsman, noted for his unerring instinct for finding rare tomes, and curios appertaining to colored people, came across a copy of "Listen to the Mocking Bird." It was published in Philadelphia in 1855, and in the frontispiece says: "Music by Richard Milburn, words by Alice Hawthorne." It was published by Septimus Winner, whose gift at lyrics was conceded, and who was musical beside. Because he was a prolific writer, the music of that song was attributed to him. Milburn was a native of this city, and worked in his father's barber shop, next door to "Lou" Cochran's tavern at 6th and Lombard streets. It was soon discovered that he was musical, playing the guitar, with a good singing voice, and with whistling skill beyond approach. This brought a large clientele, and made his place of employment one of the noted ones. His imitations of bird whistles, was indeed marvelous; and the members of the Philadelphis Library Company, alive to any attractions of a musical sort in conjunction with their literary efforts, heard of him, and secured his services along the lines just indicated. It was then that he evolved the air above noted. Being catchy, scores were humming and whistling it. Coming to the notice of Winner, he sent for Milburn, who played, sang and whistled the air, composed by him, and then Winner wrote down the notes. Milburn knew nothing of musical notation, but had an alert mind for composition. It spread all over the country, and Winner won fame, at the expense of another, and that a colored man. The mother of Milburn, Mrs. Matilda Moore, is still alive and resides with George Gorgas, 407 Fairmount Avenue. Our subject must have been built upon original lines, because his wife was a barber, and worked right along with him in his business. After his death, she plied the trade on Lombard street, north side, at what is now, opposite Starr Garden. The music, now in the possession of Mr. Adger, settles beyond cavil the authorship of that bit of melody. Fourteen years prior to the advent of Milburn, there was a member of Frank Johnson's great band, Henry Williams, by name, who wrote a sentimental ballad, entitled "Loriette." The composer was a Bostonian, gifted as an instrumentalist, who had like several others come to our city. It had a large sale, and in its day outranked any other air in popularity. Another composer of no mean calibre in the era of Williams, was William Brady. His music, like that of Williams' and Milburn's, was published in this city. Brady's inclinings were of the religious, and although a voluminous writer, all of his efforts were of a sacred character. In the old Catholic Churches, his masses were constantly used. To Milburn belongs the credit and the mission of the chronicler fullfilled, in the facts just now noted.

THE SONG WRITER'S REWARD.

It is rather a striking fact that tropical jingles are frequent instruments of financial success, while

ballads that live long yield scant returns to their authors. "After the Ball"—who ever sings it now? Yet it paid $36,000 in royalties to Charles K. Harris, and the same composer reaped richly from his "Two Little Girls in Blue." Paul Dresser got at least $30,000 from "On the Banks of the Wabash" and almost as much from "Just tell Them That You Saw Me." "Good-bye, Dolly Gray" brought $15,000 to Paul Barnes; "The Good Old Summer Time" was worth $10,000 to Evans and Shields, and so the list goes on.

On the other hand, Septimus Winner got but $35.00 for "Listen to the Mocking Bird," which still lives, and Stephen C. Foster, with his "Old Folks at Home," "Old Kentucky Home," "Come Where my Love Lies Dreaming," and other ballads undying, was at his topmost notch of prosperity at $1,500 a year. Benjamin Russell Hanby, never got a cent for "Nellie Gray," and did not know his song had been published till he heard it in a Cleveland concert hall.

Richard Milburn was born in Philadelphia, Penn., in 1837, near the corner of 8th and Race streets. For a time his mother was in the service of the celebrated Pierce Butler, a very eccentric resident of Philadelphia early in the 19th century. Butler was a director of the famous U. S. Bank, and died in Philadelphia in 1822. In a letter received from Mrs. Alice Gorgas (Oct. 7, 1908), a half sister, we have the information that Richard Milburn died early in the year, 1857, being then in his twentieth year.

PRÉZEAU, JEROME MAXIMILIEN SILVESTRE. Noted Haitiien scholar, author and statesman, under Christophe.

Was born May 28, 1782, at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, of mixed-blood parentage, and received a thorough education on military lines in France. He joined the ranks of the struggling freemen under Toussaint in 1798, and when the valliant Gabart was made a general, Prézeau became his military secretary. Following the death of Gen. Gabart, in 1805, Prezeau accepted a similar position with the Emperor Dessalines who was asasinated in 1806. In 1807, he joined the ranks of Gen. Christophe, who made him a colonel, and when in 1811, Christophe assumed a royal title and created a Kingdom, he selected Prezeau, because of his extraordinary scholarship to be the inspector of schools at Sans Souci, with the rank of Chevalier of the Order of St. Henry. Prezeau served the Emperor Dessalines faithfully up to his death, October 17, 1806, when with Martial Besse, Julien Prevost, Juste Chanlatte and other prominent mulattoes, he joined or sided with Christophe, and became one of his three royal secretaries, Baron Dupuy, and Baron Vastey being the others. In 1814, when Louis XVIII sought to extend again over San Domingo French jurisdiction, and sent three commissioners to negotiate terms for the same, Baron Vastey and the Chevalier Prezeau were selected by the Council of State to place before the world, Haiti's defence. In this behalf Prezeau wrote also three pamphlets, the titles of which are given in the Catalogue of the British Museum. In the case of Franco de Medina, one of the Commissioners, who had formerly served under Toussaint in the Spanish section and upon whom concealed papers were discovered authorizing him to encourage and foster internal strife and conflict in the island between the mulattoes and blacks, and for which he was tried as a spy, the preparation of the charge devolved on Mr. Prézeau. The judgement of the National Council on his case, was prepared and read to a vast concourse of Haitiens assembled in the Great Cathedral at the Cape, by Baron Prézeau. He also published about the same time the answer prepared by him to a letter from Dauxion Lavaysse, one of the Commissioners, to King Christophe, in which he excused the language used, on the ground that such was necessary for the understanding of the King, to whom it was first submitted. Following the suicide of Christophe, Prézeau and Baron Dupuy, concerted to protect his wife and daughters from insult and to screen his remains from violation by the mutinous troops. They decently buried his body in the Citadel Henry, at midnight, to better conceal its resting place. Mme. Christophe and daughters, he conducted to a small habitation called Lambert owned by her near the Cape. In 1822, he was given by Pres. Boyer, the command at Seibo, and in 1824 made aide de camp to Gen. Borgella, his cousin, at Santo Domingo City, and there he died July 28, 1825.

BRIDGETOWER, GEORGE AUG. POLEGREEN. World famed violinist of London, between 1790 and 1845.

That the man of color has been equal to his opportunities in every field of human endeavor, is fully attested by the many notable instances where they have reached the top of the ladder of fame in competition with the world's best. In a letter from London to the "New York Age" December, 1909, Mr. Clarence C. White, said: "No doubt it will be surprising to the readers of "The Age" to note, how conspicuously prominent the negro was in early European musical circles prior to 1804, since at that date Beethoven wrote, and published his now famous "Kreutzer Sonata," and dedicated it to his intimate friend, Bridgewater, the violinist.

Mr. White evidently had in mind, Geo. Aug. P. Bridgetower, a mulatto, to whom the Kreutzer Sonata of Beethoven, was dedicated, but because of a petty quarrel between them over a girl, Beethoven had the publisher substitute the name of Rudolph Kreutzer. This world-famous violinist, whose antecedents and birth are so like those of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, the composer of "Hiawatha," was the son of an African father and European mother and was born at Biola, Poland, in 1779, and evincing some musical tendencies at an early age was given instruction in that art on the violin and soon developed

such extraordinary talent as a violinist, that he appeared February 9, 1790, then only eleven years of age, at Drury Lane, where he played a violin solo between the parts of the " Messiah." His performance was of such high order of merit that it attracted the notice of H. R. H., the Prince of Wales, later George IV., who became his patron at a concert, he appearing along with a youth named Clement, equally celebrated in a similar specialty. He was so well received and popular favor so unmistakable indicated in his behalf, that the same year he played in the series known as the " Professional Concerts," London. He then became a pupil under Barthelemon, Giornovichi and Thomas Attwood, a well known master violinist, after which he was gazetted first violinist to the establishment of the Prince of Wales at Brighton. His reputation was now established and his name was constantly found among the famous performers at the Haydn, Salomon Concerts of 1791, and the equally high toned concerts of Barthelemon during 1792–1794, at which he played a concerto of Viotto's. At the London event of 1791, the Handel Commemoration, Bridgetower and Hummel sat on each side of Joah Bates at the organ, dressed in scarlet coats and pulled out the stops for him. In London, Bridgetower was generally known as the Abyssinian Prince, probably because of his color, he being a mulatto. In 1802, Bridgetower visited his mother then living in Dresden with a younger son, noted as a violin cellist. She died in 1807. While in Dresden he gave concerts on July 24, 1802, and March 18, 1803, and from there went to Vienna, where his reputation had preceded him and where he met with Beethoven and with whom he played that Master's Op. 47, known later as the " Kreutzer Sonata," played May 17th for the first time. It was at this concert he is said to have introduced an alteration of one passage in the world famed Sonata which so pleased Beethoven, that he jumped from his seat at the piano, threw his arms around Bridgetower and cried in an ecstacy of delight, " Once more, my dear fellow, once again." Pohl in his " Haydn in London " mentions Bridgetower in several places, as does Thayer, in his life of Beethoven, which, however, is in German. Czerny tell us that Bridgetower's gestures while playing were so extravagant and he so affected by the music, that few could resist laughing. He was married, but to whom or when we are unable to say, other than that be left a daughter living in Italy at the date of his death in England about 1845, as given by Grove in his " Dict. of Music, etc.," but now found to be incorrect. He was also a composer of note as is evidenced by the fact that the British Museum Catalogue gives the names of the pieces composed by him. The incident of the interpolated passages so graphically described as between Beethoven and Bridgetower, recalls Mozart the precocious musician. In the Sistine Chapel at Rome, in 1770 the choir is chanting the famous " Miserere " by Allegri, the copying of which was forbidden under heavy penalty. In a corner Mozart, then fourteen, listens and hears it twice and the next day accurately transcribes it and sings it at a concert to his own accompaniment on a harpischord. All Rome, including the Pope stands appalled. He is sent for and instead of punishment is encouraged for his wonderful gift of musical memory. Samuel Wesley in England, after a lapse of 25 years, reproduced an oratorio composed by him, of 300 pages, from memory. Von Bulow could give daily a new concert for a month from memory alone. The records of history tells of Milton's gift, of Lord Macauly, of Cyrus, who knew by name every soldier in his army, Michael Angelo, Galileo, of Themistocles, who could call by name all of the 20,000 citizens of Athens. Locke says, Pascal knew the whole Bible from memory. Leibnitz could recite word for word, all the poems of Virgil. These feats of memory though great, are equalled by that of Job Ben Soliman, an African youth who about 1740, before Hans Sloane and a company of Oriental scholars, recited the Koran without missing a word. The verdict of all impartial observers is that in mental power there is no perceivable difference between black and white, but that necessity and opportunity determines the matter. Louis Gottschalk, the first of American pianoists, and the first American to attract attention in Europe, was a New Orleans Creole, i. e., of mixed blood. Later Joseph White, a Cuban negro, won all the first prizes during several years at the Paris Conservatory of Music and in 1910, was still an honored teacher there. Edmund Dédé, a black man, also of New Orleans, went to Paris as a student, won great distinction in music, settled at Bordeaux where in 1910 he was installed as conductor of the Opera. Walter Howard Loving, of Washington, D. C., has won world wide fame in musical circles as leader of the Filipino Band. Brindis de Salas, of Havana, Cuba, who won high fame in the realm of music ere he died in Buenos Aires. The Chevalier Georges was a contemporary of Bridgetower and equally as gifted with the violin and much his superior in general musical ability and fame. Mr. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor fills the same place now. The story of how Beethoven's famous Sonata after being dedicated to Bridgetower in 1803, was found when published in 1805, to bear the name of Rudolph Kreutzer, violinist to Bernodotte, King of Sweden, is thus told:

Bridgetower was in Vienna and billed for a concert, May 24, 1803. He had met Beethoven for the first time in March, at the home of Prince Dietrichstein at a breakfast and both fell in love with each other. Beethoven was induced to write the Sonata for the May concert and on the last day was still at work, so that Bridgetower had no time to copy his part, but was obliged to use the original, with all its blots and blurs. In a note on the concert, Bridgetower says: " I repeated the presto at the fifteenth bar — then he held down the loud pedal during this run from the note C until the ninth bar. His expression in the Andante was so chaste throughout

indeed, so thoroughly characteristic of his slow movements, that the whole was unanimously redemanded." The breach of friendship was over the Countess Guicciardi, the lady of Beethoven's heart. This breach seems to have been a wide one, since Beethoven had the publisher Simrock of Bonn, erase the dedication to Bridgetower and insert the name of Kreutzer. In the " Musical Times " May, 1908, the full story is given. An English gentleman, Mr. Samuel Appleby, collected every scrap relating to Bridgetower. From a passport, July 27, 1803, Bridgetower is thus described: " Character artist; born at Biola, Poland, 1779; middle height; smooth bronze complexion; dark brown hair; brown eyes; rather thick nose."

In 1819 at London he married, and in 1820 left England for the Continent. Was at Rome 1825-27. Through a letter from Vincent Novello, August, 1843, at London, who signs, " your much obliged old pupil and professional admirer," it develops that Novello was an early pupil. In 1845, Bridgetower was in Vienna. In 1846 in London again, and in 1848 at Paris. He had been traced thus far, but until March, 1908, the date of his death was uncertain. In musical circles in England beginning about 1858, a Bridgetower revival which soon run to an intense fever or mania set in, and each in the circles vied with others in seeking every paper or scrap of information concerning him and particularly the date of his death. The cemetery registers were searched diligently for years and only in March, 1908, was the searchers rewarded in finding his remains at Kensal Green, South London. The register showing that he died at 8 Victory Cottages, Bedford Street, Montpelier road, February 29, 1860, aged 78 years, leaving an estate about $5,000, which he bequeathed to a Miss Drake his deceased wife's sister. Truly a wonderful character. In the " Musical World," London, December 4, 1858, appeared a letter to the editor from J. W. Thirlwall, who says: " In respect to the Kreutzer Sonata, Bridgetower told me, that when it was written, Beethoven and he were constant companions, and on the first copy was a dedication to his friend Bridgetower; but ere it was published, they had some silly quarrel about a girl, and in consequence Beethoven scratched out the name of Bridgetower and inserted that of Kreutzer, a man whom he had never seen."

THE RACE QUESTION AS PICTURED IN FICTION.

The many social problems that grow out of the diversities of the races inhabiting the Southern section of the United States, and the perplexing question it presents to the Nation, has given rise to a literature peculiarly its own, this and the various phases of life in the South generally, as it has been described by Caucasian authors in fiction, is the object of this phase of the bibliography, with notes to the same by the compiler. Not all the novels on Southern life are included, but only a selection.

DANIEL MURRAY.

FICTION.

In fiction, the reader, if he be a Christian at heart, is constantly impelled to sympathize with the object of injustice as pictured in the story presented and to execrate whoever may be described as responsible for its infliction. Fiction, through its powerful communings with the reader, is an active force in bringing him to see the injustice and to become thenceforth, if not a defender of the right, at least no longer active on the other side, and in the end, through this silent influence often entirely eliminated from the ranks of the oppressors. It cannot, I am sure, be denied, that such an array against the inhumanity of all manifestations of caste and color prejudice will greatly serve to modify and in the end eradicate so unchristian a sentiment, and when this desiderata has come, America will then be free indeed. In Scott's " Ivanhoe " we are shown the subordinate position of the Saxons in relation to their Norman conquerors, and the intense race feeling that existed among them. But it passed away through the mellowing influence of time and the worth and persistence of the Saxons and in this way all divisional lines were finally obliterated. Therefore, in the light of the past, it is reasonable to believe color-prejudice in the United States will pass away or be greatly modified. One of the most active forces tending towards this end will arise through the necessity of treating the Japanese, Cubans and Filipinos, with greater consideration than has heretofore been accorded to the Negro. The presence of Japanese, Cubans, etc., in various circles, where now they are seldom found, will accustom the people to the admixture of the darker colored races in social circles where now they are rarely seen in America, and at last destroy the novelty of elbowing a dark skinned guest, which will be great enough at the beginning, but will in a short time cease to be noticed. To see generally the admixture of colors in the social circles without friction, will then excite no comment. The novelty and friction of such admixtures of guest has passed away in Europe, in the West Indies, in South and Central America, in Mauritius, throughout Asia, and its passing will at last be a fact in North America. It is bound to come, since all arguments against it are absurdly puerile and unreasonable. When one comes to analyze the color question, it appears grotesquely absurd, since the prejudice is not towards the dark colors, since if it were, its adherents would eschew dark colored clothing, etc., but such is not the case. To show prejudice towards the Japanese is the height of folly. The value of such an examination of the works of fiction as I have made in the light of the foregoing at once becomes apparent, and the power of works of that character, that have had the differences of race or caste prejudice for the main incidents of their plots to greatly influence and destroy race prejudice become apparent the moment one gives full thought to a very conspicuous feature of nearly all fiction; that is, to picture justice

as ever triumphant in every conflict with injustice. To make virtue the victor in every contest with vice. The author invariably portraying through the unfolding of the story, his own estimate of high moral principle and basic justice. I think I am justified in assuming that concrete justice to the Negro is gaining ground. If in the whole range of fiction of this character disclosed by an examination of five hundred works, that in some manner deals with the manifestations of the prejudice of caste and the oppression of all people who have the least affinity with the African race, the authors have not shown any sympathy with the arrogant assumption of superiority based on color, it follows as surely the night the day, that such an assumption can lay but little claim to popular support among the great mass of justice loving people. The trend is, all men up, not some men up and others down.

As these novels are difficult to obtain, I have prepared and given in their appropriate place, a very full synopsis. Any one could, after reading the same, recount their characters and incidents as readily as one who had read the various books, so thoroughly is the synopsis given in each case. I have made a list of about five hundred color-line novels, few of which are indicated by their titles. The titles of the various novels seemingly having been chosen to conceal, rather than to indicate their character. Some of the most interesting bear the following titles:

"When the Gates Lift up Their Heads."
"The Picadilly Puzzle."
"Pudd'nhead Wilson."
"Sons and Fathers."
"George the Planter of the Isle of France." (By Dumas.)
"Peculiar; a Tale of the Great Transition."
"Senator North."
"Modern Pariah."
"Harold; an Experiment."
"The Cosmopolis."
"An Imperative Duty."
"Without Blemish."
"Mr. and Mrs. Morton."
"The Inevitable."

In this prospectus of specimans but a short outline is given. The same in the Encyclopedia is much fuller

ABBE, L. The African Fabiola; or, The Church of Carthage in the Days of Tertullian. London.

Tertullian was one of the fathers of the Catholic Church, and an African. The Church has had in its long line of Popes, three of the African race. Historical scholars particularly church historians are familiar enough with the life of St. Augustine, who was an African, born in the City of Tagasta, in Algiers (ancient Numidia). St. Monica, his mother is justly renowned for her Christian piety. The Colored Catholic Church in Washington, D. C., is named in his honor. The celebrated St. Cyprian was also an African writer of great power. Another African justly famous, as one of the fathers of the Church is Origen. Next to Augustine the greatest authority on early church history and more often cited. Benoit, of Palermo, in Sicily, an African, called by the Church historians the "Holy Black." Benoit was among the most eulogized and honored saints in the Roman Catholic Church, of the age in which he lived. He died at Palermo, 1589. For further information along this line, see Butler's "Lives of the Saints," Caves, "Lives, etc.," and "The Lives of the Fathers."

ADAMS, FRANCIS C. Our World; or, The Slaveholder's Daughter. New York, Miller & Co. 1855.

This very strong presentation of life in the South in antebellum days, was also published in a two-volume edition in London by Sampson Low & Co. under the title of "Our World; or the Democrats rule," 1855. It was put forth to strengthen Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom" which came out three years earlier and was followed as is well known by a flood of similar works on both sides of the slavery question.

ADAMS, FRANCIS C. Manuel Pereira; or The Sovereign Rule of South Carolina, with Views of Southern Laws, Life and Hospitality. Washington, D. C., Bull & Blanchard. 1853.

This story deals with a condition of Southern barbarism now passed, when colored seamen arriving at the port of Charleston, S. C., were held as prisoners and incarcerated in jail until the vessel was ready to depart. Many will recall the experience of Senator Hoar's father sent by the State of Massachusetts to protect her citizens from this inhuman practice. Mr. Hoar was obliged to leave the State under compulsion as soon as his mission was known, the Mayor and others stating that his life was unsafe, nor were they strong enough to protect him from mob violence even though he gave up his mission. In the book is given a very interesting account of a colored man named Jehu Jones,who kept the finest hotel in Charleston and had as his guest the first people visiting that city. Jones was free, as was all his family. There was a law forbidding any free person once leaving the State, to again enter. Jones' daughter was sent to Philadelphia to school. As soon as this beca ne known he was notified that if she came back she would be seized and sold according to the law on the subject. To this inhuman law he had to submit, feeling he would never see his child again. Years after, supposing he might slip away to see his daughter, he started North; as soon as it became known, the inhuman law was invoked and he forbidden ever again to return. The property he was thus obliged to leave was valued at Forty thousand dollars. The most destructive earthquake experienced in the United States, occurred at Charleston, S. C., August 31, 1886, when a great many lives were lost and 7,000 buildings destroyed. A signal exhibition of the retributive nature of Divine happenings.

ADAMS, FRANCIS C. Uncle Tom at Home. London, Clarke, Beeton & Co. 1853.

This little known novel, was originally written as a defence of Mrs. Stowe's well known novel of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and entitled "Review of the reveiwers and reply to Uncle Tom's Cabin." Mrs. John Tyler, wife of former President Tyler, having been induced to write a magazine article as a Reply to Mrs. Stowe. Mr. Adams a native of the South and for years a resident of Charleston, S. C., gave the strongest kind of evidence through articles in magazines, etc., in support of the truthfulness of Mrs. Stowe's account, the whole being subsequently incorporated into a book in England. In it is given an account of Bella Martin. In the Anti-Slavery Reporter, February, 1854, is copied the interesting story of Bella Martin.

ADAMS, WILLIAM TAYLOR (Oliver Optic). Hatchie; the Guardian Slave. Boston, Author. 1853.

The publication of Hatchie was Mr. Adams' first venture in the field of fiction. For fourteen years previously he had taught school in New England, and had noticed the youthful tendencies of boys. So he concluded to turn his authorship talent into that channel, rather than into serious lines. He at once adopted the pen name of "Oliver Optic," which grew rapidly into public favor and won for the writer undying fame in the field of juvenile fiction. Hatchie, is now long since out of print, nor is it to be found in the catalogues of the largest libraries. A copy is somewhat of a curiosity. Few people recall that the book was an argument on the anti-slavery question.

ALIENROCK, M. R. (Pseud). The White Castle of Louisiana. Louisville, Ky., John P. Morton & Co. 1903.

Through this novel one is able to get a very good insight of the daily life of a southerner who had large plantations and hundreds of slaves. It tells of the vexations ever present and brought to the master who was thus called upon to settle troubles of one kind or another between the slaves, aside from the reports of the drivers as to the poor prospects of the crops. The picture is natural and no doubt a true one, and justifies the belief that even the slaveholders of antebellum times do not hanker after a return to the inhuman system.

ALLEN, CHARLES GRANT. An African Millionaire. New York, Lewis Scribner & Co. 1895.

The exploits of William H. Ellis, the Texas quadroon, bearing the signed treaty of commercial amity between the United States and King Menelik, of Abyssinia, has attained to worldwide celebrity, coupled as it has been with the very mysterious disappearance, June 19, 1904, of Mr. Frederick Kent Loomis, his companion in the mission and brother of Mr. Loomis, Assistant Secretary of State, in mid ocean from the deck of the ocean liner on which he was bound from New York to Cherbourg, France, and due to stop for the discharge of passengers at Plymouth, England. Few indeed, who have read the book fail to be pleased.

ALLEN, CHARLES GRANT. In All Shades. New York, Munroe & Co. 1880.

This is one of the most interesting expositions of the color-line as it affected the people of Trinidad, West

Indies, previous to 1833, that has appeared. As it follows so very closely in plot and general outline, one of Dumas' little known novels entitled "George; or the Planter of the Isle of France" (Mauritus), many have accused Mr. Allen of plagiarism. The resemblance is indeed remarkable, if the two, like Darwin's and Wallace's theories of the origin of the species were independently conceived. This is one of the best of Mr. Allen's color-line stories. It will take rank with any.

ALLEN, CHARLES GRANT. The Devil's Dye. Seaside Library No. 9, London and New York, C. G. Crawford. 1891.

This color-line novel, heralded as one of Mr. Allen's best, was never reprinted in America. It was very popular in the West Indies, where in part the scene is laid. The title is suggestive only when one is acquainted with Mr. Allen's "In all shades," which seeks to ridicule the manifestations of color-prejudice among intelligent people.

ALLEN, JAMES LANE. A Kentucky Cardinal. New York, Macmillan & Co. 1900.

This is simply a story of Southern color without any color-line feature of note.

ALLEN, JAMES LANE. The Blue-Grass Regions. New York, Macmillan & Co. 1899.

The same may be said of this story. It is a story of the mountain people of Kentucky and Tennessee.

ALLEN, SARAH E. Hagar's Daughter (A novel). Boston.

ANGUS — Anon. Black Heels on White Necks; or a Fight for Supremacy. Atlanta, Author. 1889.

This story was intended to arouse race feeling rather than keep to the probabilities of life under ordinary conditions.

ATHERTON, GERTRUDE. Senator North. New York, John Lane. 1900.

The heroine is an octoroon, the daughter of a man already married; whose wife is painfully aware of his lapse from virtue. His legitimate daughter feels the full force of blood relationship to the octoroon, and when circumstances deprive the octoroon of support (through the death of a priest who cared for her, the money being forthcoming through provision made by her father, also dead), goes to Virginia, gets her and installs her in her Washington home as a distant relative, and settles $6,000 upon her as a means of future support. Other features of an interesting character follow.

AUGHEY, JOHN HILL. The Iron Furnace; or, Slavery and Secession, by Rev. John H. Aughey, a Refugee from Mississippi. Phil. W. S. & A. Martien. 1863.

This is a vivid picture of what a man of anti-slavery opinions had to encounter on every side in Southern circles before the war.

AUGUSTIN, GEORGE. Romances of New Orleans. New Orleans, Graham & Son. 1891.

This is a real color-line story based on the limited amount of African blood that courses through the veins of the heroines. It is very like the celebrated play of "The Octoroon," that used to hold the stage in the North before the war.

AVERY, MYRTA LOCKETT. Dixie After the War. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co. 1906.

Too much cannot be said of the wealth of material found in this intimate study of Southern life. The stories, whether they depict lights or shadows, are unhackneyed, the pictures are vivid, and, whether it be in the mellow philosophy of "Uncle Randolph" or in the defiance of hotheaded youth, the temper of the people is well revealed. The author is intensely in sympathy with her own people. This is frankly sectional literature, but it is sectional literature written with the fullest comprehension that the tragic conditions were inevitable, and that neither North nor South had the monopoly or heroism or of humanity.

Apart from the charm of personal recollection, there is in the book a praiseworthy purpose to sift the evidence in some of the national questions involved. Of this effort, the account of Lincoln's entry into Richmond is a most successful example, while the not altogether clear treatment of the reconstruction question in "A Little Plain History" is another. A further point which adds to the impression of impartiality is the very careful manner in which Mrs. Avery discriminates between material, for the accuracy of which she holds herself personally responsible, and the "good stories" which she neither affirms nor denies.

Moreover, the book is well planned. The material is grouped into well defined units, arranged in a generally chronological order. Its scope is comprehensive, it is possible to say exhaustive. The chapters on the race question are thoughtful and suggestive. With much real pathos in the book and much genial humor, the chapter on "The Black and Tan Convention" is farce.

AVERY, MYRTA LOCKETT. A Virginia girl in the Civil War.

The title is fully suggestive enough to picture the character of the book without further comment.

AVERY, M. A. Rebel General's Loyal Bride. Springfield, Mass., W. J. Holland & Co. 1873.

The same may be said of this novel. It is an account of a clash of opinions, very natural when all things are considered.

BABCOCK, WINNIFRED EATON (Onoto Wattanna). A Half-Caste, etc. Chicago, Rand, McNally & Co. 1898.

BACHE, RICHARD MEADE. Under the Palmetto. Philadelphia, Claxton, Remsen & Co. 1880.

BACON, EUGENIA JONES. Lyddy; a Tale of the Old South. New York, Continental Pub. Co. 1898.

This novel by Mrs. Bacon, of Memphis, Tenn., has a special value, in that it was written as the author announces in the preface, to conteract, it is claimed, a false impression strongly current on the continent as to the amount of social recognition that should be accorded a visitor from the Southern section of the United States in the higher social circles of England, etc. The daily papers in the United States it seems had given such minute accounts of brutal burnings of human beings and horrible lynchings in which young girls and more mature women were leading participants, that she there found a constant dread in continental social circles of entertaining unawares such a person who might come as a visitor. The book was written, as Mrs. Bacon declares, to refute the harsh opinion very generally entertained throughout Europe towards those who have held human beings in bondage. The author says,

that about 1897 she was the chief guest at a tea in Edinburgh, Scotland, and during the conversation was imprudent enough to acknowledge that she was of Southern birth and at one time held slaves, instantly she found herself, as the other guests demeanor indicated, an object of deep aversion by all present and that her host's little girl cried in terror when Mrs. Bacon sought to be friendly with her. Mrs. Bacon further says, "I then resolved to write a book giving a true picture of slavery and the social relations that subsisted among the slaves, and thus conteract the opinion of the world as to the people of the South."

That Mrs. Bacon undertook a superhuman task, must be apparent to all; particularly, since conditions are far worse to-day than at any time. There is less regard for justice or human life.

BAKER, WILLIAM M. (Pseud. Geo. F. Harrington). Inside; a Chronicle of Secession. New York. Harper's Brothers. 1866. Illustrations by Thos. Nast.

This is a fine description of the South during the war. The author was a Union man, but compelled to mask his sentiments in that regard by reason of his environment, he being in the very centre of the rebellion where he was obliged to remain until the end of the war. He gives a very graphic picture of the daily routine of life and the vicissitudes those inside endured, by reason of the blockade.

BALDWIN, JOSEPH G. Flush times in Alabama and Mississippi. New York, D. Appleton & Co. 1856.

This is one of the most celebrated of the books treating of Southern life and character before the war. The period when the Mississippi river boats were the principal means of transportation and high play at gambling was a marked incident of every trip. The book has been republished several times.

MERRICK, LEONARD. The Quaint Companions. 12°, pp. 296. London. 1903.

The scene of the above named color-line novel is laid in England and indicates very clearly the limited extent of color-prejudice, in the social circles of the British Isles. There the negro has only to contend with the natural clanishness incident to race affinity, and as his color differentiates him from the mass of the people, he is thus somewhat apart, by the marked contrast he bears in color to the vast majority. Otherwise he stands on the same footing. Elisha Lee, the leading figure, a negro, has developed into a world-fame tenor and is back in London for a few concerts. He seeks to recall the friends of other days, some of those known to him fifteen years previously, among them Mrs. Tremlett, with whom he boarded then and who had a beautiful daughter, Ownie, whom he fondly recalled. He goes to Brighton and there meets them, but Ownie, now Mrs. Harris, is a widow with a boy-baby Vivien. Lee is rich and in the enjoyment of large returns from his concerts and in dress and expenditures, is as prodigal as the traditional great singer. Because of his great voice he is petted and lionized on every side, the glamour of which and the desire to share it, causes Mrs. Harris to stifle any inate color-prejudice and to say "yes," when he asked her to marry him. Her mother is reconciled, though not approving the match, by the same glamour that has captivated the daughter. From the marriage is born a son, David Lee, who thereby becomes the half-brother to Vivien. The mulatto child is thus brought into direct rivalry in its mother's affection, with Vivien and loses by the contrast, but the loss is wholly made up by the adoration of the father. As Elisha Lee's fortune was in his voice, it naturally hung by a very slender thread. His habits impaired its value and earning power, long before a severe cold developed pneumonia and carried him off. Mrs. Lee, now found herself with two boys dependent for their maintenance and education on her slender resources, but she bravely undertook to do a mother's part by both of them, and to make ends meet, opened a boarding house in which she met fair success. At school and elsewhere, there were always a sprinkling of mean natures to remind David, that he was unlike in color the vast majority. Aside from this he had little to bar his progress, and developed a literary genius in some respects equal to that of his father in music. Vivien felt towards him a brotherly affection and treated him most kindly. One of his books of poems, "A Celibate's Love Songs," had a phenominal vogue in London and throughout Britain, and brought the author great fame. Living at Beckenhampton, was a Prof. Sorrenford and two daughters, Hebe, called Bee, and Hilda. The family was poor, the father being a teacher of music and elocution. Hilda was notably beautiful, while Bee, who had a beautiful face had been dropped in infancy by a careless nurse, which made her a crooked spine. She took to painting to fill up her time and achieved some success. She was conscious of her handicap for social triumphs, and thought little of love until one day a copy of "A Celibate's Love Songs" fell into her hands and caused an intense awakening. She ventured, after long cogitation to write to the author, not knowing that he was a man of color. She had, however, become very charitable through her own social bar; indeed, too generous in her nature to withold her meed of praise from deserving persons on that account. The train of circumstances following the posting of this letter to David Lee by Bee, is the main theme of the story. As she was deformed, she shrunk correspondingly in her own estimation and sought to find an aim in life, in the fame of a great artist. Still there was an unsatisfied longing for love; a longing, the career of a great artist could not fill, but might through its demands quiet and keep still. When her correspondence with David Lee had gone far enough, he asked for a photograph. She feared a full knowledge of her and her deformity of body might deprive her of the intense human satisfaction she experienced through his letters, and having in mind only a continuance of her happiness, she sent the photo of her sister Hilda. On his part, a similar feeling had been nursed; a fear that a full knowledge that he was a mulatto might also deprive him of the happiness gathered through correspondence with an unknown. At last there came to David Lee, an overwhelming desire to test the correctness of the photo, since through gazing on it his heart was enlisted, but still unwilling to put his own hopes to the touch, because of that shrinking fear that the original of the photo might be so obsessed by color-prejudice as to blast his budding affection, as soon as he should appear. He knew that repulsiveness in any form loses much of its intensity, after prolonged familiarity, and hopefully recalled, that, "Vice is a monster of such hideous mien, to be hated needs only to be seen, but seen too oft, familiar with its face, we first pity, then endure, and then embrace". So he contrived by assuming another name, to secure lodging in the same country house where the two girls were stopping, and daily saw the two sisters. He was deluded through the episode of the photo, in believing that Hilda was his correspondent, and was in extacies over his good fortune in having so beautiful a correspondent. Bee, the real correspondent never for a moment associated him with the author of "A Celibate's Love Songs," and thus they daily met, each unaware of the identity of the other. A later situation however brought about a denouement and explanations. Vivien, the half brother was the accepted suitor for Hilda's hand and told her, that

David Lee, the mulatto author, was his half brother. This led Bee into the secret as to the identity of her correspondent, through whom she had experienced such real happiness. It developed when the truth became known, that she must make an explanation to save Hilda in the estimation of Vivien, since David had shown him her photo and the correspondence, the possession of which needed explanation. Again she shrunk from the impending blow to her happiness likely to follow the discontinuance and upon reflection and constant self-examination felt her notions on the varieties of color in human beings undergoing a decided modification and less repugnance to being in correspondence with a mulatto. David Lee called to see Hilda to secure an explanation of the tangle and Bee went down to meet him. She explained the tragedy of her lonely life and the yearnings of her heart for an acknowledged companion, and how free of color-prejudice a self-examination had disclosed to her. On his part he recognized that it was through her mind he had derived so much pleasure, though believing she had the form of Hilda, and further that if she in beauty of form was at varience with established models, he, in the matter of color in England, was no less divergent. In time both came to realize that there were qualities of mind that outweighed beauty of face or form or complexion, and they established a companionship for life more firmly on this account. He a little below the standard of color, and she in form, and each finding in the beauty of mind a more lasting quality.

The theory of the story is correct. What a woman needs to fill the measure of her happiness in life is the consciousness and satisfaction of being loved. This is in the mind wholly. She is seldom particular as to the quarter from whence comes the evidence of ardent admiration of her. He may be a criminal, burglar or murderer, if so, his repulsive attributes in this respect are greatly modified in her sight, if he has the redeeming quality of gratitude and admiration for her.

Mr. Merrick, the author had written several novels ere he produced the "Quaint Companions," and is held in high esteem as a writer, though little known outside of England. He was born there, February 21, 1874.

Some of the most famous novels along this line are but little indicated by their title any more than the one above who would suspect the following as of that class:

"When the Gates lift up their Heads."
"The Plated City."
"No Other Way."
"Master of Red Leaf."

BELL, PHILLIP ALEXANDER. Pioneer Editor of the Colored Press of America; Scholar, etc.

Was born in New York City in 1808 and received a liberal education. In 1837, in connection with Rev. Samuel E. Cornish (who had been co-editor of the "Journal of Freedom," in 1827 with John Brown Russwurm). He started in New York City *The Colored American*. Later Dr. J. McCune Smith became one of the editors. In 1855, Mr. Bell went to California and began prospecting in various parts of the state, and while so engaged wrote articles for the *Pacific Appeal*. He and F. G. Barbadoes, did noble work in manufacturing a liberal sentiment in the State towards the Colored people, particularly, during the Civil war preiod. In 1862, Mr. Bell removed to San Francisco, to assume charge of *The Mirror of the Times*, a newspaper begun by Colored men in 1855. In 1865 several Colored men, among whom was Fred G. Barbadoes, organized to publish *The Elevator* to be the organ of the Colored men on the Pacific coast. It began April 18, 1865, but did not assume the place marked out for it, but continued to live for a time. In 1848, Mr. Bell, then living in New York, succeeded to the business of keeping an intelligence office formerly maintained in a very successful manner by a Mr. Hutson, who for a long time was the leader in that line of business. Mr. Bell died in very straitened circumstances in San Francisco, Cal., April 24, 1889.

DORSEY, THOMAS JOSHUA. Noted Caterer of Philadelphia, who bought his freedom for $1,000 in 1836.

The subject of this sketch was born of mixed blood parentage at Liberty, Frederick County, Maryland, about 1810. His mother bore his master four children, Basil, Thomas, Charles and William Dorsey. They all runaway in 1836 and reached Philadelphia, where they came under the notice of Mr. Robert Purvis. In R. C. Smedley's *Underground Railroad*, page 356, Mr. Purvis tells of his connection with them; the attempt to return Thomas to slavery after reaching Philadelphia by arresting him, and the decision of the Judge who delivered him up to be sent South, and how by the timely efforts of friends in Philadelphia he was rescued in Baltimore through the payment of $1,000. The other brothers, Basil, Charles and William, were also sought. Basil was captured at Doylestown where he was being protected by Mr. Purvis, who tells in Smedley's book, the incidents of the rescue of Basil after he had been arrested. At the trial, the services of David Paul Brown, Esq., were enlisted, who raised the novel point as to whether Maryland was a slave State, and if not, the fugitive could not be sent into free territory. Judge Fox asked for proof and Griffith, for the owner, became nonplussed and was unable to prove that it was, and Judge Fox released Basil. Thereupon Mr. Purvis took him in a buggy, drove at a furious rate to Philadelphia, twenty miles away, thus carrying him beyond the jurisdiction before another warrant could be framed. Later he was sent to Northampton, Mass., where he and his family lived until his death about 1873. Mr. Thomas J. Dorsey soon after the incidents narrated, adopted catering in Philadelphia as a business and amassed quite a fortune. In June, 1859, John Brown, then on his mission to Harper's Ferry, visited Philadelphia, and lodged at the home of Mr. Dorsey, 1231 Lombard street. There he conferred with E. D. Bassett, Henry Minton, John Seville, (son-in-law to Mr. Dorsey), Henry Jones, Alfred Morris Green and Joshua B. Matthews. These men did much in a material way to aid John Brown on his mission. Early in December, 1859, the body of John Brown laid in State in Philadelphia on its way to North Elba, N. Y. A meeting was held in National Hall to show respect to the great martyr. A mob of Southern students attempted to break it up, but desisted when they saw the temper of those in attendance. Mr. Dorsey died in Philadelphia, Pa., February 12, 1875.

As an exponent of the Catering Art, Mr. Dorsey was for nearly forty years the leader in Philadelphia. Although devoid of education he possessed a naturally refined taste, which he had cultivated to the highest. At his home in Locust Street, he entertained most lavishly and boasted that Chas. Sumner, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wm. D. Kelley, Frederick Douglass and John W. Forney had at times been his guests. He was so intense in loyalty that he refused to serve a party for a "Copperhead Democrat," because of his opposition to President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation.

HALLOWELL, MORRIS L. The Brave Quaker Abolitionist.

It is said that the pocket nerve is the most sensitive and most easily touched by an adverse trend, than any other. Therefore the slave-holding oligarchy of the South mindful of this, sought to arrest the zeal of Garrison and the abolitionist generally, by threatening to boycott all Northern merchants who failed to use their influence against him. Morris L. Hallowell, a young Philadelphia merchant, when threatened in

1838 with the loss of his dry-goods trade South, if he did not abjure abolitionism, replied, "I do not sell my principles with my dry-goods," and refused to yield an inch.

Mr. Hallowell was born in Philadelphia, Pa., August 14, 1809, and died in that city, June 16, 1881. The incident referred to above grew out of the meeting of the American Female Anti-Slavery Society in Penn Hall, corner of 6th and Race streets, May 14, 1838, and the burning of the hall by a mob, May 16th. Mr. Garrison, as usual, was the special object of the mob. He was stopping at the home of Mr. Edward Needles, but to insure greater safety, he took refuge, by invitation, at the home of Morris L. Hallowell, 240 North Sixth Street. At two o'clock the next morning, a covered carriage in which were Joseph Parrish, Jr., Israel H. Johnson and Robert Purvis, drove to Mr. Hallowell's and bore Mr. Garrison safely from the city. An attempt was then made to punish Mr. Hallowell for his part, by a boycott.

HICKS, CHARLES BARNEY. Famous vocalist and pioneer minstrel performer.

Was born of mixed blood parentage at Baltimore in 1842. He began his stage career in a local way as a ballad singer, particularly of sentimental and topical songs, about 1865–66. One of his ever remembered hits was "Little Maggie May" which never failed to bring down the house. About the same time Mr. John Luca located in Baltimore and no doubt the presence of Luca had much to do with leading Hicks into the minstrel business, of which he was the pioneer and shining light among Colored men on an independent scale. In Baltimore about 1865, lived George Kunkle and L. C. Moxley, both "old time minstrels," Moxley the finest delineator of female characters in his day. Hicks was brought directly in contact with these men and no doubt was much influenced by the association, Kunkle being the manager of the "old Front St. Theatre." As a theatrical manager, Mr. Hicks was par excellence. He had that part of the business down to perfection. The business of manager requires such extraordinary equipment that few colored men up to that date had developed the faculty. It was Barney Hicks who organized the famous "Georgia Minstrels," the first Colored troupe that toured the land as such. Later he associated Mr. George B. Callender in the enterprise. Then came a reorganization and the substitution of highly trained performers for those possessing solely natural musical talent. Early in the seventies the troupe went to Europe, where they had phenominal success. On their return Mr. Hicks remained in Europe and never again visited his native land.

Previous to the venture by Mr. Hicks in the field of Ethiopian minstrelsy as an independent manager, about 1866–67, the negro characters on the stage were represented by white men blackened with burnt cork paste. The Bohee brothers, who had appeared in a white company somewhat earlier, appeared with black faces. The great American tragedian, Edwin Forrest, begun his professional career by appearing in 1823 in a play depicting life at the South disguised as a Negro boy, so it was novel to see colored men on the stage. Soon the success of Mr. Hick's venture in genuine Negro minstrelsy became assured, the troupe taking the name of "The Georgia Minstrels." After touring the United States, Mr. Hicks went to Europe and there married in Paris, a French lady. His fine managerial talent was soon recognized and exploited throughout Australia and India. He was the first man to take a colored troupe on a tour of the United States. In Europe for lack of talent in the minstrel line, he engaged in the circus business, since such can perform with greater success, because not required to speak the language of the towns in which billed. It was Hicks and Sawyer that took a minstrel troupe around the world. Having engaged in the entertainment line for so many years, Mr. Hicks acquired in such, an international reputation and was at the time of his death, July 21, 1902, manager of a French Circus, then playing at Saraboya, Java. He left a daughter, his wife having predeceased him.

The city of Saraboya, where Mr. Hicks died, is the main seaport town of the island of Java. It has the best harbor in the island and is defended by many forts and batteries. It has a population of 125,000, and is the capital of the province bearing the same name, which has a population of 1,600,000. It has a very large trade with the interior and is situated on a river bearing the same name.

In the Christmas suppliment, 1909, *New York Age*, Samuel Corker, Jr., manager of the "Red Moon" Co., speaking of Mr. Hicks, says:

> In the old days when managers produced and routed their shows by individual efforts, the manager had to be, by necessity, a tactful man. Possibly the most astute and celebrated Negro theatrical manager was Chas. B. Hicks; his geographical knowledge of the country and his ability to handle actors made him a prominent figure and his opinions were eagerly sought after.
>
> I understand that he was the first to discover in the making of an itinerary of a company, that it was of greater profit for his company to make its appearance in the far northwest in the spring of the year, because at that time the lumbermen had finished their labors in the forest and were flocking into the smaller towns of that territory with their winter's pay and eager for amusement. His minute observations prompted him to send his company South during the winter months after the cotton had been picked and the Southerners were possessed of the necessary where-with-all to pay for the happy evenings that a Negro minstrel organization furnished.
>
> So famous had become the theatrical business knowledge of Barney Hicks that his opinions were sought by no less distinguished management than the Frohmans. Mr. Hicks rounded out his career as a showman, as manager of a circus that traveled in Australia and India, where he recently died.

Since Mr. Hick's day any number of colored men have developed the faculty of managers.

LOUVERTURE, ISAAC. Son of General Toussaint Louverture; some facts concerning him.

Was born at Breda, near Cape Haïtien, in 1786, where his father and mother, slaves of Col. Noe, were then living. And while yet very young, and the revolution having changed his condition, was sent by his father in the care of Sonthonax, 1794, to France to be educated. Isaac was the only son of Toussaint that survived infancy. Zuzanne having borne a male mulatto child by one Seraphin, before becoming the wife of Toussaint. This boy Placide was by law free, notwithstanding his mother's state of bondage, because the French law did not tolerate mixed blood slavery. The law decreed freedom if either parent was free. Isaac and his half brother Placide, were placed at a college known as the Lycee Colonial, at Bordeaux, and at the time under the management of Pere Coisnon, a very good hearted man. Both made rapid progress in their studies, and Napoleon, in his heart having already conceived his infamous design to re-enslave the blacks of San Domingo, began his dastardly scheme by deception. He named Isaac and Placide lieutenants of the staff of the Royal household and gave them an assignment of duty at the Palace of the Tuileries, hoping by this to allay suspicion and to better cloak his design. Deep in his project of deceit, Napoleon, to Isaac was particularly attentive, urging as a reason his high admiration for Isaac's father. Napoleon who loved much to romp and play with children, while men he made tremble, gave to Isaac one day some mathematical problems to solve, which being done to his full satisfaction, he complimented him and expressed his full belief in the intellectual capacity and equality of the Negro race, and further said to Isaac, "Your father is a great man, he has rendered eminent services to France. You tell him that I, the first Magistrate of the people of France, promise him protection, glory and honor. Tell him not to believe that it is the in-

tention of France to make war on Saint Domingo; the army which I am going to send there is not intended to fight the troops of the country, but to increase their numbers. Look, it is Gen. Leclerc, my brother-in-law, who is to command that army. Orders have already been given that you will make the journey home fifteen days in advance of Gen. Leclerc to announce to your father the coming of the expedition." The next day Placide and Isaac were given complete new military outfits, so as to appear in the best form when they reached San Domingo. They embarked on the frigate Jean Jacques and arrived at the Cape about the same time as the fleet under Leclerc, January 29, 1802, but were held by Leclerc, under Napoleon's direction as hostages, through whom he hoped to secure Toussaint's submission to the scheme to reopen in Haiti and all the French islands the slave trade. In an account of their return and the preparation for the journey much is told of the warm reception accorded Isaac by the Empress Josephine, when he and his preceptor the Abbe Coisnon, were visitors at Malmaison, Josephine greatly admired the distinguished physique of Isaac, in spite of his dark color and predicted for him a brilliant future, the fruit of his superior education and natural talent. He quoted for her sonnets from the Latin Parnassus, with rare fervor, from the Musee Francais, the prize discourse in rhetoric and Latin verse. He was very well grounded in mathematics. The impression made by Isaac on Napoleon was disquieting. Since he loved not the negro and felt as he well might, that he would have a much harder task to restore in the French West Indies the slave trade, than he conceived would be the case after signing, October 1, 1800, the Peace of Amiens. Napoleon had embraced the idea of allaying the suspicions of Toussaint, the father, by extra attention to Isaac and Placide. That he had signally failed became manifest in February, 1802, when the fleet arrived before the Cape and Christophe informed Leclerc, that acting on the orders of Gen. Toussaint Louverture the city would be reduced to ashes should he attempt to land. Leclerc thereupon sent ashore M. Coisnon on a mission to Toussaint accompanied by Isaac and Placide hoping through them to induce Toussaint to call off Christophe. The ruse failed, the two youths returned to the ship and Leclerc manned his boats and Christophe burned the City. Then the war was on in earnest. The two boys were returned to France and Toussaint never again saw Isaac, who was sent to Agen near his mother and Placide was conducted to Fort Belle Isle sur-mer. December 1, 1804, Isaac married at Agen, France, his cousin Louise Chancey and later moved to Bordeaux, following the death of his mother in 1816. There he was treated with great respect, being frequently regarded and called the "King of the Negroes." In 1827–8 Isaac wrote in collaboration with M. Desquiron de St. Agnan, a Paris lawyer, an epic poem in eight cantos "l'Haïtiade," published anon. He died at Bordeaux, September 27, 1854, leaving a widow, but no children.

THOMAS, SIR J. J. Knighted in 1908, by Edward VII. and named Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Four men of color have been decorated by English Soverigns, the last in 1908 by His Majesty King Edward VII. The first was Edward Jordan, of Jamaica, then Judge Conrad Reeves of Barbadoes, next Samuel Lewis of Sierra Leone, and now Mr. Thomas of the same place.

James Jonathan Thomas, son of the late James and Jane Thomas of Sierra Leone, West Africa, was born July 22, 1850, at Freetown. His first wife was Patience, daughter of Mr. Thomas Joe, merchant of Lagos, his second wife Rhoda, daughter of Mr. Abraham Hebrom, merchant of Sierra Leone. The American Commissioners, Messrs. Sale and Falkner, sent to Liberia by President W. H. Taft in the summer of 1909, visited also Freetown, Sierra Leone, and there met Sir. James J. Thomas. The following from the *West African World* is interesting:

October 29, 1908, a number of friends and admirers of Sir James, wishing to commemorate the mark of Royal favor evidenced by his decoration by His Majesty, King Edward VII of England, as "Companion of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George," tendered him a banquet at one of the leading hotels in Sierra Leone. It was attended by the foremost business and professional men in the Colony. Among those who extended congratulations to Sir Knight Thomas, was Sir Alfred Lewis Jones, the famous ship owner, the unflinching friend of West Africa and her people, whose vessels dot every ocean and trade with every clime.

The policy of the English government to treat all of its subjects with Christian fairness, cannot but awaken sentiments of admiration in the hearts of all Christian peoples towards such noble examples of concrete justice. The idea of a Christian nation discriminating against its own subjects on the score of a difference of color is a monstrous perversion of common decency. Sir James, is a Justice of the Peace and since 1893 a member of the legislative Councils of Sierra Leone and Lagos. He was formerly a merchant at Lagos and Commissioner for that Colony to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition at London in 1886. Member of the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal Colonial Institute and the Royal Society of Arts. Member of the National Liberal Club of London.

WRIGHT, FANNY. Mme. D'Arusmont. Early abolitionist, 1825.

It is highly probable that the subject of this notice was the pioneer woman in America to publicly expouse the cause for the abolition of slavery. This she did by attempting to establish in Shelby County, Tenn., in 1825, an anti-slavery community. She was born in Dundee, Scotland, of Scottish parentage in 1795. She came to America in 1818, but returned to her home in England in 1820, and in 1821 published "Views of Society and Manners in America," reprinted in Paris, 1822. In 1825, she founded on the Naohoba river, near Memphis, a colony of free negroes, which did not succeed, and the greater part of them were transported to Haïti, in 1830. From 1833 to 1836, she lectured on Woman's Right, and is pictured in the literature of the subject as the pioneer in America on the subject. In 1838 while on a visit to Paris, she was married to M. D'Arusmont, but soon separated from him; returned to the United States and in 1840 located at Cincinnati, where she died in 1852. A Memoir by Gilbert, was published in Cincinnati, in 1855.

KIZLAR, AGASI. The title of the chief Euneuch in the Royal harem.

This is scarcely a personage in the ordinary sense, but a title usually conferred on the black eunuch who stands guard over the portals of the royal harem, since each chief eunuch in turn bears the title "Aga," which in rank is about that of a Lieut. Colonel in Military Circles. An "Aga" is not equal to a "Pasha," though superior to "Kaid." He is invariably of the African race; taken while young and prepared for the post by castration. Porter (Sir James) in his "Observations on the religion of the Turks, etc.," gives at p. 83, an instance of the power wielded by the black eunuch Kizlar Aga. This is seen in the high assumption of power by the eunuchs in 1730 and subsequently, and the difficulty of lodging a complaint against their irresponsible rule, Kizlar was a very shrewd man and possessed the confidence of the sultan Machmut to a great degree, who accepted his counsel implicitly and found it correct as to the matters in hand and thus reigned peacably twenty-four years. Kizlar, was born in Africa, 1656, and died in Constantinople in 1746, and was succeeded in the office by Bekir, a young black

born on the island of Borneo in 1713. He was soon after assuming office in trouble. He was more avaricious than wise. He lacked the wisdom of his predecessor. No word against him could reach the Sultan except through him, and those who had so ventured to complain of his exactions were secretly murdered. His enemies therefore hit upon the extraordinary plan of setting Constantinople on fire, and when the investigation was had to determine why the city was fired in a dozen places on a certain night it was laid to deep discontent among the people towards the "Aga." This led to the arrest of Bekir, the black eunuch, and his later execution. By reason of their daily intercourse with the Sultan, the royal eunuchs are a privileged set and many of them have been regarded by the outside world as the virtual rulers of the Ottoman Empire, such a one was the famous Bekir Aga. During the revolt in 1909 against the Sultan for misrule the victorious party at once hung the chief royal eunuch, as a responsible officer.

Southern Regional Council
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September 21, 1944

SUGGESTED SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE SOUTH

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September 21, 1944

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RURAL EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS

A BI-MONTHLY NEWS CIRCULAR PREPARED AND DISTRIBUTED BY MABEL CARNEY
MARSEILLES, ILLINOIS, POST OFFICE BOX 155
FOR FORMER STUDENTS AND FRIENDS

Number 2. September-October, 1944. Subscription Free.

EXPLANATION AND APOLOGY

Dear Former Students and Friends: Here I am— behind schedule again! But there have been extenuating circumstances. To be perfectly frank—a new baby! A little apple-cheeked, brown-eyed nephew who spent the first four months of his life this past spring and summer right here in my house. And with my old failing for putting human needs above all others, I simply gave most of my time these four months to looking after my young sister and her little son—a stern necessity, as a matter of fact, since nursing care is now so scarce. Then there was the interruption, profitable and enjoyable but time-consuming, of six weeks Summer School teaching at Hampton Institute. Not to mention gardening and fruit care, including the canning of over five hundred jars of produce from my 4-acre "farmlet". But summer demands are past, the baby is thriving beautifully, and has now returned to his own home. So back to my neglected leaflet I come, hopeful and determined once more to get, and to stay, on the regular printing schedule.

Certainly there is cause for encouragement and continued effort in this little personal venture. For to my great surprise, deep gratitude, and humility, former white students and friends have recently raised another special fund as a retirement gift in my honor, which will now make it possible to continue this project well beyond the time limit set by the original fund from Negro students.

This new gift, like the first, I could never have accepted but for the purpose of promoting this circular, and thereby serving not only those who have so kindly remembered me, but also the important interests of Rural Education and Race Relations in which we are all united. With this increased financial aid, however, it should now be possible to print and distribute this little publication for at least two years on a gratuitous basis, and also to improve its quality. By this time the war will undoubtedly be finished, and we can then turn our undertaking over to some group of educational leaders, able and ready to expand its functions into a creditable professional magazine—rurally directed but with ample attention to Negro welfare and race relation.

In this spirit and intent I accept this gracious giving then, with the hope and desire of returning equal helpfulness and pleasure to all who have contributed to either fund—M. C.

IMMEDIATE PLANS

The primary purpose of this news circular is to challenge attention and report progress in two important aspects of American democracy, namely, the education of country children and the fair treatment and welfare of Negro youth, most of whom are also rural. With at least 7,000,000 school children on our farms and 3,000,000 more in the racial group, it is clearly apparent that true democracy can never prevail in this country until these ten million children, constituting a full third of the total school enrollment of the nation, have their fair share of educational expenditure and provision—which is most certainly not now the case. But more of this later. The intention here is to explain this issue and the next two to follow.

Since rural and racial welfare are matters of such great importance in American life it would seem that our institutions of Higher Education would be vitally concerned with both of these causes. To determine the extent of this interest your editor has just completed a general inquiry in these fields among leading universities and state colleges. The findings of this study are too extensive to publish in one issue of this small circular, and will be presented thru separate articles in the next three issues.

This belated issue for September-October therefore contains the statement on what leading universities are doing in Rural Education. The November-December issue soon to follow will present a digest of Rural Education service from state universities and colleges. While the January-February number will show what specific activities and courses American universities and colleges are now conducting to further the education and welfare of Negroes. These findings, it is believed, will interest our readers and give helpful information to some in the selection of institutions for summer school study and other purposes.

Meanwhile, the usual news notes will be carried in all numbers of this circular, also the personal editorial statements on the first page, and the reference lists on the last page. As will be noted, however, the present issue includes an insert of annotated bulletins for teachers of rural and village schools, and the January-February issue will have a similar insert of references on Negro and white race relations.

"So much for the present," as radio announcers say, "I'll be back with you again" near the beginning of the New Year.

RURAL EDUCATION IN LEADING UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

"Rural" education as discussed in this article means the general, basic education of country people including children, youth and adults, for citizenship and daily living. It does not relate to technical Agricultural education which is merely one aspect, the vocational phase, of Rural education as a whole.

Rural education, thus defined has been a subject of University study for but thirty years, and has never been federally supported. Agricultural education, on the other hand, was given collegiate and university status through the Morrill Act of 1862, over three-quarters of a century ago, and has always been liberally supported by federal aid. This accounts for "the tail-wagging-the-dog" relationship between the two divisions at the present time.

This brief article will attempt to indicate what nationwide universities are now doing to promote Rural education of general basic type on the lementary, secondary and adult level. Rural education of this general type, it will be noted, has been very greatly victimized by present war conditions, while Agricultural education, through the demand for food production, has been very greatly stimulated.

HISTORICAL STATEMENT

Cornell University, Peabody College, and Teachers College, Columbia University, influenced by national publicity connected with the Report of the Theodore Roosevelt Commission on Country Life and directed by three men of vision (Liberty Hyde Bailey, Bruce R. Payne and James E. Russell) all introduced Rural Education courses in 1914. To Cornell University, however, belongs the chief credit for initiating this movement. A full Department of Rural Education was established here in the fall of 1914 but courses for rural teachers in nature study and elementary science, developed by Mrs. Anna Comstock and others, preceded this action by almost twenty years. Owing probably to its setting in a College of Agriculture the Department of Rural Education at Cornell has always emphasized the secondary and vocational aspects of Rural Education.

Specialized work in Rural Education was begun at Peabody College in the summer of 1914 when Professors W. K. Tate and E. B. Branson of North Carolina offered courses in rural school supervision and rural sociology. The same summer Dr. J. B. Coulter gave a course in rural economics and Dr. Fletcher B. Dressler began his noted work in rural sanitation.

At Teachers College, Columbia University, Dr. Warren H. Wilson, Head of the Country Church Department of the Presbyterian Board, introduced rural sociology in the summer of 1914 and taught it continuously both winter and summer for ten years. The Department of Rural Education stressing the needs of one-teacher schools, but promoting various courses, activities and research in both rural elementary and secondary education including teacher-training, supervision, curriculum and administration, was organized in 1917-18 and has been consistently maintained under two to four specialized instructors for twenty-six years.

The University of Chicago, towering for fifty-odd years over the greatest agricultural region of the world, has heretofore completely ignored the needs of education in rural areas as a specialized field of study. Rural Education offerings have recently been introduced by Chicago, however, under the direction of its nationally-known Floyd W. Reeves, Professor of Educational Administration, who offered a first rural seminar for eleven students in the summer of 1943.

PRESENT STATUS AND SUMMER ACTIVITIES

With state support, heavy endowment, and federal subsidy as a Land Grant College, Cornell University is financially advantaged in the present war period. As a result, it has been possible to keep regular offerings in Rural Education more intact here than in other institutions. These include, both summer and winter, an impressive array of courses for the preparation of teachers, supervisors and extension workers in agriculture, home economics and nature study; also courses for principals, supervisors and rural education specialists in normal schools, teachers colleges and state departments of education. This entire program is carried on in close cooperation with various units of the University, particularly the divisions of Agriculture, Home Economics, Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, but is taught and directed by six designated "Professors of Rural Education" including especially Julian E. Butterworth, Emery N. Ferris, Clyde B. Moore and R. M. Stewart. A new offering of note is an "Interdepartmental Seminar on Problems of Rural Reconstruction in Various Countries" designed to develop workers for promoting better, all-around rural living in foreign lands after the war. Another important rural project for the past fifteen years has been the "Cornell Short Course for Missionaries" maintained annually.

Peabody College, being largely concerned with education in the predominately rural South has logically emphasized Rural Education thruout its entire history. Prominent among its activities in this field have been the many notable summer conferences on various phases of rural life and education in the South, financed largely by the General Education Board. At the present time an important Council of Rural Agencies looking toward the improvement of community life in the South is being promoted.

In the current Peabody catalog for 1944-45 a four-year under-graduate Curriculum in Community and Country Life is still presented and various graduate courses in the teaching, supervision and administration of rural schools are included. A distinctive characteristic of Peabody instruction however, is that practically all courses in adapting to Southern conditions become automatically semi-rural. Saturday classes for in-

service rural teachers are also offered and field workshops are being developed. Summer workshops of rural type, reports Dr. Norman Frost, have been held at Peabody every summer for five years, two outstanding ones on teacher-education and the small elementary school having been conducted by Dr. John E. Brewton this past summer.

At the University of Chicago a "Rural Education Project" designed to carry on teaching, research, and field-service activities, was established in the fall of 1943 under the guidance of Professor Reeves and a special faculty Committee on Rural Education. Most practical of the subprojects developed by this group for present war conditions are the brief one-week Conferences on Education in Rural Communities held at the University for the first time August 21 to 25 this past summer, and tentatively planned also for the Christmas recess, 1944 and March 1945. The first such conference last August attracted some fifty in-service rural workers and served to introduce a three-weeks Workshop in Rural School Supervision attended by 33 representatives of various states, chiefly Midwestern where rural school problems are preeminent.

Rural activities at Chicago announced for the regular academic year of 1944-45 are limited to a single half-course on Planning for Post-war Education in Rural Communites conducted by Dr. Reeves in the spring quarter, and to general field work and lecturing during the fall session.

As well known to all readers of this circular, Teachers College, Columbia University, has for more than a quarter century maintained a department of Rural Education thru which several thousand graduate students, both American and foreign and of every race and creed, have been prepared for leadership in the field of Rural Education. This has been a unique and distinctive record for a privately-supported institution of metropolitan setting, due primarily, and as previously indicated, to the leadership and vision of its Dean Emeritus James E. Russell. But owing to war conditions this service has been sharply curtailed of late. For the first time in thirty years the Summer Session Announcement of 1944 appeared without the inclusion of a single course in Rural Education or Rural Sociology. This was an oversight in printing, however, as Professor Frank W. Cyr, recently returned from sabbatical leave, actually gave two courses during the summer, one for rural superintendents and the other a workshop for county rural school supervisors and helping teachers of New Jersey.

During the present winter session professor Edmund deS. Brunner is giving his reguar course in Rural Sociology to a group of fifty-three students and is also offering the long-established field course in Rural Education. These are the only rural courses announced in the catalog for 1944-45. Dr. Cyr is again absent on leave engaged in various field projects including conference-planning assistance to the National Education Association; editorial work on two series of books; and consultative service to State Departments of Education on rural school finance, larger school units, transportation, and the improvement of rural high schools. Meanwhile, the general registration of Teachers College this fall has increased 28 per cent over that of last year, and prospects are encouraging for prompt reexpansion in this important aspect of American education as soon as the war closes.

IN NEGRO INSTITUTIONS

The three leading Negro Universities of Howard, Fisk and Atlanta all give some attention to Rural Education in a specialzied sense, while the well-known institutions of Hampton and Tuskegee and several of the state Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges do much more. At Howard University, in the metropolitan center of the national capital, this rural interest finds expression only in a course in Rural Sociology and in a Rural Education Section of the quarterly Journal of Negro Education edited by Dr. Alethea H. Washington of the Howard faculty.

Atlanta University has for several years been a distinctive center for the training of rural education leaders. Especially strong are the rural offerings of its summer sessions which in 1944 included four special courses in rural education, one in rural sociology, a workshop in advanced supervision of rural schools (largely for Jeanes supervisors) and a Seventeenth Annual Rural Institute for teachers and community leaders. Prominently identified with most of these rural activities for years has been Mrs. Helen Adele Whiting, former State Supervisor of Jeanes Work for Georgia and now Supervisor of Practice Teaching for the Atlanta University System.

Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, offers both winter and summer, a splendidly well-rounded group of courses known as the Southern Rural Life Program. These courses cover every level and phase of Negro rural life in the South from the one-teacher rural school and rural secondary education to rural community sociology, surveys, organization, health, recreation, youth problems, adult education and religion. Appropriate workshops, seminars and other techniques are employed in developing this instruction, also student teaching in small rural schools and in the Allen-White rural high-school of Whiteville, Tennessee. Chiefly responsible for the practical direction of this excellent set-up are Professors George N. Redd, Harold F. Smith, Ellen F. Greene, James H. White and Fisk's noted sociologist, Charles S. Johnson thru whose ability special funds from the Julius Rosenwald Fund have been made available to Fisk for research and demonstration.

Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes having originated for the primary purpose of mass education among Negroes, still hold a genuine interest in Rural Education, notwithstanding the competitive tendencies of urban influence in American life, and their recent struggles for academic rating as Class A colleges. At Hampton, regular yearly courses in agricultural economics, rural sociology, rural education and rural student

teaching are still given. During recent summer sessions similar courses have been conducted with the addition of an outstanding conference-program on Rural Education and Country Life among Negroes in the South, in the summer of 1943; and an Eastern Shore Workshop for local counties of this area in 1944.

Tuskegee Institute, as the recognized center of Negro rural life in the deep South, offers a variety of services to Rural Education. Among others, these include specialized courses in rural school and community organization, and also in agricultural economics, rural socialogy, rural psychology, and rural leadership. Four off-campus rural training schools are conducted and programs in rural health, rural drama, adult and children's cooperatives, and community service leagues, are maintained. An Annual Tuskegee Negro Conference, composed largely of farmers, has been presented for years, while the Institute is head of the federal Extension Service including 4-H Club Work, for seven states.

NEWS NOTES

Most outstanding of recent rural events was the White House Conference on Rural Education October 3, 4 and 5, initiated by Charl Ormand Williams and developed by three divisions of the N. E. A. About 250 leaders in Rural Education were in attendance and Mrs. Roosevelt acted as Conference hostess. Program participants particularly well known to readers of this leaflet included Kate V. Wofford, Howard A. Dawson. Anne Hoppock, Troy L. Stearns, Helen H. Heyl, Lois M. Clark, Fred McCuistion, John W. Davis, Effie Bathurst, Richard B. Kennan, Norman Frost, Austin R. Meadows, Walter Guamnitz, Frank W. Cyr and Fannie W. Dunn. A mimeographed summary of this epochal forum prepared by Ralph B. Jones, State Commissioner of Arkansas, is already available. This and a later printed report may be obtained from N. E. A. Headquarters, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

New York State Department of Education has recently restored its Bureau of Rural Education as originally developed by the late Ray P. Snyder. This Bureau under the present direction of Francis E. Griffin and James A. Harris, has special charge of centralized or consolidated schools which are now literally rolling in under the rapid reorganization of New York state local districts. Helen Hay Heyl, formerly with this Bureau, is now Chief of the Bureau of Curriculum Development (elementary).

Helen Heffernan, Chief of the State Division of Elementary Education, reports that a California Conference on Mexican-American children was held in Los Angeles May 12 and 13. Carey McWilliams, noted authority on migrants, was the principal speaker, and the problem was approached from the economic, political, and social, as well as the educational, point of view.

The Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago (4901 Ellis Avenue) is now issuing a Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations which should be known to every American educator, both white and colored. This 30 page publication is prepared and published for the Fund by the Social Science Institute of Fisk University under the direction of Dr. Charles S. Johnson. Both the industrial and social fronts, as well as a review of the month, numerous news items, magazine briefs, and book reviews are covered in each issue. Invaluable to all students of race relations; and apparently distributed free.

Jeanes Teachers of the Southern states—Negro rural school supervisors—have recently organized a National Jeanes Association. This organization originated thru the leadership of Mrs. Mayme L. Copeland, State Jeanes Supervisor of Kentucky. Mrs. Copeland is now President, and the Executive Secretary is Miss Shellie T. Northcutt, Special Jeanes Teacher of the Southern Education Foundation, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Chief objectives of the Association are to publicize Jeanes work, establish new goals for its attainment, raise qualifications for Jeanes teachers, and publish a monthly bulletin for members.

Thru the auspices of Vernon L. Nickell, State Superintendent of Illinois, school children of the state with contributed nickels and dimes have lately purchased one of the five existing copies of the Gettysburg address in Lincoln's own pen writing. This rare manuscript will be preserved in the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield. The purchase price was $60,000.

On November 15 at 3:30 o'clock in Horace Mann Auditorium, Teachers College, Columbia University celebrated its half-century mark with a Fiftieth Anniversary Convocation. Dean W. F. Russell presided and the opening prayer was offered by the Right Reverend William T. Manning, Bishop of New York. Addresses were made by President Nicholas Murray Butler, President James B. Conant of Harvard University, President Isaiah Bowman of Johns Hopkins University, and Mr. Cleveland E. Dodge, Chairman of the Teachers College Board of Trustees.

Because of World War conditions countless missionaries are now marooned here at home and available for community lectures and temporary or permanent teaching positions. One such leader from the foreign field is Dr. Frederick G. Williams, Salina, Kansas, formerly of India, but now principal of the Community High School at Hindman, Kentucky.

file Bibliographies

BULLETINS FOR TEACHERS OF RURAL AND VILLAGE SCHOOLS.

Compiled by Mabel Carney, Marseilles, Illinois.

NOTE—These bulletins relate mostly to actual teaching in one and two-teacher schools and small rural high schools. The list is printed separately so that it may be used more conveniently by supervisors and teacher-training instructors. Publications are numbered to facilitate easy class reference.

All bulletins are FREE unless otherwise indicated. If you know of other similar bulletins of special worth, not included here, please notify the compiler.—M. C.

1. ACTUAL NEEDS AND PRACTICABLE SOLUTIONS —BRUTON HEIGHTS COMMUNITY SCHOOL. Bulletin No. 41. **New Dominion Series**, Extension Division, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

   Account of an experimental Negro school at Williamsburg, Va., aided by the General Education Board.

2. A HANDBOOK FOR TEACHERS OF PRIMARY READING. State Department of Education, Charleston, West Virginia. 1940.

   An excellent, recent bulletin on primary reading.

3. A YEAR WITH A THIRD GRADE OF THE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL. Bulletin No. 3, Volume 12, Bureau of School Service, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. Price 50 cents.

   Very good, suggestive account of how to teach a third grade thru an activity and unit program. Illustrated.

4. CHILDREN AND YOU—A PRIMER OF CHILD CARE. By Eva Knox Evans. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York City. Price 35 cents.

   Pamphlet on the care of pre-school children. Good for both mothers and teachers. Illustrated with pen sketches.

5. CURRICULUM GUIDES FOR TEACHERS OF FIVE-YEAR OLD CHILDREN. Bulletin of the State Department of Education, Albany, New York. 1935.

   Old and urbanized but contains some ideas useful for rural and village teachers having five-year old children.

6. DYNAMIC EDUCATION: A HANDBOOK FOR RURAL SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS. Dr. Otis C. Amis, Western State Teachers College, Kalamazoo, Michigan. 1940. Purchase from the Quarrie Corporation, 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago. Price 20 cents.

   A bulletin devoted chiefly to answering questions on the activity type of teaching in rural schools as contrasted with the formal, traditional type.

7. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN TWO COMMUNITIES OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY. Bulletin No. 3. Volume 14. Bureau of School Service, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. Price 50 cents.

   Gives descriptions of the Wilson Dam and Gilbertsville Schools. Interesting, well-written and profusely illustrated.

8. EXPLORING YOUR COMMUNITY. By Gladys L. Potter. Bulletin of the Association for Childhood Education, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. Price 35 cents.

   Suggestive on the study of community life for lower grades.

9. GUIDING CHILDREN'S READING THROUGH EXPERIENCE. By Roma Gans. Bulletin Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. Price 60 cents.

   See also the special series of bulletins on **Practical Suggestions for Teaching** edited by Hollis L. Caswell of which this publication is an example. Others deal with elementary science, children's literature, pupil progress, child behavior and teaching the slow learner.

10. HANDBOOK FOR PARENTS. Bulletin No. 9 of the Virginia State Board of Education. April 1941. Published by the State Department of Education, Richmond, Virginia.

    An excellent bulletin for both teachers and parents explaining new methods versus old in public education today.

11. HANDBOOK FOR RURAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. Bulletin No. 3. State Department of Education, Albany, New York. 1936.

    A little old but still helpful on the organization and management of rural and village schools.

12. HEALTH TEACHING ACTIVITIES IN RURAL SCHOOLS. Buffalo Tuberculosis Association of Erie County, 708 Ellicott Street, Buffalo, New York, March 1938.

    Gives reports of rural health units by various rural teachers. Edited by Vivian V. Drenckhahn of the Buffalo Association.

13. INTER-AMERICAN EDUCATION: A CURRICULUM GUIDE. By Effie G. Bathrust and Helen K. Mackintosh. Bulletin 1943, No. 2. United States Office of Education. Order from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Price 15 cents in coin.

    Illustrated and full of definite teaching suggestions and helps.

14. LIVING AND LEARNING IN SMALL RURAL SCHOOLS. Bulletin of the State Department of Education, Nashville, Tennessee. Free to Tennessee teachers. 50 cents for others.

    Good for the managerial aspects of rural school teaching. Not so helpful on curriculum content and teaching techniques.

15. ONE DOLLAR OR LESS. By Edith A. Lathrop. Pamphlet No. 88, 1940 United States Office of Education. Buy from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Price 5 cents (in coin).

    Very helpful in selecting inexpensive books for school libraries.

16. PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION MAGAZINE—SPECIAL RURAL NUMBER. April, 1942. Obtainable from the Progressive Education Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York City. Price 50 cents.

    All articles and pictures give accounts of actual teaching projects in rural schools. See especially the "Consumers' Co-operative of Centerville Rural School in Minnesota," page 203.

17. RURAL COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOLS FACE THEIR PROBLEMS. By C. E. Ragsdale. Committee on Rural Education, Farm Foundation, Chicago, Illinois. Free copies still available from Mabel Carney, Marseilles, Illinois, Member of the Committee.

    A report on seven small rural high schools in Wisconsin which attempted to base their teaching upon the life-interests and community needs of their pupils.

    For fuller report see also "Adventures in Rural Education", a 348 page volume, illustrated and paper bound, available from Dr. C. E. Ragsdale, University of Wisconsin, Madison, at $1.00 per copy.

18. RURAL EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS. Bimonthly news leaflet prepared and distributed by Mabel Carney, Marseilles, Illinois, for former students and friends. Free upon request.

19. SAFETY GUIDE FOR THE FARM AND HOME FRONT. Available free from the Department of Public Services, General Mills, Inc., Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Excellent on the prevention of accidents and injuries in farm life.

20. SCHOOL CHILDREN AND THE WAR SERIES. Several leaflets by the United States Office of Education. Sold by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 5 and 10 cents each.

21. SELECTED LIST OF TEN CENT BOOKS. By Mary Lincoln Morse. Association for Childhood Education, 1201—16th street N. W., Washington, D. C. 15 cents.

22. SPECIAL OPPORTUNITIES OF SMALL RURAL SCHOOLS. By Lois M. Clark. Bulletin 230, Department of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Free.

Excellent—one of the best bulletins ever written on rural school teaching. Modern and scientific, yet simple and practical. Contains many reports on activity teaching in rural schools, also a very helpful diagram on Community Resources for Learning, and a Daily Program Arranged for Learning Units.

23. STILL SITS THE SCHOOLHOUSE BY THE ROAD. Bulletin by Iman E. Schatzmann and the Committee on Rural Education of the Farm Foundation, Chicago.

Shows recent technological changes in American farm life and how rural schools should be impoved to meet these changed conditions. A few copies are still available free from Mabel Carney. Send 3 cent stamp for postage.

24. TEACHERS' GUIDE TO CHILD DEVELOPMENT IN SMALL RURAL SCHOOLS. A Curriculum for Rural Schools Prepared under the Auspices of the California Curriculum Commission and Edited by Helen Heffernan. Order from The Division of Text Books and Publications, State Department of Education, Sacramento, California. Forthcoming. Price announced later.

An excellent, new curriculum and teaching guide for rural school work, similar to the other superior guides formerly issued by California for Primary grades and for Intermediate grades.

25. THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM AND ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT. By Maurice F. Seay and Harold F. Clark. Bulletin No. 1, September 1940, Bureau of School Service, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. Price 50 cents.

Shows how the economic conditions and living standards of rural communities were improved in Kentucky thru the introduction of new material in the reading and activity curriculum. Samples of such reading materials are included. See also reading booklets for children developed thru the experiment. Project financed by the Sloan Foundation of New York.

26. THE VACATION UNIT. By Mrs. Eula A. Johnston and Anna Leah Carpenter. Teachers' Lesson Unit Series, Number 101. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. Price 30 cents, 1939.

Reports educational interests and activities carried on by children thru the summer vacation as a means of continued learning in Hamilton County Tennessee.

27. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by Ann Tanneyhill, Department of Industrial Relations. National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York City. Price 25 cents.

An excellent list of references covering both general and Negro phases of the subject.

28. WHAT THE HIGH SCHOOLS OUGHT TO TEACH. Prepared by a Special Committee on the Secondary School Curriculum. Available from the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Price 30 cents.

Shows how high schools, both rural and urban, should change their curriculum and teaching to give young people the preparation they need for modern life.

29. WHAT DOES RESEARCH SAY? Prepared by leading educational authorities in Michigan. Published by the State Department of Public Instruction, Lansing, Michigan, 1937.

Whole bulletin written in the form of questions and answers telling what scientific educational research has found out about the many problems of teachers in arithmetic, reading, social studies, character education, activity program, etc.

30. WORKING WITH CHILDREN IN ONE AND TWO TEACHER SCHOOLS. Bulletin No. 319, State Department of Public Instruction, Lansing, Michigan, 1942.

A simple, practical guide for rural school teaching. Developed thru summer workshop courses for rural teachers in three of the State Teachers Colleges of Michigan. Contains many concrete ideas.

31. YEARBOOKS—Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street N. W., Washington, D. C. These are available as follows at 50 cents a copy. All are outstandingly good.

(a) ORGANIZATION OF CURRICULUM FOR ONE-TEACHER SCHOOLS. Yearbook, 1933. Special price, 25 cents. Fannie W. Dunn, Editor.

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Materials - Bibliography 45

U. S. Department of Labor
CHILDREN'S BUREAU
Washington

March 1945

SELECTED REFERENCES ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE AMONG NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

Prepared by
Vinita V. Lewis
Consultant in Social Service

This reading list is an invitation to learning extended to health and welfare workers in Federal, State, and local agencies throughout the United States, in a conviction that knowledge of minority peoples is a scarce commodity in the information markets of our country. The bibliography suggests materials that deal specifically with Negroes as a minority. It is hoped that professional workers in agencies that provide health and welfare services will find the list helpful in studying problems affecting family and community life among Negroes in the United States. These workers serving all of our people cannot afford to have less than the most reliable information in their kit of tools.

All minority groups in our national life, but particularly Negroes, are the Cinderellas of the public household. Unlike Cinderalla their destiny lies not in the hands of a beneficent godmother. Their destiny, like that of every American, is being determined by the ability of our country to govern itself in unity for the good of all. The performance of health and welfare workers affects in many ways this ability to govern ourselves and consequently the destiny of our American communities. The most genuine safeguard to our success in establishing safe American community life is the professional worker's own qualifications to do his job wherever he is at work in agencies responsible for programs under Federal, State, or local auspices. In proportion to the professional worker's knowledge, experience, and skill, Negro children will receive the benefits intended for all people in our National life.

In the years that the Children's Bureau has been giving consultation on developing State and local services for children, several publications have proved helpful to workers having responsibility for improving and extending services to Negro children. One book most frequently used by the staff is Ira De A. Reid's story and fact about Negro youth, entitled IN A MINOR KEY (1940), which is a well-written narrative of statistical fact. Two books which may well follow in the worker's selection of material are AFTER FREEDOM (1939) by Hortense Powdermaker and GROWING UP IN THE BLACK BELT (1941) by Charles S. Johnson. Neither of these books can be read one time and remembered; they become references and are used with new enthusiasm as one learns, considers, and works.

Two books that should be a part of every worker's introduction to American Negro family life are THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES (1939) by E. Franklin Frazier and THE NEGRO'S SHARE (1943) by Richard Sterner and others. These are also reference books.

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA (1944) by Gunnar Myrdal and others presents with scholarly insight our national problems as they relate to the minority status of Negroes.

PATTERNS OF NEGRO SEGREGATION (1943) by Charles S. Johnson is a rather concrete presentation of segregation as a social problem and the book also shows the widespread practice of segregation of Negroes in the United States.

Two books developed from an interesting and stimulating method of research are: CASTE AND CLASS IN A SOUTHERN TOWN (1937) by John Dollard and CHILDREN OF BONDAGE (1940) by Allison Davis and John Dollard. The case histories in CHILDREN OF BONDAGE are of special interest to both health and welfare workers because they are devoid of any traditional opinions about Negro children. This case material as well as that given in the book by Charles S. Johnson, GROWING UP IN THE BLACK BELT (1941), raises pertinent questions as to the community services that are required for children who are growing up under hazardous conditions such as those cited in these studies. The book by Robert L. Sutherland, COLOR, CLASS, AND PERSONALITY (1942) clarifies the more detailed discussions of Dollard, Davis, and Johnson.

The book on THE MIND OF THE SOUTH (1941) by Wilbur J. Cash interprets the social milieu out of which some present-day attitudes were born. For the sake of particularizing on a given period of time, the Howard Fast novel, FREEDOM ROAD (1944), on the reconstruction period after the Civil War, is recommended. In reading this novel it would be helpful to recognize that this story conforms more to the beliefs that many Negroes have held about this era.

Roy Ottley's NEW WORLD A-COMING (1943) is a little storehouse of information. If you have lived at all close to the problems of American Negroes, as you read you will fill in complementary stories and incidents.

Obviously it is impossible to introduce each book on the list. It is also unnecessary because the few that have been discussed are likely to be sufficiently stimulating to lead the reader on to new discoveries.

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National Negro Health News. Published quarterly by the Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency, Washington.

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*Reid, Ira De A.: In a Minor Key; Negro youth in story and fact. Prepared for the American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, Washington, 1940. 134 pp.

Stuart, M. S.: An Economic Detour; a history of insurance in the lives of American Negroes. W. Malliet & Co., New York, 1940. 339 pp.

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Cayton, H. R., and Mitchell, G. S.: Black Workers and the New Unions. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1939. 473 pp.

Federal Writers' Project: These Are Our Lives; as told by people and written by members of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1939. 421 pp.

*Frazier, E. Franklin: The Negro Family in the United States. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939. 686 pp.

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*Powdermaker, Hortense: After Freedom: a cultural study in the deep South. Viking Press, New York, 1939. 408 pp.

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Nixon, H. C.: Forty Acres and Steel Mules. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1938. 98 pp.

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*Dollard, John: Caste and Class in a Southern Town. Institute of Human Relations, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1937. 502 pp.

Doyle, Bertram: The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South; a study in social control. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1937. 249 pp.

Roucek, Joseph S., and Brown, Francis J., editors: Our Racial and National Minorities; their history, contributions, and present problems. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1937. 877 pp.

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Ford, James: Slums and Housing with Special Reference to New York City. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1936. Two vols.

Johnson, Charles S.: Preface to Racial Understanding. Friendship Press, New York, 1936. 206 pp.

Raper, Arthur F.: Preface to Peasantry; a tale of two Black Belt counties. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1936, 423 pp.

Reid, Ira De A.: Adult Education Among Negroes. Associates in Negro Folk Education (Box 636, Benjamin Franklin Station), Washington, 1936. 73 pp.

Woofter, T. J. Jr., and others: Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation. Research Monograph V, Works Progress Administration, Washington, 1936. 288 pp.

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Johnson, Charles S.: The Negro College Graduate. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1935.

Klineberg, Otto: Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration. Columbia University Press, New York, 1935. 66 pp.

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Benedict, Ruth: Patterns of Culture. Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1934. 291 pp.

Johnson, Charles S.: Shadow of the Plantation. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1934. 214 pp.

Radin, Paul: The Racial Myth. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1934. 141 pp.

Woodson, Carter G.: The Negro Professional Man and the Community. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Washington, 1934. 365 pp.

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Mays, B. E., and Nicholson, J. W.: Negro's Church. Institute of Social and Religious Research (49 East Thirty-Third Street), New York, 1933. 321 pp.

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Edwards, P. K.: The Southern Urban Negro as a Consumer. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1932. 323 pp.

Frazier E. Franklin: The Free Negro Family; a study of family origins before the Civil War. Fisk University Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1932. 75 pp.

President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership: Negro Housing; report of the Committee on Negro Housing, prepared by Charles S. Johnson. Washington, 1932. 282 pp.

Vance, Rupert B.: Human Geography of the South; a study in regional resources and human adequacy. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1932. 596 pp.

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Chicago Commission on Race Relations: The Negro in Chicago. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922. 672 pp.

Harmon, J. H., Lindsay, A. G., and Woodson, C. G.: The Negro as a Business Man. Associated Publishers, Inc. (1538 Ninth Street NW.), Washington, 1929.111 pp.

Johnson, Guy B.: Folk Culture on St. Helena Island. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1930. 183 pp.

Kennedy, L. V.: The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward; effects of recent migrations to Northern centers. Columbia University Press, New York, 1930. 270 pp.

Lasker, Bruno: Race Attitudes in Children. Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1929. 394 pp.

Spero, S. D., and Harris, A. L.: The Black Worker; the Negro and the labor movement. Columbia University Press, New York, 1931. 509 pp.

Vance, Rupert B.: Human Factors in Cotton Culture; a study in the social geography of the American South. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1929. 346 pp.

Woodson, Carter G.: A Century of Negro Migration. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Washington, 1918. 221 pp.

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AMERICAN MINORITY PEOPLE DURING WORLD WAR II

Basic Readings for Americans Concerned about Race Relations

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By

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Race Relations Division

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AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

287 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

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GENERAL BACKGROUND

*ABC'S OF SCAPEGOATING with a Foreword by Gordon W. Allport. Central YMCA College, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill. 25 cents. An exposition of the mechanics and conditions of scapegoating which explains why religious and racial minority groups are persecuted.

ALL BRAVE SAILORS by John Beecher, New York: L. B. Fischer, 1945. The story of the "Booker T. Washington," the first American merchant vessel to sail with a mixed crew, under the command of Captain Hugh Mulzac.

AMERICA by Stephen Vincent Benet, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1944. A great poet's interpretation of the spiritual, economic and political forces essential to the history of the United States.

AMERICAN COUNTERPOINT by Alexander Alland, New York: Day, 1943. A book of photographs of Americans showing the diversity of racial and national origin in the American population. Also shows how difficult it is to tell an American's origin by the way one looks.

*ASSIGNMENT U.S.A. by Selden Menefee, New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1943. A picture of America at war which interprets a 15,000 mile trip into forty-one states made for Princeton University's Office of Public Opinion Research. An interpretation every American could read with profit.

*BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN by Carey McWilliams, Boston: Little, Brown, 1943. A democrat analyzes the problems of colored peoples (American-Indian, Negro, Chinese and Japanese) within the United States and its possessions, and relates these problems to the world scene. The last chapter gives an "Outline for Action" well worth consideration. Should be read by every literate American.

CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY by Eric Williams, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. A study of the contribution of slavery to the development of British capitalism.

CITY OF CHICAGO—City Planning in Race Relations, Proceedings of the Mayor's Conference on Race Relations, February 1944, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, 134 North LaSalle Street, Chicago 2, Illinois. Free. Conditions among minority groups in Chicago, especially Negroes.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: COLONIES AND PEACE by W. E. B. DuBois, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945. A challenge to postwar peace plans from the point of view of colored peoples.

* If only minimum reading is possible.

DEEP RIVER by Henrietta Buckmaster, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1944. A novel about the poor mountain white people in the South and their fight for democracy and justice for white and Negro southerners.

DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT HOME by Jennings Perry, New York: Lippincott, 1944. The story of the seven-year fight to remove the poll tax by the Nashville Tennessean, a liberal daily still on the fighting line for the establishment of political democracy.

DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT edited by Bernard Smith, New York: Knopf, 1941. An anthology of writings about democracy in the United States from Colonial times to the present.

EDUCATION OF TEACHERS FOR IMPROVING MAJORITY-MINORITY RELATIONSHIPS by Ambrose Caliver, Bulletin, 1944, No. 2 U. S. Office of Education, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1944, 15 cents. A study of course offerings in colleges and universities for teachers to learn about racial and national minority groups.

***FREEDOM ROAD** by Howard Fast, New York: Duel, Sloan and Pearce, 1944. A novel which interprets the Reconstruction Period of the South as an experiment in democracy which worked.

GET TOGETHER AMERICANS by Rachel Davis DuBois, New York: Harper, 1943. A practical guide for getting Americans of different cultural groups to know and understand each other especially through festivals, music and other art forms.

HOW WRITERS PERPETUATE STEREOTYPES by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University. The Writers War Board, 122 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York, 1945. Free. A popular report of a study of the treatment accorded white Protestant Anglo-Saxons in mass media as against the treatment accorded other elements of the American population.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS by Willam E. Vickery and Stewart Cole, New York: Harper, 1943. Educational philosophy and methods useful in developing understanding between pupils of different cultures. Written for teachers and group leaders.

***MAN'S MOST DANGEROUS MYTH—The Fallacy of Race** by M. F. Ashley Montagu, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. An able and readable presentation of the ideology of "race" which integrates anthropology, genetics, biology and psychology. A must for those who want a sound interpretation of the facts.

MANUAL FOR OFFICIAL COMMITTEES: What Your Official Intergroup Relations Agency Can Do. American Council on Race Relations, 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois, 1945. No price. Areas in which action can be taken and specific things that can be done.

*A NATION OF NATIONS by Louis Adamic, New York: Harper, 1945. A dynamic revaluation of the American story so that each group in our population is seen as a necessary and integral thread in the pattern of America. Contributes to the basic philosophy of intercultural education.

NATIONAL CIO COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH DISCRIMINATION. Report of the Director, adopted March 13, 1945, National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, 718 Jackson Place N. W., Washington 6, D. C. The work of one of labor's most important committees in building unity.

*OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS. An Interracial Code for Protestant Churches, Detroit Council of Churches, 404 Park Avenue Building, Detroit 26, Michigan. Free. A code adopted by the Detroit Council of Churches, February 17, 1944. Includes recommendations in regard to membership, staff and board of control.

ONE AMERICA—**The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities** edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Roucek, New York: Prentice Hall, 1945. This revised edition of "Our Racial and National Minorities" is focused on wartime social change.

*ONE NATION by Wallace Stegner and the Editors of Look, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1945. Excellent photographs and text interpreting eight important minority group peoples during wartime.

PREJUDICE!—**Roadblock to Progress**, Army Talk Orientation Fact Sheet No. 70, War Department, Washington 25, D. C., May 5, 1945. Reprinted by International Labor Defense, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York. 5 cents. One of the Army's best educational efforts to combat prejudice and build democracy.

*PRIMER FOR WHITE FOLKS edited by Bucklin Moon, New York: Doubleday Doran, 1945. A penetrating collection of writings about Negroes from Colonial times to the present by Negro and white authors. Contains some choice short stories.

A PRIMER ON RACE by Council on Christian Social Progress of the Northern Baptist Convention. Department of Race Relations Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. 10 cents. A clever well illustrated ten page presentation of facts about race written in simple language.

RACE DISCRIMINATION AND THE LAW by Carey McWilliams, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, 205 East 42 Street, New York, N. Y., 1945. 10 cents. The legal basis for attack on discrimination. Answers those who claim that legislation against discrimination is impossible.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, Second Annual Report of Committee on Race Relations, Inc., 743 Investment Building, Washington 5, D. C., 1945. Free. Race Relations in the Nation's capital for representatives of the governments of the world to see.

*RACES OF MANKIND by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y. 1943. 10 cents. A dramatic presentation of a scientific study of anthropology in simple language.

*SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS ARE SOLDIERS by Margaret Halsey, New York: Simon and Shuster, 1944. A humorous picture of race relations at the Stage Door Canteen, told in letters.

THE SOUTH: America's Opportunity Number One. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, 1945. 50 cents. A series of important addresses on the South's postwar economy.

THE SPRINGFIELD PLAN, A Photographic Record, by Alexander Alland and James Waterman Wise, New York: Viking, 1945. Excellent photographs and text recording a living plan toward real democracy.

THE STORY OF THE SPRINGFIELD PLAN by Clarence I. Chatto and Alice L. Halligan, New York: Barnes and Nobel, 1945. The official account of Springfield's organized effort to teach its citizens how to live in a democracy. Shows that democracy can be socially learned when it is socially sanctioned.

THEY STILL CARRY ON! Native Fascists: How to Spot Them and Stop Them. Text by U. S. War Department. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, 205 E. 42nd Street, Room 1613, New York 17, New York, 1945. 10 cents. An illustrated pamphlet of "Army Talk No. 64" which "tells how to spot the native Fascist whether he be professional rabble rouser, senator, cleric, monopolist, grocery clerk, school teacher or your neighbor across the hall."

*TIME BOMB by E. A. Piller, New York: Arco, 1945. A warning to America as to the danger of a fascist explosion. Native fascists and their interlocking organizations exposed and political remedies pointed out.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS. A Fair Employment Practice Handbook by Clarence W. Anderson, Metropolitan Detroit Council on Fair Employment Practice, 906 Transportation Building, Detroit 26, Michigan. Free. Answers to questions most often asked about employment of workers from minority groups.

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME by Pearl Buck, New York: Day, 1942. A collection of speeches and articles by a great champion of human equality which includes the American Negro as well as the peoples of Asia.

WHY RACE RIOTS by Earl Brown, Public Affairs Committeee 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y., 1944. 10 cents. Lessons learned from the 1943 Detroit riots which may be used to prevent riots in any town.

WINDS OF FEAR by Hodding Carter, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1944. A novel by a liberal young southerner who sees the fears of white and Negro people living in a small southern town.

WORKING AND FIGHTING TOGETHER, CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., 1943. 5 cents. Suggestions of what unions can do about the problems of minorities in their own organization.

PERIODICALS

AMERASIA. 225 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Monthly: $2.50 a year. Very helpful in understanding the problems of Americans of Oriental ancestry as well as peoples of Asia.

COMMON GROUND. 222 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Quarterly: $2.00 a year. Official publication of the Common Council for American Unity. Develops an appreciation of what each group has contributed to America.

A MONTHLY SUMMARY OF EVENTS AND TRENDS OF RACE RELATIONS. Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, 8, Tennessee. Free. A summary issued by the Race Relations Divisions of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the American Missionary Association.

NOW. 1899 W. Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles 7, California. Semimonthly: $2.50 a year. A popular magazine of all racial groups, emphasizes unity.

THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT. 506 Presbyterian Bldg., Nashville, Tenn. Monthly: $1.00 a year. Official publication of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, composed of liberal and progressive southern leaders—Negro and white.

AMERICAN INDIANS

THE CHANGING INDIAN edited by Oliver La Farge, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. A symposium on the present-day status and problems of American Indians.

CRAZY WEATHER by Charles L. McNichols, New York: Macmillan, 1944. The complex of Mojave Indian desert life as seen through the eyes of a fourteen-year-old white boy.

DELAWARE'S FORGOTTEN FOLK by Clinton A. Weslager, Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. A study of the people called Moors and Nanticokes who live on the Delmarva Peninsula.

THE INDIAN IN AMERICAN LIFE by G. E. E. Lindguist and others, New York: Friendship Press, 1944. A thought-provoking attempt by experienced workers among American Indians to present against their cultural background the development of American Indians and the efforts of the Indian, the federal government, and the missionaries to solve Indian problems.

***INDIANS ARE PEOPLE, TOO** by Ruth Muskrat Bronson, New York: Friendship Press, 1944. An Indian leader's interpretation of how American Indians see their past and present problems of "growing up in two worlds," and the interdependence of all Americans.

INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES by Clark Wissler, Garden City, New York; Doubleday, Doran, 1941. An anthropological study of how Indians live today, and of their past and potential contribution to American culture.

INDIAN WARDSHIP. Home Missions Council of North America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., 1943. 15 cents. A detailed outline of the history of Indian wardship from 1831 to the present, with the implications pointed up.

THE LAST FRONTIER by Howard Fast, New York: Press of the Readers Club, 1942. A fascinating story about the Cheyenne Indians.

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN TODAY edited by Charles T. Lorain and Y. F. McIlwraith, Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1943. An important background study of Indians in North America. Contains a report of the University of Toronto—Yale University Seminar Conference held in September, 1939.

***SPEAKING OF INDIANS** by Ella Deloria, New York: Friendship Press, 1944. An Indian anthropologist interprets the cultural problems of her people with warmth and understanding.

THIS IS THE INDIAN by Earle F. Dexter, New York: Friendship Press, 1944. 25 cents. Interesting photographs and stories about Indian work, education and missions.

TRAILS OF FRIENDSHIP WITH INDIAN AMERICANS by Mary Garland Taylor, New York: Friendship Press, New York, 1944. A study guide for junior high school groups.

TWENTIETH CENTURY INDIANS by Frances Cooke Macgregor, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941. A pictorial presentation of the life of American Indians.

UNCLE SAM'S STEP CHILDREN by Loring B. Priest, New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1942. A study of the policies of the United States in dealing with Indians, 1865-1887.

WHAT KIND OF DEMOCRACY DO YOU WANT? by Dr. Campbell Wycoff, New York: Friendship Press, 1944. 25 cents. A young people's study guide in which Indians are used as a test case for American democracy.

PERIODICALS

THE AMERICAN INDIAN. American Association on Indian Affairs, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Quarterly: $5.00 a year, includes membership. Official organ of the American Association on Indian Affairs.

INDIAN TRUTH. Indian Rights Association, Inc., 301 South 17th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Monthly: $2.00 a year includes membership. Official organ of the Indian Rights Association, Inc.

INDIANS AT WORK. Office of Indian Affairs, Chicago 54, Illinois. Bi-monthly. Free. A publication of the U. S. Department of Interior. A News Sheet for Indians and the Indian Service.

AMERICAN MEXICANS

*SLEEPY LAGOON MYSTERY by Guy Endore, Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, 129 West Second Street, Los Angeles 12, California. June 1944. 15 cents. The real meaning of the zoot suits riot in Los Angeles.

SPANISH SPEAKING AMERICANS IN THE WAR. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D. C. No price. Photographs of Spanish speaking Americans contributing to the war effort in the armed services in factories and on farms.

A CAMERA REPORT ON EL CERRITO, A Typical Spanish-American Community in New Mexico by Irving Rusinow, U. S. Department of Agriculture Misc. Publication No. 479. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942. 45 cents. Photographs which show some of the social and economic conditions of Mexican Americans.

FALANGE: The Axis Secret Army in the Americas by Allan Chase, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1943. The gravity of fascist forces in Latin America and its threat to the United States.

FORGOTTEN PEOPLE. A Study of New Mexicans by George I. Sanchez, Alberquerque, N. M.: The University of New Mexico Press 1940. No price. A study of the social and economic conditions faced by Spanish-speaking Americans in Toas County, New Mexico, presented against an historical background.

*MEXICAN MIGRATORY WORKERS OF SOUTH TEXAS by Selden C. Menefee, Work Projects Administration, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941. No price. A study of the social and economic conditions of Mexican Americans in Crystal City Texas, "a concentration point of Mexican labor employed not only in spinach but in cotton, onions and sugar beets as well."

AMERICAN NEGROES

ALL AMERICAN by John R. Tunis, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1942. The story of the Negro in sports.

*AMERICAN NEGROES. A handbook by Edwin R. Embree, New York: Day, 1942. A clear concise introduction to the present-day life of Negroes in the United States. Includes important statistical facts.

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA by Gunnar Myrdal, New York: Harper, 1944. The Swedish scholar who directed the Carnegie Foundation study of the Negro in America, summarizes the studies and draws conclusions which are of great importance.

*THE BLACK AND WHITE OF REJECTIONS FOR MILITARY SERVICE by a Committee for the American Teachers Association, P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama, 1944. 10 cents. Selective Service figures for rejection on account of education and mental deficiences show that Negro registrants in ten northern and border states ranked higher than white registrants in seven southern states.

BLACK BOY: A record of Childhood and Youth by Richard Wright, New York: Harper 1945. An autobiography of a Negro child whose culture refused him the right to a normal life.

CIO AND THE NEGRO WORKERS TOGETHER FOR VICTORY. Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., 1942. 2 cents. The program of the CIO to end racial discrimination and to build real labor brotherhood.

COLOR, CLASS AND PERSONALITY by Robert L. Sutherland. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942. A summary of the findings of the American Youth Commission studies of Negro youth and a plan for the future.

DIGEST OF MYRDAL'S "AN AMERICAN DILEMMA" by Samuel S. Wyer. Columbus Council for Democracy, Room 7, 9 East Long Street, Columbus 15, Ohio. No price. Important quotations from the long detailed study.

ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO by Herbert Aptheker, New York: International Publishers, 1945. The story of the militant struggle of Negroes for freedom and democracy during slavery and after.

***THE NEGRO AND THE WAR** by Earl Brown and George Leighton. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockfeller Plaza, New York, N. Y., 1942. 10 cents. A forthright account of tensions felt by Negroes because of World War II.

THE NEGRO CARAVAN edited by Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis and Ulysses Lee, New York: Dryden Press, 1941. Selected writings by American Negroes. An excellent anthology.

NEGRO CHURCHMEN SPEAK TO WHITE CHURCHMEN by a Committee for the Commission on The Church and Minority Peoples, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York, November, 1944. 10 cents. A clear call to Christian democrats to live by their basic philosophy.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA by Maxwell Stewart. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y., 1944. 10 cents. A summary of Myrdal's "An American Dilemma." Excellent pictographs.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE COMMUNISTS by Doxey A. Wilkerson. Workers Library Publishers, Inc., P. O. Box 148, Station D., New York 3, N. Y., 1944. 3 cents. The basis of Communist appeal for the support of Negroes.

"THE NEGRO IN THE NORTH DURING WARTIME," Journal of Educational Sociology, January, 1944. 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y. Excellent articles about the seldom discussed Negroes in the North.

NEW WORLD A'COMING by Roi Ottley, New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1943. A reporter's analysis of Harlem "the most complex of Negro communities" which the author thinks reflects much of Negro America.

THE NMU FIGHTS JIM CROW by the National Maritime Union, 345 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y., 1944. Free. Describes one of labor's most thrilling stories of interracial unity achieved during this war.

ON CLIPPED WINGS, the story of Jim Crow by William H. Hastie, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1943. 10 cents. The story of the struggle of Negroes in the armed forces to get training in the air corps and the truth about facilities at Tuskegee.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE NEGRO by Herbert Northrup, New York: Harper, 1944. A realistic account of the position of Negroes in labor unions.

THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS by J. E. Weckler and Theo. E. Hall, International City Managers' Association, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois, 1944. 50 cents. "A program to prevent disorder and to improve relations between different racial, religious, and national groups."

***A RISING WIND** by Walter White, New York: Doubleday, Doran 1945. Race relations in the European theatre of war as seen by the executive secretary of the NAACP.

***THERE ARE THINGS TO DO** by Lillian Smith, Reprinted from South Today. Clayton, Ga. Winter, 1942-43. 5 cents. Specific suggestions for individuals.

***THEY SEEK A CITY** by Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1945. The story of the migrations of American Negroes from the South—during slavery, after the Civil War, during World War I, and during World War II—which includes many colorful personalities.

13 AGAINST THE ODDS by Edwin R. Embree, New York: Viking, 1944. Biographical sketches of thirteen outstanding American Negroes: Mary McLeod Bethune, Richard Wright, Charles S. Johnson, Walter White, George Washington Carver, Langston Hughes, Marian Anderson, W. E. B. DuBois, Mordecai W. Johnson, William Grant Still, A. Philip Randolph, Joe Louis, and Paul Robeson.

THIS IS OUR WAR by Afro-American War Correspondents, Baltimore: Afro-American Publishers, 1945. The contributions of Negroes to the prosecution of World War II as seen by Negro newsmen: Ollie Stewart, Vincent Stubbs, Herbert Frisby, Art Carter, Bettye Phillips, and Max Johnson.

***TO STEM THIS TIDE.** A Survey of Racial Tension Areas in the United States, by Charles S. Johnson, Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1943. Factual data about tensions in industry, agriculture, public carriers, housing, politics, "law" and armed forces. The last chapter is devoted to "Post-War Problems in Prospect."

***WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS**, edited by Rayford W. Logan, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Conservative, liberal and radical Negro leaders tell clearly and forcefully what they think the Negro wants.

PERIODICALS

CONGRESS VUE. 307 Lenox Avenue, New York, N. Y.. Monthly, $1.00 a year. Official publication of the National Negro Congress.

THE CRISIS. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 W. 40th Street, New York, N. Y. Monthly $1.50

a year. Official organ of the N.A.A.C.P. Is concerned mostly with civil rights.

EBONY, 5619 South State Street, Chicago 21, Illinois. Monthly: $3.00 per year. A photographic magazine about Negroes similar to Life magazine.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION. Howard University, Washington, D. C. Quarterly: $3.00 a year. A review of the education of Negroes by educators.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, 1538 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Quarterly: $4.00 a year. Research in the field of Negro History.

NEGRO DIGEST, 5619 South State Street, Chicago, Illinois. Monthly: $3.00 a year.

OPPORTUNITY, Journal of Negro Life. 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y. Quarterly: $1.50 a year. Official organ of the National Urban League, whose task is getting greater job opportunities for Negroes.

WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS

AFRO AMERICAN, 628 North Eutaw Street, Baltimore 1, Maryland. $4.00 a year.

CHICAGO DEFENDER, 3435 Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. $4.00 a year.

NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE, 719 Olney Road, Norfolk, Virginia. $3.50 a year.

PITTSBURGH COURIER, 2628 Centre Avenue at Francis Street, Pittsburgh 19, Pa. $4.00 a year.

AMERICAN JEWS

AMERICANS ALL, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 100 N. La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois, 1944. 10 cents. A brief history of American Jews, the countries from which they came and individuals who have made outstanding contributions.

AMERICAN JEW. A Composite Portrait, edited by Oscar I. Janowsky, New York: Harper, 1942. A collection of articles which include Jewish history, religion, education, achievements, literary expression and community structure.

AMERICAN JEWISH YEARBOOK, Volume 45, 1943-44, Philadelphia, Pa.: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1944. Standard reference book about the Jewish people.

DER FUEHRER by Konrad Heiden, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1944. The story of Hitler's rise to power which includes the use of anti-Semitism as a weapon.

EARTH AND HIGH HEAVEN by Gwethalyn Graham, New York: Lippincott, 1944. A novel of tensions caused by a Gentile-Jew situation within a Canadian family. Excellent analysis of prejudiced thinking.

THE GROWTH OF GOOD WILL by Everett R. Clinchey, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10 cents. A discussion of inter-faith activity . . . American Protestant, Catholic and Jewish relations.

HISTORY OF BIGOTRY IN THE UNITED STATES by Gustavus Myers, New York: Random House, 1943. Anti-Semitism in the United States from colonial times to now.

HITLER'S TEN-YEAR WAR ON THE JEWS,, edited by Boris Shub, Institute of Jewish Affairs. 330 West 42nd Street, New York, 1943 The extent and degree of Hitler's persecution of Jews, country by country.

JEWISH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES by Morris J. Karpf, New York: Bloch, 1943. A survey of Jewish agencies and activities.

THE MAKING OF THE MODERN JEW by Milton Sternberg, New York: Behrman, 1943. A rabbi uses the history of the Jewish people as background for understanding the present day life of the Jewish people.

OVERCOMING ANTI-SEMITISM by Solomon A. Fineberg, New York; Harper, 1943. A public relations guide written for members of the Jewish community but also helpful to non-Jews in understanding and eradicating anti-Semitism, "the Trojan horse of democracy."

***QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING THE JEW,** Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 100 N. La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois, 1942. Free. A handbook of facts and figures relating to the Jews which every student of American life should know.

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AMERICAN JAPANESE

AMERICAN FIGHTING MEN SPEAK OUT by the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, 2234 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley 4, California, 1944. 10 cents. Excerpts from speeches and letters by Americans in the armed forces expressing concern that democratic principles be applied to Japanese Americans.

ASIA ON THE MOVE by Bruno Lasker, New York: Henry Holt, 1945. Population pressure, migration and resettlement in Eastern Asia under the influence of the war. Chapter 15, "Policies of Oriental Exclusion," points up the problem in the United States.

***NISEI IN UNIFORM.** U. S. Department of Interior, War Relocation Authority, Washington, D. C. No price. The war records of Japanese Americans showing their devotion to America and gallantry in action.

***OUTCASTS** by Caleb Foote. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 15 cents. Best popular presentation of evacuation, relocation and resettlement with attractive photographs. Raises fundamental questions.

PREJUDICE: The Japanese Americans, a Symbol of Racial Intolerance by Carey McWilliams, Boston: Little, Brown, 1944. The story of the Japanese Americans by a democrat well qualified to speak.

WHAT ABOUT OUR JAPANESE AMERICANS? by Carey McWilliams. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y., 1944. 10 cents. The story of evacuation and relocation.

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NEWS LETTER. Japanese American Committee for Democracy, 72 West 52nd Street, New York 19, N. Y. Monthly: $1.00 a year. Official publication of the Japanese American Committee for Democracy.

THE PACIFIC CITIZEN, 415 Beacon Building, Salt Lake City, Utah. A weekly publication on the Japanese American Citizens League $2.50 a year.

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FATHER AND GLORIOUS DESCENDANT by Pardee Lowe, Boston: Little, Brown, 1943. A delightful novel about an American of Chinese ancestry who grew up in California, but who became a globe-trotter.

TWO LANDS FOR MING by Stanley Chin and Virginia Fowler, New York: Scribner, 1945. Experiences of a Chinese boy born of American parents who lived both in China and San Francisco.

Single Copies Free Quantity Orders: $3.00 per hundred

A SELECTED LIST OF BOOKS ABOUT THE SOUTH

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Davis, Allison and John Dollard - Children of Bondage - Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1940.

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Raper, Arthur and Ira De A. Reid - Sharecroppers All - University of North Carolina Press, 1941.

Vance, Rupert B. - Human Geography of the South - University of North Carolina Press, 1932.

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March 8, 1946
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

MEMORANDUM

April 30, 1947

TO: DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL

FROM: J. O. SLADE

RE: BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE STUDY OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH

The enclosed bibliography requested from you by Mr. Walter R. Chivers is merely suggestive, not exhaustive. It was assumed that Mr. Chivers as a teacher of sociology would be familiar with some of these and other sources that would be helpful in conducting the aforementioned course.

Encl.

A SUGGESTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE STUDY OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH

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Herring, Harriet, L., "The Outside Employee in the Southern Industrial Pattern", Social Forces, XVIII (October 1939) pp. 115-126.

Hon, Ralph C., "The South in a War Economy", Southern Economic Journal, VIII (January 1942), pp. 291-308.

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NOTE: The following quarterly publications by the Southern Regional Council would include much information on the economic problems of the South:

WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION

WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH

MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS

WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH

Suggested Reading List for Young People
to Build Better Human Relations

Prepared for

Junior Institute of Race Relations
Fisk University
June 28 - July 5, 1947

All-American, John Tunis. Harcourt Brace $2.50

All Brave Sailors, John Beecher. L. B. Fischer $2.50

Brave Nurse, Ellsworth Newcomb. Appleton-Century $2.00

A City for Lincoln, John Tunis. Harcourt Brace $2.00

Color Blind, Margaret Halsey. Simon Schuster $2.00

The Company Owns the Tools, Henry Vicar, Westminster Press $2.00

Deep River, Henrietta Buckmaster. Harcourt Brace $3.00

Glass House of Prejudice, Dorothy Baruch. Morrow $2.50

Great Day in the Morning, Florence C. Means. Houghton Mifflin $2.00

The House, Marjorie Allee. Houghton Mifflin $2.00

Incident in Yorkville, Emma G. Sterne. Farrar Rinehart $1.75.

North Star Shining, Hildegarde Swift. William Morrow $2.50

One God: Ways We Worship Him, Florence Fitch. Lothrop $2.00

Pioneers of Plenty, Christy Borth. Bobbs-Merrill $3.50

Road to Alaska, Douglas Coe. Julian Messner $2.00

A Star Pointed North, Edmund Fuller. Harper $2.50.

Starlight, Regina Woody. William Morrow $2.00

Submarine Sailor, Gregor Felsen. Dutton $2.50

Up at City High, Joseph Gollomb. Harcourt $2.00

We Have Tomorrow, Arna Bontemps. Houghton-Mifflin $2.00

Willow Hill, Phyllis Whitney. David Mackay $2.00

3 - Bibliographies

12 1947
Negro Bibliography Council

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#FOUR THE NEGRO AND RELATED SUBJECTS #FOUR

Every item is in sound condition, and sold subject to your inspection and approval. Binding is original cloth unless otherwise described. Postage prepaid in U. S. A. Please send CASH with your order. Educational institutions will be charged on regular 30 day terms, net. Prompt shipment deserves prompt payment. Please pass this list on to an interested friend.

1 AFRICA--Bateman,G. W.--ZANZIBAR TALES: told by the natives of the East coast of Africa; ill. by W. Babbitt; 224pp;Chicago;1901;OUT OF PRINT $4.00

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5 De Marco, [illegible].R.--ITALIANIZATION OF AFRICAN NATIVES;goverment native education in the Italian colonies, 1890-1937;xvii,150pp; New York; 1943 $2.35

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21 Hullinger,E.W.--PLOWING THROUGH:the story of the Negro in agriculture;ill. with photos;60pp;New York;1940 $1.50

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53 Nell,W.C.--COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, with sketches of several distinguished Colored persons; to which is added a brief survey of the condition & prospects of Colored Americans; intro. by H.B. Stowe; 396pp; Boston; 1855; VERY VERY SCARCE $12.50

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86 Hayes,L.J.--NEGRO FEDERAL GOV'T WORKER; study of his classification status in the Dist of Col.,1883-1938;156pp;Wash D.C.;PAPER $1.00

87 Hercules,M.--DEMOCRACY LIMITED;a revelation of actual conditions afflicting the lives of millions of Americans, both black & white;183pp;Cleveland;1945; $2.50

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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CHICAGO

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★ PUBLICATIONS OF THE ★

American Youth Commission

OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

3- Bibliographies

The Commission, which completed its work in 1942, conducted a comprehensive investigation of the problems facing young people in this country. It was concerned not only with the difficulties which face the school, but also with the protection and education of the millions of youth not reached now by the schools. Owen D. Young was chairman of the Commission. Floyd W. Reeves was director. A Committee on Youth Problems, under the chairmanship of Henry I. Harriman, continues the implementation of the findings of the Commission. The Committee on Youth Problems sponsored the revised edition of Youth-Serving Organizations described below.

Third Edition Now Ready

YOUTH-SERVING ORGANIZATIONS, ***National Nongovernmental Associations.*** **By M. M. Chambers. 3d Edition, 1948. 162 p. $3.00, cloth.**

Up-to-date third edition of this comprehensive reference work, of which earlier editions appeared in 1937 and 1941. Terse statements of membership, purposes, activities, publications, and finances of 250 national nongovernmental agencies, ranging from the youth-membership associations through the great national organizations primarily for adults but concerned in part with youth. Embraces political, labor, veterans' and farm organizations; women's clubs and service clubs of business men; and a variety of professional and quasi-professional associations in the fields of education, health, recreation, social welfare, and vocational guidance, as well as organizations advocating social reforms and international organization. Statistics are arranged in many convenient tables, and interrelations among the organizations are shown in eight graphic charts. A brief introduction discusses changes in the picture during the war and postwar periods, and exhibits condensed statistics of the principal organizations over a ten-year period.

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YOUTH AND THE FUTURE: ***The General Report of the American Youth Commission.*** **1942. 296 p. $2.50, cloth.**

This significant report, widely discussed in the press and among educators and youth workers, sets forth a vital, practical program for the care and education of America's young people—a program based on the experience of the past, adjusted to harsh realities of the wartime present, and adequate to the foreseeable needs of the future. It provides an invaluable perspective on immediate and urgent problems and presents a long-range program for youth, with concrete proposals and recommendations that have been formulated after six years of investigation and study. Introduction by Owen D. Young. Foreword by Floyd W. Reeves. Final chapter, "Meaning for Life," prepared for the Commission by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. 2nd printing.

TIME ON THEIR HANDS

A Report on Leisure, Recreation, and Young People

By C. Gilbert Wrenn and D. L. Harley. 1941. 266 p., illus. $2.00, cloth.

Examines the new meaning of recreation and the leisure-time needs of youth against the background of modern social changes. Appraises the part that the principal recreation agencies take and might take in adequately meeting these needs. Outlines major objectives for recreational planning with specific recommendations. One of the "60 Educational Books of 1941."

WHAT THE HIGH SCHOOLS OUGHT TO TEACH

1940. 36 p. 25c, paper. Quantity discounts.

A highly significant discussion of the increasingly urgent curriculum changes needed in secondary schools today in order to meet the current conditions and problems of American youth. The report of a special committee headed by Ben G. Graham. One of the "60 Educational Books of 1940." 5th printing.

SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR YOUTH IN MODERN AMERICA

By Harl R. Douglass. 1937. 137 p. $1.00, cloth.

Reviews the important facts and trends which bear upon the necessary readjustment of secondary education in line with recent social and economic changes. Suggests concrete possibilities for experimentation and further study. 5th printing.

POSTWAR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

A Study in Long-Term Trends

By Paul T. David. 1943. 172 p. $2.00, cloth.

Charts the course of American economic development in special relation to employment of youth. Analyzes the effects of such factors as technology, population changes, social stratification, industrial and occupational trends. 40 charts, tables, maps.

WORKING WITH RURAL YOUTH

By Edmund DeS. Brunner. 1942. 113 p. $1.20, cloth.

A report on the Rural Project of the American Youth Commission. The aim of the project was to develop and encourage programs for meeting the needs of rural youth through existing agencies in the states, counties, and communities. This report describes the project, its objectives and procedures, summarizes its lessons and achievements, and appraises the results.

YOUTH TELL THEIR STORY

A Study of the Conditions and Attitudes of Young People

By Howard M. Bell. 1938. 273 p. $2.50, paper.

This comprehensive survey made by the American Youth Commission in Maryland tells a dramatic story of the conditions and attitudes of 13,500 young people of all types, between 16 and 24. Based on detailed interviews, this study presents a forceful and readable analysis of what American youth are thinking and doing. Widely discussed in lay and professional press. 4th printing.

"Most comprehensive and significant study that has ever been made of young people, their life, and their work."—SURVEY GRAPHIC.

MATCHING YOUTH AND JOBS

A Study of Occupational Adjustment

By Howard M. Bell. 1940. 277 p., illus. $2.00, cloth.

A report on a survey and demonstration of occupational adjustment carried out in cooperation with the Employment Service Division of the Social Security Board. Discusses vocational guidance, preparation, and placement. Explains how an occupational adjustment program may function through school systems and other agencies present in most communities. One of the "60 Educational Books of 1940." 2nd printing.

YOUTH WORK PROGRAMS

Problems and Policies

By Lewis L. Lorwin. 1941. 195 p. $1.75, cloth.

Explores basic problems and policies involved in publicly operated work programs for American youth. Though not an over-all appraisal of current programs, this report has utilized the experience of the NYA in its out-of-school projects for purposes of illustration. Considers national defense plans in connection with work programs. One of the "60 Educational Books of 1941."

BARRIERS TO YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

By Paul T. David. 1942. 110 p. $1.75, cloth.

Studies such obstacles as entrance requirements for certain occupations, the practice of seniority, governmental restrictions upon child labor and youth employment, and state and federal minimum wage laws. Suggests revisions of existing policies and practices to facilitate youth employment. A practical and valuable planning aid.

AMERICAN YOUTH

An Annotated Bibliography

By Louise A. Menefee and M. M. Chambers. 1938. 492 p. $3.00, cloth.

Annotations of 2500 items on literature of the problems of youth. Nearly 2000 authors are represented, covering such topics as employment, education, guidance, health, leisure, family life. A basic reference for all who work with young people.

STUDIES OF NEGRO YOUTH

An investigation of the special problems of Negro youth, carried out by a staff headed by Robert L. Sutherland. Specifically, the survey studied the personality development of Negro youth as affected by their membership in a minority racial group.

CHILDREN OF BONDAGE—*The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South.*

By Allison Davis and John Dollard. 1940. 299 p. $3.00, cloth; $2.00, paper.

Explores the personality development of Negro youth in New Orleans and Natchez. Interviews with over 200 adolescents supply the background for an intensive study of eight representative cases. A report of scientific and social significance, important for its psycho-sociological technique as well as for the findings and conclusions presented. Well documented, but not statistical. One of the "60 Educational Books for 1940." 4th printing.

"Necessary reading for all those interested in understanding . . . the way human nature is formed in the social context. . . . Highly relevant to our general understanding of the dynamics of caste and class behavior."—THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY.

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COLOR, CLASS, AND PERSONALITY

By Robert L. Sutherland. 1942. 135 p., illus. $1.25, cloth; 75c, paper.

This final volume reviews the chief findings of the investigation and suggests their implications for our national life. Not a digest or literal summary of the earlier volumes, it is an interpretation of those findings which are most relevant to plans for improving the status of Negro youth. Defines problems that call for action now and makes specific, practical recommendations for their orderly solution. 2nd printing.

THUS BE THEIR DESTINY

The Personality Development of Negro Youth in Three Communities

By J. Howell Atwood, Donald W. Wyatt, Vincent J. Davis, and Ira D. Walker. 1941. 96 p. 75c, paper.

Profile studies of groups of Negro young people reared in three "liberal" communities—Milton, Pa.; Greensboro, N. C.; Galesburg, Ill. Documentation of changes in community structure during this century makes this a useful sociological study.

NEGRO YOUTH AT THE CROSSWAYS

Their Personality Development in the Middle States

By E. Franklin Frazier. 1940. 301 p. $2.25, cloth.

Against a background summary of Negro "border states" culture, drawn from existing reports and newly secured community data, the interracial experiences of 268 Negro young people are analyzed. This is followed by two systematic and complete case studies. 2nd printing.

"A mature book. Documentary material . . . has been given a scholarly, candid, and penetrating analysis without sacrificing an iota of spontaneity or of human interest."—AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE ANNALS.

COLOR AND HUMAN NATURE

Negro Personality Development in a Northern City

By W. Lloyd Warner, Buford H. Junker, and Walter A. Adams. 1941. 301 p. $3.00, cloth.

Analyzes systematically the socio-racial factors affecting the adjustment of Negro youth in Chicago's South Side "Black Belt." Utilizing a combined cultural and psychological approach, this study appraises the significance of color and other Negroid physical characteristics in the formation of personality. Personal histories vividly illustrate the conclusions drawn from hundreds of case studies. 2nd printing.

"An analytic report on 805 case histories in Chicago which will certainly be invaluable in any future consideration of the color problem. Besides its value as a social document the book should be of interest to the general reader in the non-fiction field."—BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB NEWS.

GROWING UP IN THE BLACK BELT

Negro Youth in the Rural South

By Charles S. Johnson. 1941. 360 p. $2.25, cloth.

Investigates the response of Negro youth to the generally low economic conditions of the rural South and to the racial status in which they find themselves. Individual interviews, life history documents, attitude and psychological tests, and other techniques were used in conducting and interpreting this survey of eight southern rural counties. An outline of the research methodology adds to this volume's usefulness to the student.

IN A MINOR KEY

Negro Youth in Story and Fact

By Ira DeA. Reid. 1940. 134 p. $1.25, paper.

Brings together in compact and readily accessible form much basic and general information about Negro youth in this country. "A vivid living story well buttressed with facts." 2nd printing.

PAMPHLETS

HOW TO MAKE A COMMUNITY YOUTH SURVEY

By M. M. Chambers and Howard M. Bell. 1939. 45 p. 25c, paper.

What should be done and what can be done to improve vocational opportunities, education, health, and recreation for the community's youth. 2nd printing.

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS YOUNG PEOPLE

By M. M. Chambers. 1940. 36 p. 15c, paper.

A practical and important handbook of methods and procedures for investigating locally the status, needs, and aspirations of the community's young people. 3rd printing.

WORK CAMPS FOR YOUTH

A series of studies of the social, economic, and educational significance of the CCC, NYA, and private work camps in the United States. An extensive investigation and experimental program directed by Kenneth Holland.

YOUTH IN THE CCC

By Kenneth Holland and Frank Ernest Hill. 1942. 263 p., illus. $2.25, cloth.

Investigates and evaluates the Civilian Conservation Corps as an agency to provide employment and training for youth and to give youth an opportunity to make a major contribution to the national welfare. An extensive background of case studies heightens the value of this definitive report.

WORK CAMPS FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

By Kenneth Holland. 1941. 32 p., illus. 25c, paper.

Reviews activities in five camps sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee during 1940, and makes recommendations for increasing the value of such work centers.

WORK CAMPS FOR HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH

By Kenneth Holland and George L. Bickel. 1941. 27 p., illus. 25c, paper.

Brief review of the junior camp movement. Includes descriptions of camp programs, costs, and educational possibilities.

YOUTH IN EUROPEAN LABOR CAMPS

By Kenneth Holland. 1939. 303 p., illus. $2.50, cloth.

Background data for the Commission's studies of American work camps. Countries included in the survey are: Bulgaria, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Netherlands. Important bibliographies. 2nd printing.

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LEGISLATION AFFECTING MINORITY GROUPS

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SERIES

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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

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Preface

The American Council on Race Relations has available a series of selected current bibliographies covering the several important areas of major interest in the field of intercultural relations. They are,

1. Minorities and Intergroup Relations
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   Segregation in housing and racial restrictive covenants.

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   Materials on segregated and unsegregated school systems and quota limitations in higher education.

6. Community Organization for Intergroup Relations
   Techniques for organizing the community and directories of agencies working in the field of intergroup relations.

These mimeographed bibliographies are revised regularly by the Librarian of the American Council and are available at 10¢ each (with quantity rates upon request).

American Council on Race Relations

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LEGISLATION AFFECTING MINORITY GROUPS

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FEBRUARY 1954 - No VII

Educational Studies and Documents

Education for Community Development: A Selected Bibliography

Prepared by Unesco and United Nations

Education Clearing House

Materials- Bibliographies

BASIC BIBLIOGRAPHIES IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

* * * * *

These two bibliographies have been prepared primarily for use by the following persons:

1. Students enrolled in orientation workshops or seminars in intergroup relations;
2. School superintendents or principals who wish to build professional libraries suitable for use by their staffs;
3. Individuals or study groups desirous of professional growth in the field of intergroup relations;
4. Students enrolled in introductory, college courses in human relations;
5. Librarians building balanced collections of books in intergroup or human relations.

By choosing books from each section of The Primary Bibliography, a person can secure an introduction to the field of intergroup relations. Specific problem areas can then be explored by use of The Supplementary Bibliography.

The 145 books listed are recent and, so far as is known, are all in print. Publishers and prices are listed, but the books are not annotated, deliberately, in order to encourage personal examination.

Gordon W. Lovejoy

Guilford College, N. C.
May, 1954

CONTENTS

I. THE PRIMARY BIBLIOGRAPHY Page

A. The Background

1. The American Heritage: Biological and Cultural Roots of the American People 1.

2. The American Dream: A Way of Life 1.

3. Unfinished Business of American Democracy 2.

B. Sociological and Educational Insights into Intergroup Relations

1. The Role of Education in a Free Society 2.

2. Moral and Spiritual Values for Public Education 3.

3. Child Acculturation: Process and Product 4.

4. Caste-Class as a Theory of Intergroup Relations 4.

5. Prejudice: Causes and Manifestations 5.

6. Race and Racism 5.

C. Sociological and Educational Approaches to New Skills

1. In General 6.

2. For Teachers and Administrators 7.

3. For Community Leaders 9.

CONTENTS (con't)

II. THE SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY — Page

A. The Negro — 11.

B. The Mexican American and the Puerto Rican — 11.

C. The Japanese American — 12.

D. The American Indian — 12.

E. Minority Religious Groups: Beliefs and Practices — 13.

I. THE PRIMARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Suggested list of books for NAIRO CONFERENCE, November 28-30, 1956

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Ashmore, Harry S.	The Negro and the schools	Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. Caroline pr. c1954
Baldwin, James	Notes of a native son	Boston, Beacon pr. 1955
Banton, Michael	The coloured quarter; Negro immigrants in an English city	London, Cape, 1955
Barton, Rebecca C.	Our human rights; a study in the art of persuasion	Washington, D.C. Pub. Affairs pr. c1955
Berger, Morroe	Equality by statute; legal controls over group discrimination	N.Y. Columbia Univ. press, 1952
Berger, Morroe	Racial equality and the law	Paris, UNESCO, 1954
Butcher, Margaret	The Negro in American culture	N.Y. Knopf, 1956
Clark, Kenneth B.	Prejudice and your child	Boston, Beacon pr. c1955
Constantine, Learie	Colour bar	London, Paul, 1954
Cook, Lloyd	Intergroup relations in teacher education	Washington, D.C. Amer. Council on Ed. c1951
Cushman, Robert E.	Civil liberties in the United States	Ithaca, N.Y. Cornell Univ. press, 1956
Dean, John P. and Rosen, Alex.	Manual of intergroup relations	Chicago, Univ. of Chicago press, 1956
Forster, Arnold & Epstein, Benj.R.	Cross-currents	Garden City, Doubleday, 1956
Furnas, J. C.	Goodbye to Uncle Tom	N. Y. Sloane, 1956
Ginzberg, Eli	The Negro potential	N. Y. Columbia Univ. press, 1956
Haber, William & others	Manpower in the United States; problems and policies	N.Y Harper, 1954
Hill, Herbert and Greenberg, C. J.	Citizen's guide to desegregation; a study of social and legal change in American life	Boston, Beacon pr. 1955
Lee, Elizabeth B. & Lee, Alfred M.	Social problems in America; source book, rev. ed.	N.Y. Holt, c1953

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Lind, Andrew W., editor	Race relations in world perspective;papers read at the conference on race relations in world perspective, Honolulu, 1954	Honolulu, Univ. of Hawaii press, 1955
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Nichols, Lee	Breakthrough on the color front	N. Y. Random, c1954
Palmer, Charles F.	Adventures of a slum fighter	Atlanta, Tupper, c1955
Pfeffer, Leo	Church, state, and freedom	Boston, Beacon pr. 1953
Pitt, James E.	Adventures in brotherhood	N. Y. Farrar, c1955
Rossi, Peter H.	Why families move; a study in the social psychology of urban residential mobility	Glencoe, Illinois, Free press, c1955
Ruchames, Louis	Race, jobs and politics; the story of FEPC	N.Y. Columbia Univ. press, c1953
Simpson,George E.& Yinger, J. Milton	Racial and cultural minorities;an analysis of prejudice and discrimination	N.Y. Harper, 1953
Smith, Lillian	Now is the time	N. Y. Viking, 1955
Stendler,Celia B.& Martin,Wm. E.	Intergroup education in kindergarten-primary grades	N. Y.Macmillan, c1953
Straus, Nathan	Two-thirds of a nation; a housing program	N. Y. Knopf, 1952
Taba, Hilda	Leadership training in intergroup education	Washington, D.C. Amer. Council on Ed. c1953
Tipton, James H.	Community in crisis; the elimination of segregation from a public school system	N. Y. Columbia Univ. press, 1953
Trager, Helen G.& Yarrow,Marian R.	They learn what they live; prejudice in young children	N.Y. Harper, c1952
Warren,Robert Penn	Segregation; the inner conflict in the South	N.Y. Random, 1956
White, Walter F.	How far the promised land	N. Y. Viking, 1955
Williams,Robin M.	The reduction of intergroup tensions	N.Y.Social Science Research Council, 1947
Williams,Robin M.& Ryan, Margaret	Schools in transition	Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. Carolina pr. c1954
Wilner,Dan.M.& others	Human relations in interracial housing	U.of Minn. pr. 1955
Woodward,Comer	Strange career of Jim Crow	N.Y.Oxford U.pr. 1955
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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

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FOR RELEASE: After 6:00 P.M., Wednesday, May 15, 1957

New York. May 15. - To aid in the smooth changeover to desegregation in the nation's schools, a group of more than 250 psychiatrists and social scientists have just released their pooled observations and findings on the psychological aspects of desegregation. Their recommendations, addressed in the main to public officials, school administrators, teachers, and parent-teacher organizations, among others, are designed to assist in working out the knotty inter-racial problems affecting desegregation.

The report - PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, prepared and published by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry is one of the most thorough scientific studies of its kind to be made public since the famous U.S. Supreme Court decision on this subject was announced. Among many other conclusions it documents in clear and firm language, the court's contention that segregation in fact does impair the psychological growth of children.

In releasing the report, Dr. Dana L. Farnsworth, president of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, said it was drafted by psychiatrists and social scientists, working in an interracial committee, and representing every region of the country. These specialists have all had extensive first hand experiences in the area of inter-racial relations. Dr. Viola Bernard, New York City, served as Chairman of The Committee on Social Issues, responsible for the document. The editorial sub-committee for the report was under the chairmanship of Dr. Mabel Cohen of Chevy Chase, Maryland.

In their introduction, the psychiatrists explain their interest and qualifications in discussing the problem of desegregation by pointing out that

it is not merely a legal problem, "but a social, and above all, a psychological problem". In our view," they state, "psychiatry concerns itself with the study of all human behavior, not merely the study and treatment of mental disorders."

Although the report is largely concerned with racial relations between Negroes and whites, the authors note that their observations and conclusions apply with equal force to situations involving discrimination against other minority groups such as the Asians and Mexicans on the West Coast and the Eskimos in Alaska.

"Wherever segregation occurs there are damaging effects to the personality growth and development of the person discriminated against" the report observes. The authors also note that segregation practices inflict damaging psychological scars upon those who condone or foster them.

Segregation causes psychological damage not only to individuals, but to the communities in which it is practiced. The psychiatrists remark that the "institution of separate schools for Negroes is both an expression of their lower cultural status and a factor in further depressing their economic and educational level as compared to whites." Among the social ills that segregation breeds are high disease and death rates, some types of crime and delinquency, poor housing, substandard living, and disorganized family life. In developing this observation, the psychiatrists noted that these social ills do not remain confined to the segregated populations; they inevitably lower the level of well-being for the entire community. For example, they pointed out that the maintenance of duplicate sets of "equal" but separate health, welfare, and educational services means that the budget for each group must be lowered at the expense of the other.

At the national level, the psychiatrists conclude that segregation, through its hampering influence on the economic, educational and social development of millions of our fellow citizens tends to rob the country as a whole of a substantial part of its human resources.

Although segregation practices contribute to disorders in personality development, the authors warn that this does not mean that all who believe in and advocate segregation are themselves maladjusted or psychiatrically abnormal. Attitudes of many persons toward Negroes are based on early childhood training and other cultural and social influences in their communities. If confronted with evidence that desegration can be carried out successfully, and if their

attitudes are not too firmly rooted in emotional conflicts, or early conditioning, these persons may be won over to accepting desegregation. As a matter of fact, the report states, it is encouraging to note that in every community there are more people at all levels who are psychologically prepared to accept desegregation than those who are staunchly opposed to any form of integration of the races.

Among the factors contributing to inter-racial problems, much of the difficulty has been caused by economic and political considerations that have nothing to do with the issue at hand. Southern fear of Northern economic domination and states' rights questions have kept many Southerners from endorsing desegregation. On the other hand, many Americans have to keep fighting down their own religious beliefs and sense of fair play, it is claimed, in order to feel themselves in the right about segregation.

The report cites prejudice as one of the chief stumbling blocks that continues to stand in the way of successful efforts at desegregation. This prejudice, the authors point out is based on racial myths that have a long and obscure history. These myths which have no scientific validity are often used by individuals and groups in attempting to arrive at solutions to difficult situations in which their individual or group security is threatened. To offset the tensions and anxieties created by these problems, a defense reaction is stimulated which often takes the form of a myth or a notion that has no basis in fact. The myth provides an apparently rational solution to an otherwise insoluble problem.

Clouding the desegregation issue are a whole host of racial myths which influence the views of whites toward Negroes, particularly in the South. (The psychiatrists note in their findings however, that there are no geographical limits to racial prejudice, and that evidences of prejudice may be found in every region of the country.)

In terms of racial myths, for example, the Negro is often depicted as intellectually and morally inferior to whites; as childish and irresponsible, and endowed with strong primitive impulses. These attitudes give rise to the fears which are stirred by these myths. These in turn affect the relationship between Negroes and whites. These myths are scientifically assailed by the psychiatrists in their searching discussion of this subject. For example, they cite that all the scientific evidence available supports the thesis that there is no significant difference in intellectual capacity between Negroes and whites.

The emotionally charged subject of sex-relations and race relations around which many myths exist is explored at length in the report. In response to the often expressed charge that Negroes are responsible for a disproportionately large number of incidents involving poor sexual restraint, the report states that from psychiatric experience and delinquency studies, there is scientific support for the belief that anti-social sexual behavior may be attributed to coming from substandard economic and social circumstances as well as a poor family background and without regard to racial factors. They say, therefore, that segregationists who cite statistical evidence to support their thesis that there is poor sexual restraint among Negroes may be right about their figures, but quite wrong as to their interpretation of their statistics.

In surveying communities where desegration has already taken place, it is noted that fewer conflict situations developed when school boards, teachers, and Parent-Teacher organizations joined together with the political leaders of the community to anticipate the problems of integration. Case histories of successful desegregation and continued operation of integrated schools such as those in Louisville, Kentucky and in Hawaii are cited as some of the examples in point.

Other points which are covered in depth in the report include the importance of attitudes in dealing with problems of this character, and how such attitudes can be changed to bring about a more favorable climate for desegregation. In this connection, the responsibility of political leaders in shaping attitudes receives considerable attention. The responses of children in situations involving desegregation and segregation are discussed in detail as well as the effects of both on parents. Some consideration is also given in the report to the school administrators and teachers who are most directly affected by application of desegregation to their schools. Throughout the report the emphasis is on the psychological responses of people at all levels to the process of desegregation.

In concluding their report, the psychiatrists observe that problems arising out of desegregation require for their solution, not only an understanding of the social situations in which these problems occur, but an insight into the complex emotional feelings both hidden and obvious which influence attitudes towards these problems. They say, "We believe that much important data in advancing the basic knowledge of human behavior may be

gathered from research efforts applied to desegregating situations. As psychiatrists we know from our work with individuals, the dangers and difficulties of proceeding according to oversimplified and arbitrary rules. We have tried to present a way of looking at desegregation in schools as a human problem."

The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry was organized about ten years ago. It has a membership of approximately 250 psychiatrists, most of whom serve on one of the 20 working committees which direct their efforts toward the study of various aspects of psychiatry and toward the application of this knowledge to the fields of mental health and human relations.

Copies of PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION are obtainable at $1 per copy from the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

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Materials — Bibliography

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Dear AJC Member:

I have just read the proofs of a new book that will interest you personally. It is aptly entitled THE PURSUIT OF EQUALITY: a half century with The American Jewish Committee. Your Fiftieth Anniversary Planning Committee encouraged its creation.

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Bibliography Materials

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

A new series of popularly written human relations publications primarily designed for senior high school and young adult readers was launched recently with the release of "Prejudiced: How Do People Get That Way?" written by Dr. William Van Til, professor of education and chairman of the Department of Secondary Education at New York University.

Called the One Nation Library Series, the pamphlets are published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in cooperation with the Joseph Kaplan Project in Intergroup Education. The project was established by Joseph Kaplan, Boston industrialist, philanthropist and civic leader, to further the application of democratic ideals to American life and group relationships. The Van Til pamphlet was hailed by New York Superintendent of Schools, William Jansen, as "of great assistance to teachers in developing attitudes of students which will make for an understanding and respect for each other and thereby prepare them properly for their role as citizens in the American community." Superintendent Jansen praised the League for its long record of publishing materials to aid schools in building good relationships among students of various races, creeds and national origins.

Authors of forthcoming booklets in the series are Dr. Oscar Handlin, chairman of the Department of History at Harvard University, whose subject is "Jews in the United States;" Dr. Otto Klineberg, internationally known psychologist of Columbia University, writing on "Pictures in Your Mind;" and the noted author James Michener, who will deal with the international implications of minority group tensions in the United States.

Other distinguished authors, covering important themes in the field of intergroup education, will contribute to the series. The project has been several years

in the making and was drawn up after consultation and discussion with leading educators.

Each of the pamphlets, amply illustrated, is accompanied by a teachers' guide. Price of individual copies is 25¢.

In the first of the series, Dr. Van Til presents a humorous but cogent analysis of how people become prejudiced and how prejudice can be prevented. He dissects "prejudice chromosomes," mutual prejudice between "country hicks" and "city slickers," and the entire theory of "superior" and "inferior" races.

Dr. Van Til writes from extensive experience in the field of education for democratic human relations. As director of learning materials for the Bureau of Intercultural Education from 1944 to 1947, he edited the quarterly "Intercultural Education News," and the series, "Problems of Race and Culture in American Education."

Dr. Van Til has served as a consultant on human relations to many school systems in the South and throughout the nation. Until recently, he was chairman of the Division of Curriculum and Teaching, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

Joseph Kaplan, whose grant made the One Nation Library project possible, is vice-chairman of the board of governors of the Human Relations Center at Boston University, and a director of the Massachusetts Council for Public Schools.

He is president of the Colonial Tanning Company of Boston, one of the nation's major leather producers. He has long been active in communal institutions and civic affairs. He serves as a trustee of the Beth Israel Hospital, and as a corporation member of the Children's Hospital, and as chairman of the Citizens Advisory Committee, Massachusetts Department of Public Health. He is also a director of the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Civil Development Commission of Boston, and a member of the Advisory Council, Port of Boston Commission.

# # #

Bibliographies

BIBLIOGRAPHIES FOR PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS

Emmett Albert Betts
Director, The Reading Clinic
Temple University
Philadelphia 22, Penna.

Bibliographies appended to professional publications meet at least four specifications: First, the information is given as concisely as possible. Second, enough information is given to permit the reader to evaluate the relevance of the publication to his purpose. Third, the information is adequate for locating the reference. Fourth, information is presented in a standard form to permit the rapid identification of the type of publication.

Sources of Help

A number of style books and other types of references give information on the preparation of bibliographical entries. While the authors of these publications agree in general on the type of information to be included, they do not always recommend the same format. Examples of this type of reference include:

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Essential Bibliographical Information

For a book, the following information is given:

1. Name of author, including full name or initials
2. Title of book, including sub-title when available
3. Publisher's name and address
4. Date of publication
5. Edition, if other than first
6. Volume number, if more than one

For an article:

1. Name of author, including full name or initials
2. Title of the article
3. Title of the magazine
4. Volume number
5. Issue number, if available for <u>all</u> items in the bibliography
6. Date, including month, day, and year
7. Page numbers

Bibliographical Order

Each publication is listed separately in alphabetical order by author's name.

When an author has more than one publication, entries are arranged in alphabetical order by titles. A 3-em dash, or a typewritten dash ranging from five to ten spaces, is used in place of the author's name, beginning with the second entry for the author, as follows:

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1. Roman numerals are used to indicate volume number; Arabic figures, for issue number.
2. The word The is dropped before the title of a periodical (e.g., Elementary English Review for The Elementary English Review) or the name of a publisher (e.g., Macmillan Company for The Macmillan Company).
3. No comma is used between the month and year when indicating the date of publication of a periodical (e.g., May 1955).
4. Information on second, third, etc. editions is not given. However, the latest copyright date is given.
5. The second line of an entry is indented three spaces.
6. Titles of books and periodicals are printed in italics. In a typed manuscript, the title is underscored.
7. In a typed manuscript, the titles of articles, reports, bulletins, and similar works are enclosed with quotation marks. In a printed report, the titles may be printed in Roman capitals and lower case.
8. The first word, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are capitalized in a title. Prepositions containing less than five letters, articles, and conjunctions generally are not capitalized.
9. Above all, the bibliography is carefully edited; a premium is placed on accuracy.

A PROGRAM FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

The problems of human relations occupy a place of paramount importance both within the nation and in international affairs. Christians face the responsibility to develop attitudes which will enable them to behave towards all people as brothers regardless of their race, color, nationality or religion. Youth groups, as they plan their programs throughout the year, will undoubtedly want to devote time to this aspect of human relations. The following suggested materials for worship, study and action will provide help in planning.

WORSHIP MATERIALS

Hymns

Blest Be the Tie That Binds
Dear Lord and Father of Mankind
In Christ There is no East or West
O Brother Man, Fold to Thy Heart Thy Brother
Once to Every Man and Nation
Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life

Scripture

Psalm 133	Mark 12:28-34
Isaiah 2:2-11	Acts 17:22-30
Matt. 5:1-16	I Corinthians 13:1-13

Call to Worship

Know ye that the Lord, He is God;
It is He that hath made us and not we ourselves;
We are His people and the sheep of His pasture.

Invocation

Dear Lord and Father of Mankind, in these moments of worship we seek after Thee to open our minds that we may think Thy thoughts; to open our hearts that we may learn more of Thy love and to strengthen our wills that we may dedicate ourselves anew for service to Thee and our fellow man. Amen.

Prayer

O Lord, our Creator, who revealed Thy love to us through Jesus Christ, remind us in this hour that Thou didst create all men in Thy image and to Thy glory. Teach us, as we call Thee Father, to worship Thy Holy Name in true fellowship together though we be members of various faiths, and nations and races. Show us that as Thy children we are brothers to each other; that our aspirations and fears are one, and that to each of us is given both the privilege and the duty to live a brotherhood unhindered by barriers of race and creed. In the name of Jesus Christ we ask it. Amen.

SUGGESTED ACTION PROJECTS

Action begins with you, your youth group and your local church. Include the improvement of racial and cultural relations in your community as one aspect of your ongoing program. This may be done by:

1. Inviting speakers of different racial and cultural backgrounds to your youth group.
2. Planning a panel discussion in which representatives from several racial or cultural groups participate.
3. Conducting interdenominational meetings in which you include youth groups of different racial and cultural backgrounds.
4. Studying the housing or educational situation in your community and cooperating with groups working to improve the situation.
5. Finding out whether or not local theatres, restaurants or other public places discriminate in admitting or seating racial minorities, and working to change such practices.
6. Visiting settlements, community centers or social agencies which work with racial minorities.
7. Adopting a work project which affords contact with persons of racial or cultural minority groups.

RESOURCE MATERIALS

The following list is only a limited one. For further help you should:

1. Contact your local librarian, social studies teacher, pastor or director of religious education.
2. Write to:

   (a) Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith,
   515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York

   (b) Department of Racial and Cultural Relations,
   National Council of Churches,
   297 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York

   (c) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   20 West 40th Street, New York, New York

   (d) National Urban League,
   14 East 48th Street, New York, New York

   (e) United Christian Youth Movement,
   257 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York

   (f) Your denominational headquarters

FILMS

Brotherhood of Man — (11 minutes), animated cartoon based on phamphlet, "Races of Mankind".

Boundary Lines — (10 minutes), black and white, a plea to eliminate prejudice and arbitrary boundaries which divide people.

The Challenge — (30 minutes), black and white, gives examples of discrimination and what individuals and groups all over the country are doing to safeguard democracy through positive civil rights programs.

The High Wall — (32 minutes), black and white, story of a boy's adjustment to racial, religious and cultural differences in his neighbors.

The House I Live In — (10 minutes), black and white, points out that America has grown strong through contributions of all groups.

One People — (12 minutes), color, describes contributions of minority groups to the building of the nation.

One God — (37 minutes), black and white, presents ways of worship of the three faiths — Jewish, Catholic and Protestant.

Prejudice — (58 minutes), black and white, deals with intolerance in terms of what it does to the person who practices it.

The Toymaker — (58 minutes), black and white, uses puppets to show how people of various backgrounds can live together.

FILMSTRIPS

None So Blind — (15 minutes), color, light satire on problems of prejudice and thoughtful analysis of need for good human relations. Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, Price $6.00 sound; $2.25 silent.

Culture and Creed — silent with script, facts about two religious groups in America — Jews and Catholics. Film Strip House, 347 Madison Ave., New York. Price $3.50.

Rumor Clinic shows how sterotyped thinking conditions responses. Anti-Defamation League. Price 35 cents with discussion guide.

We Are All Brothers — sound filmstrip, 20 minutes, black and white, attempts to break down common beliefs about racial differences by substituting scientific facts. Price $3.50, free loan from Jewish Labor Committee — 25 East 78th Street, New York, New York.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Accent On Liberty, M. Sheibley, Friendship Press, New York, New York.

Chariot In the Sky, A. Bontemps, Winston Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

Mary McLeod Bethune, C. O. Peare, Vanguard Press, New York, N. Y.

Cry the Beloved Country, A. Paton, Scribner's Sons, New York, N. Y.

Bread From Heaven, H. Buckmaster, Random House, New York, N. Y.

Nisei Daughter, M. Sone, Little, Brown Co., Boston, Mass.

Ralph J. Bunche, J. A. Kugelmass, Messner, Inc., New York, New York.

What the Jews Believe, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Farrar, Straus & Young, Inc., New York, New York.

The Synagogue and its People, Desider Holisher, Abelard-Schuman Inc., New York, New York.

The Negro and the Schools, Harry S. Ashmore, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Schools in Transition, R. M. Williams, Jr., and M. W. Ryan, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Education In a Transition Community, Jean D. Grambs, The National Conference on Christians and Jews, New York, New York.

The Negro Potential, Eli Ginzberg, Columbia University Press, New York, New York.

Who is on First? Jack Mabley, Public Affairs Pamphlet, No. 233, Public Affairs Committee, New York, New York.

Race and Society, Kenneth Little, Unesco Booklet, Columbia University Press, New York, New York.

The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem, W. A. Visser't Hooft, Unesco Booklet, Columbia University Press, New York, N. Y.

The Catholic Church and the Race Question, The Reverend Father Yves M. J. Congar, O. P. Unesco Booklet, Columbia University Press, New York, New York.

Reason, Religion and Race, R. B. Eleazer, Abingdon-Cokesbury, Nashville, Tennessee.

The Negro —A List of Significant Books, Margaret E. Kuhn, Handbook of Group Procedures for the Local Church, National Council of Churches, 120 E. 23rd Street, New York, New York.

Love of this Land, Progress of the Negro in the United States, James H. Robinson, Ed., Christian Education Press, Philadelphia, Pa.

Naught for Your Comfort, Trevor Huddleston, Doubleday & Co., New York, New York.

* Available for rental from Anti-Defamation League Film Library, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

Copies of this program are available from the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. 4¢ each; $3.00 per hundred.

Materials - Bibliography

ANOTHER IMPORTANT BOOK
PUBLISHED BY PUBLIC AFFAIRS PRESS

Southern Race Progress

By THOMAS J. WOOFTER

In calling attention to the significance of this book, Jonathan Daniels editor of the Raleigh (N. C.) *News and Observer*, states in the introduction:

"No book I know provides such an understandable personal approach to the segregation story in the lifetime of living men as this charming and challenging work by Dr. Thomas Woofter.

"What he has written is in a real sense the autobiography of the Southerner who. long before the Supreme Court, was concerned about the tragic lapses which so often and so long segregation shielded . . .

"Dr. Woofter is a gentleman who understands his region and its problems much better than those who give the impression that only Kluxers can understand the South. Dr. Woofter does not have to screen his helpful understanding based upon fifty years of creative labor in the fields about which he writes.

"He has, indeed, written a very quiet book but a vivid one richer in native anecdotes and homely images than in statistics. It helped me understand better this troubled South in which I live. I can think of few other books so deserving of a place on the shelf of required reading for those who would understand in depth the debate which sometimes now seems to be restricted in participation to the extremists—the defiant, the vindictive, the headlong and the stubborn.

"Dr. Woofter has written a book for America, but in it he has drawn the portrait of a Southerner—of many Southerners—who had this problem on their hearts long before any jurists put it into a decision of the Supreme Court . . ."

Written by one of the nation's leading experts on race relations, this book is particularly timely in view of recent Supreme Court decisions on segregation.

Dr. Woofter, a former President of the Population Association of America, writes with the viewpoint and background of a Southerner who has been a prominent participant in the activities of organizations which have sought to improve race relations.

Covering the interweaving economic, social, and political trends of the past fifty years, the book calls attention to the problems of Negroes and whites, the interdependence of the two races, and the progress that has been achieved in recent years. His basic approach is midway between that of extremists in the North and South.

WASHINGTON POST

"Dr. Woofter has written a book which sheds light and shuns heat on the race problem in the South . . .

"Rabble-rousers and hotheads will not like some of the author's opinions, facts and conclusions. But there is clear logic in his defining the three types of racial segregation and how the Southerner, in his less calm moments, confuses them.

"The book makes good reading because it is generously sprinkled with anecdotes and personal references. Northerners should read it to understand Southerners better. Southerners should read it to understand themselves better."

KINGSPORT (TENN.) TIMES:

"Dr. Woofter has written a readable book . . . the best part is the telling of the story of what has been done by the several organizations with which he has been connected in bringing about cooperative programs."

THE SCHOOL EXECUTIVE:

"Mr. Woofter writes with a deep subjective understanding of the South's economy, yet with the objectivity of one who, along with other tolerant whites and outstanding Negro leaders, has dedicated much of his life to implementing democratic ideals, to righting wrongs, to furthering the status of the Negro and to seeing justice done after unlawful violence has gone unpunished . . . This book is a refreshing change after the many criticisms from northern writers and the retaliating defenses written by southerners."

ST. PETERSBURG (FLORIDA) TIMES:

"Readability is enhanced through a semi-autobiographic viewpoint and through liberal use of anecdotes . . . It will be valuable to those who wish to understand the present relation between the races, and how it came about."

BEAUMONT (TEXAS) JOURNAL:

"Amid the miasma of words which have flown in a turgid stream since the Supreme Court's historic desegregation order in 1952, seldom has the voice of moderation bee heard. That voice speaks through this volume . . . Autobiography, history and current events are combined here with an informality that adds largely to the book's readability. The author has done well . . . to record and explain rather than to praise or blame."

NEW ORLEANS TIMES-PICAYUNE:

"A sane approach. Should be assigned reading to all extremists."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

"Here is a man of obvious charm who lectures without haranguing and argues without rancor . . . Dr. Woofter has the perception to see that Negroes and many Southern leaders have certain outlooks which, if carefully dovetailed, can unite to support a bridge over which regional progress can travel . . . His information is in large part new. His points are well documented by eyewitness detail. His area of survey covers all of Dixie. Such evidence could easily be ignored; it should prove quite difficult to refute."

Mail this order blank to your local bookstore or to the publisher:
Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Ave., S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

Please send the books listed. Payment of _____ is enclosed.

Southern Race Progress ($3.50) by Thomas J. Woofter

Name _____

Address _____ Date _____

Materials - Bibliog.

BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - Section I

- o -

the American Negro: A UNESCO Report. The UNESCO Courier, October 1954. UNESCO Publication Service, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York. 25¢

Code: 1) 2) 3) 4) 5)

Dedicated to the American Negro's progress in the last half a century. It is described as one of the most amazing social phenomena of our time.

a Balance Sheet in Human Relations During 1954. Strengthening Democracy, February 1955. Board of Education of the City of New York, 131 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York. 10¢

Code: 5)

A review of the gains and losses in human relations during 1954.

Changing Patterns in the South. Special Issue. New South, December 1954 - January 1955. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., Atlanta 3, Georgia. 50¢

Code: 1) 2) 3) 5)

A record of the growth of democracy in the last decade. The materials have been taken from the pages of the Council's publication, THE NEW SOUTH.

a Check List for Your Local Schools. The Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia 10¢

Code: 1)

An aide for discussion groups who wish to examine and evaluate schools in their own community.

Denominational Statements with Reference to a Racially Inclusive Fellowship. Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York 25¢

Code: 6)

Official bodies of various church groups make statements relative to the effect the May 17th Decision will have on establishing democratic and Christian ideals in our churches and communities.

Desegretation Along the Mason-Dixon Line. By James Rorty. A Reprint. Commentary, December 1954. For copies, write to: National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10. N. Y.

Code: 1) 5)

The author discusses how the end of educational segregation was received in Washington and Baltimore.

a Documented Report on Housing. National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, New York. Single copy free.

Code: 4)

A carefully documented pamphlet which seeks to set forth a few of the underlying causes of the wide expanse of present day slums - with the hope that these causes, which even now jeopardize current planning, can be quickly and safely eliminated.

Economically the Negro Gains But He is Still the Low Man. A reprint. Business Week, December 18, 1954. For copies write to: Information Service, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, New York. Free.

Code: 2)

Business Week examines the Negro's economic status to see whether the gains in the economic field have matched his dramatic progress in political, social and educational areas.

a Fair Chance for All Americans. A symposium. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 18, New York.

Code: 2) 5)

Four American business leaders tell how democratic employment practices have been instituted and maintained in their companies.

From School to Jobs: Guidance for Minority Youth, by Ann Tanneyhill. Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 East 38th Street, New York 19, New York. 25¢

Code: 2)

This pamphlet suggest ways in which citizens and their communities may, through vocational guidance techniques and practices, help children whose horizons have been limited by minority status.

How the Supreme Court Decision is Affecting YWCA Program. A symposium. The YWCA Magazine, February 1955, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, New York. 35¢

Code: 3) 5)

Describes the procedures adopted by the YWCA throughout the USA in carrying out the doctrines of the May 17th Decision. Cities include: York, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Southeastern Region: Tucson, Ariz.; Roanoke, Va.; St. Louis, Mo.; Asheville, N. C. and Portland, Ore.

It Can Be Done - Desegregation. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. Free

Code: 1) 5)

A report on the progress which has been made in several communities during the first six months following the May 17th Decision outlawing public school segregation.

Materials from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Southeast Office, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia. Write for Catalogue.

Code: 5)

This agency has a large number of pamphlets and other materials that will be helpful to persons interested in securing recent information and reports on the status of human relations in America.

Materials from the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. 35 West 32nd Street, New York 1, New York. Write for catalogue and price list.

Code: 4)

This agency has a very large number of publications that will be helpful to persons interested in securing the latest information on the status of housing for minority groups.

the Negro in America Today. By Alan Paton. Reprint. Collier's Magazine, October 15, 1954. Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York 10¢

Code: 1) 2) 3) 4) 5)

Alan Paton has brought both objectivity and sympathetic understanding in this study of race relations in the United States.

the Right of Every Child. A Report. The American Friends Committee, Community Relations Program, 104 "C" Street, N. E., Washington, D. C. Free

Code: 1) 5)

A report of the school integration program in the Washington, D. C. public schools.

Schools in Transition: Community Experiences in Desegregation. By Robin M. Williams and Margaret W. Ryan. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. $3.00

Code: 1) 5)

A series of case studies of communities that have made the change from bi-racial public schools to integrated school systems during the past few years.

Some Suggested Next Steps in Furtherance of Desegregation in Education. By Lester B. Granger. The Journal of Negro Education, Washington, D. C., Summer Issue, 1954. For copies write to: National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, New York 5¢

Code: 1) 5)

The author points up some important factors which must be considered as we make plans to democratize the American School System.

the South in 1975. Special Report, November 1954, to the Southern Governors Conference. Southern Association of Science and Industry, Inc., 5009 Peachtree Road, Atlanta, Georgia. 50¢

Code: 2)

A report of the proposed technical and industrial progress and opportunities and their relationship to an expanded industrial economy for the Southern States.

the Southern Education Reporting Service. Post Office Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee. Subscription, $2.00 per year.

Code: 1)

A non-profit agency directed by a group of Southern editors and educators and financed by the Ford Foundation. It publishes a monthly newspaper, "Southern School News."

the Status of Racial Integration in Religious Institutions. By J. Oscar Lee. A Reprint. The Journal of Negro Education, Summer Issue, 1954. Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. 15¢

Code: 6)

This discussion deals with the changes which are taking place in church related institutions and organizations as they work to improve racial and human relations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - Section II

- o -

Brethren - Dwell Together in Unity. National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 120 East 23rd Street, New York 10, New York. 5¢

Code: 5) 6)

A message for Race Relations Sunday. It suggests a number of ways in which churches and individuals may live together in unity every day of the year.

Builder Opportunities in Minority Group Housing. Special Reprint. May - September 1954 issues PF - The Magazine of Prefabrication. Prefabricated Home Manufacturers' Institute, 908 - 20th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Speciman Copy Free

Code: 2) 4)

One of a series of articles designed to explain the potentialities and special requirements of the nonwhite housing market and to bring readers helpful suggestions from both Government specialists and builders, who are interested in developing projects or homes for minority groups.

the Church and Segregation. By Dr. E. C. Benefield. For copies write to: Department of Research and Education, Kentucky State Federation of Labor, 312 Armory Place, Louisville 2, Kentucky. Free

Code: 5) 6)

A Presbyterian minister in Louisville, Kentucky, preaches a sermon on brotherhood. His message is very timely and could very well become the sermon for "Today."

the Churches and Human Rights. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York 5¢

Code: 5) 6)

An official statement adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, December 1948, urging the application of "Religious Liberty" through domestic and international action.

the Color Line in Fraternities. By Alfred S. Romer. A Reprint from Atlantic Monthly. Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. Free

Code: 1) 5)

The story of Amherst College Chapter of Phi Psi Fraternity and its battle against discrimination.

Ever Widening Horizons. By Ann Tanneyhill, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, New York. Single Copy Free.

Code: 2)

The story of the Vocational Opportunity Campaign, an important phase of the Urban League program in vocational guidance and industrial relations.

Equal Job Opportunity is Good Business. The President's Committee on Government Contracts, Washington 25, D. C. Free

Code: 2) 5)

This pamphlet has been prepared to bring to the attention of employers holding government contracts, other interested agencies and the general public as well, the purpose and function of the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Fair Employment: Responsibility of Free Enterprise. By Joseph J. Morrow. For a copy: Write to the Urban League of St. Louis, 3017 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis 3, Missouri. Free

Code: 2)

The author relates progress which has been made by Negroes in industry in recent years and discusses ways and means of expanding a program of equal opportunities for all.

First Report, President's Committee on Government Contracts. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Free

Code: 2)

A report of the first year of activities of the President's Committee. It indicates the measures which, thus far, have been undertaken to accomplish its mission.

General Assembly Pronouncements. Christian Social Action. 1954 Department of Social Education and Action. Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Free

Code: 5) 6)

These pronouncements, relating to "the Integrated Church," are taken from a report of the Standing Committee on Social Education in Action, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

the High Cost of Discrimination. By Elmo Roper. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York.
Free

Code: 2) 5)

The author tells why the practice of discrimination in employment in American industry is costing industry thirty billion dollars a year.

Implementing the School Decision. By Marion A. Wright. New South, March 1955. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia Free

Code: 1) 5)

Some suggestions to local planning boards and commissions on ways of implementing the Supreme Court Decision.

Industrial Relations Program in the Urban League. (Mimeographed) By Julius A. Thomas. Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, New York. Free

Code: 2)

An official statement of the program of the Industrial Relations Department of the National Urban League. It gives a brief history of this important phase of Urban League operations, as well as to point out the role of this Department in expanding employment opportunities for Negroes.

Integration in the Armed Services. A progress report. Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Personnel). U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955. Free

Code: 4) 5)

This progress report presents some of the steps taken in implementing policies pointing toward optinum effectiveness of the Armed Forces through full utilization of the total use of manpower and facilities.

Interracial News Service. National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York. Subscription $2.00 for two years.

Code: 5) 6)

A digest of trends and developments in Human Relations. Recent issues cover such topics as "Churches and Integration;" "Pottstown Shows a Way" - a unique project aimed at the eventual racial and religious integration of an average northern community; "As Children Go Back to School" - accounts of the first few days of class in cities where schools have been recently desegregated.

It Was the Right and Moral Thing to Do, Official Statement Adopted at Conference of Southern Negro Educators in Hot Springs, Arkansas. Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York. Free.

Code: 1) 5)

Sixty-four Negro educational leaders express their views on the significance of the Supreme Court's May 17, 1954 Decision relating to segregation in the public schools.

Measuring Rod for Social Progress. By Lester B. Granger. A Reprint. Shifting Scenes, March 1955. National Travelers Aid Association, 425 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. Free

Code: 5)

It suggests that social progress in any community may be measured by the degree to which its society is able to provide protection, comfort and inspiration to its members and the extent to which individuals are able to make their maximum contribution to the society by expression and development.

Negro Family Income in the Southern States. New South. October - November 1953. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. 10¢

Code: 2)

Some very pertinent information regarding the income of Negro families in the Southern States as revealed by the 1950 Census.

Negroes in the Work Group. By Dr. Jacob Seidenberg. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. Free

Code: 2)

The author uses data collected in several research projects to show how thirty business and industrial firms are offering equal employment opportunities to all.

Newsletter. The President's Committee on Government Contracts, February 1955, Washington 25, D. C. Free

Code: 2)

The President's Committee on Government Contracts' Newsletter discusses some of its recent achievements in expanding employment opportunities and other results achieved by the Committee.

New Ways on the Campus. By Guy B. Johnson. New South. February 1955. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. 10¢

Code: 1) 5)

A report on the status of the enrollment of Negro students in Southern colleges and universities since 1946.

Segregation on Sunday? Special Issue, January 1955, Social Progress, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. Speciman copy free.

Code: 6)

This issue is devoted exclusively to the task of building "a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society." The narrative and comments describe five integrated churches and give accounts of their respective experiences in integrated fellowship.

Social Action in the Local Church. A Leader's Manual. Department of Social Education and Action. Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. 25¢

Code: 5) 6)

A handbook designed to help churches become alive in social education and action. It is addressed to ministers and other persons connected with the Church, but can be used effectively by other community and group workers.

Some Principles Related to the Problem of Desegregation. A Reprint. By Kenneth Clark. Summer Issue, 1954, The Journal of Negro Education, Washington, D. C.

Code: 1) 5)

The author discusses desegregation in a number of social institutions and suggests ways techniques used may be applied to desegregation in the public schools.

the Supreme Court Decision and the Appalachian South. By Robert G. Menefee, New South. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. October 1954. 10¢

Code: 1) 5)

A report of the findings of one research worker on his travels through the South, discussing the Supreme Court Decision with local educational and community leaders.

a Training Program in Human Relations for Cadet and Inservice Police Officers. A Reprint. Department of Police Administration, May 1955. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.
Speciman copy free

Code: 5)

Although this training program has been prepared to give representatives of law enforcement agencies a clearer and more unbiased understanding of the people with whom they must make daily contacts, representatives of other community agencies and groups will find the material equally applicable for their own consideration and use.

TVA and Negro Employment. By J.H. Daves. A Reprint. The Journal of Negro Education, Winter, 1955. Howard University, Washington, D. C.

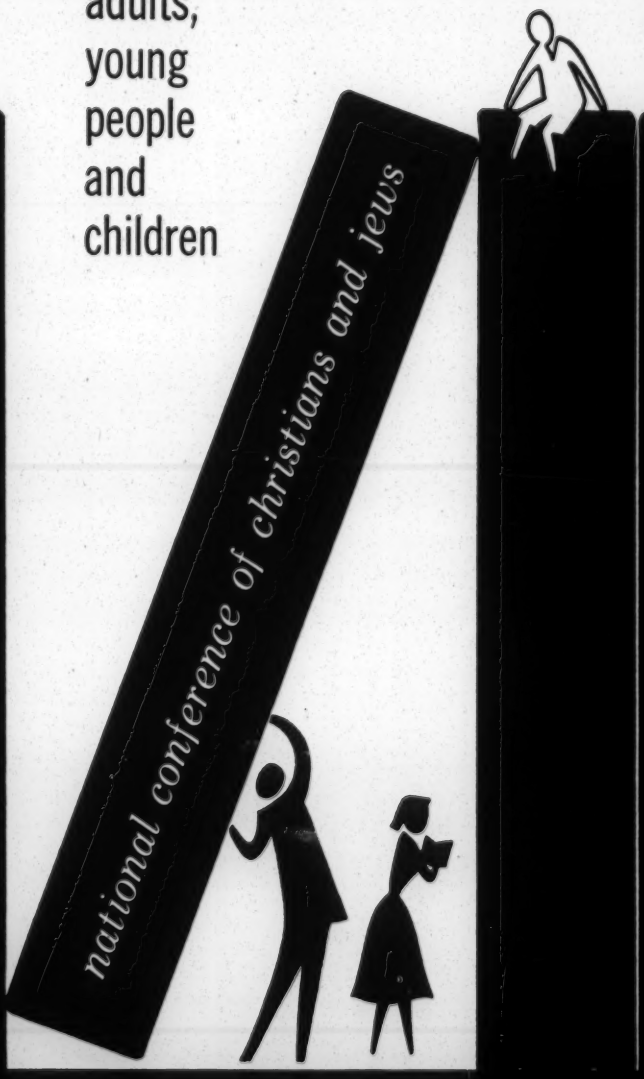
Free

Code: 2)

A recent report on the status of Negro employees at the Tennessee Valley Authority installations.

books for brotherhood

for adults, young people and children



A CHECKLIST OF YOUR SCHOOL'S INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN

Curriculum ✓

Teaching ✓

Administration ✓

Community Service ✓

Human Rel Ed

How Does YOUR School Score?

HOW DOES YOUR SCHOOL SCORE?

Discussion of checklist results should form a sound basis for planning action your school can take.

WHY THIS CHECKLIST?

This is one method your school may use in evaluating what is being done in your classrooms and school life to deal constructively with intergroup relations.

This is not a scientific measuring device. It is simply a checklist of some positive steps that may lead to better intergroup living in your school.

HOW TO USE THE CHECKLIST:

As many teachers and parent leaders as possible should have an opportunity to use the checklist.

Circle zero (0) opposite an item if your school has no such activity or is making no effort in this category.

Circle single plus sign (+) if *some* activity is underway.

Circle double plus (++) if a *great deal* of activity or effort is underway.

Add up the number of *plus signs* for total score.

PLEASE TURN FLAP

members on the basis of democratic principles (without exclusion because of students' group background or identity)?

✓ *The Curriculum and Teaching*

1. Is there provision in the curriculum at all levels and in all subject areas for inclusion of activities and materials which contribute to democratic intergroup relations? 0 + ++
2. Are the contributions to American civilization made by various cultural groups and their outstanding representatives included as an emphasis in the curriculum? 0 + ++
3. Do teachers use any of the following means to help develop personalities free of hostility towards others: 0 + ++
   a. development of student self-discipline rather than rigid teacher-directed discipline;
   b. pupil participation in planning classroom activities;
   c. pupil initiative in group projects;
   d. pupil participation in managing school affairs?
4. Is attention given in the curriculum to social and economic problems which lead to intergroup tensions? 0 + ++
5. Is provision made to ensure that pupils are well informed about fallacies about various groups? 0 + ++
6. Do you have a counseling and guidance program which contributes to group relations through the better adjustment of the individual pupil? 0 + ++
7. Is there opportunity for teachers to explore together their own attitudes and feelings regarding differences among individuals and groups? 0 + ++
8. Does your school have an adequate library of intergroup education materials such as audio-visual aids, pamphlets, reference books, or access to such a source? 0 + ++

✓ *Cooperative School-Community Relations*

1. Do you employ the school facilities as a center for community activities for the promotion of better group relations? 0 + ++
2. Does the school cooperate with civic and private organizations in dealing with intergroup problems? 0 + ++
3. Do your courses employ the community for study and as an experience laboratory for such activities as the following: 0 + ++
   a. fact-finding interviews
   b. field trips
   c. participation activities?

(*continued on back page*)

CHECKLIST

SCHOOL PRACTICES FOR DEMOCRATIC GROUP RELATIONS

(Circle 0, +, ++, to indicate score for each question)

Group Life of School

1. Are members of school-sponsored clubs selected on the basis of merit and interest, irrespective of students' group background or identity? 0 + ++
2. Are students chosen or elected for leadership positions on the basis of merit and in such a manner as to be truly representative of the various groups comprising the student body? 0 + ++
3. Are the members of your athletic teams chosen solely on the basis of ability and achievement? 0 + ++
4. Are you making a special effort to organize activities and groups (recreation, intergroup choruses, discussion groups, etc.) to break down barriers between groups? 0 + ++
5. If your school has fraternities and sororities, do students and faculty advisers encourage selection of members on the basis of democratic principles (without exclusion because of students' group background or identity)? 0 + ++

The Curriculum and Teaching

1. Is there provision in the curriculum at all levels and in all subject areas for inclusion of activities and materials which contribute to democratic intergroup relations? 0 + ++
2. Are the contributions to American civilization made by various cultural groups and their outstanding representatives included as an emphasis in the curriculum? 0 + ++
3. Do teachers use any of the following means to help develop personalities free of hostility towards others: 0 + ++
   a. development of student self-discipline rather than rigid teacher-directed discipline;
   b. pupil participation in planning classroom activities;
   c. pupil initiative in group projects;
   d. pupil participation in managing school affairs?
4. Is attention given in the curriculum to social and economic problems which lead to intergroup tensions? 0 + ++
5. Is provision made to ensure that pupils are well informed about fallacies about various groups? 0 + ++

Administrative Leadership

1. Do you have a representative committee to study, guide and make recommendations on intergroup problems? 0 + ++
2. Are teachers encouraged to make studies of any of the following: habits of association (sociometric patterns), open hostility, intergroup attitudes, cliques? 0 + ++
3. Is there school-wide policy on intergroup attitudes and relations that implements and supports continual improvement of intergroup relations in school and community? 0 + ++
4. Are steps taken to include on your faculty individuals of merit, regardless of their group backgrounds? 0 + ++
5. Do you have an in-service training policy and program for your staff members designed to improve their understanding and skill in human relations? 0 + ++
6. Do you have a counseling and guidance program which contributes to group relations through the better adjustment of the individual pupil? 0 + ++
7. Is there opportunity for teachers to explore together their own attitudes and feelings regarding differences among individuals and groups? 0 + ++
8. Does your school have an adequate library of intergroup education materials such as audio-visual aids, pamphlets, reference books, or access to such a source? 0 + ++

Cooperative School-Community Relations

1. Do you employ the school facilities as a center for community activities for the promotion of better group relations? 0 + ++
2. Does the school cooperate with civic and private organizations in dealing with intergroup problems? 0 + ++
3. Do your courses employ the community for study and as an experience laboratory for such activities as the following: 0 + ++
   a. fact-finding interviews
   b. field trips
   c. participation activities?

(continued on back page)

4. Do your parent-teacher organizations deal with the problem of intergroup relations? 0 + ++

5. Are teachers informed regarding the local and national programs of organizations working to develop better intergroup relations? 0 + ++

WHAT IS YOUR SCORE?_____

Discuss these findings with a faculty committee, P.T.A. committee, a student club or group. Plan Brotherhood Week and year-round activities in the light of your findings.

National Committee for Brotherhood Week

Lawrence G. Derthick
Allan P. Farrell, S.J.
Abram L. Sachar

Co-Chairmen for Schools and Colleges

Thomas E. Braniff, *General Chairman*

Commission on Educational Organizations

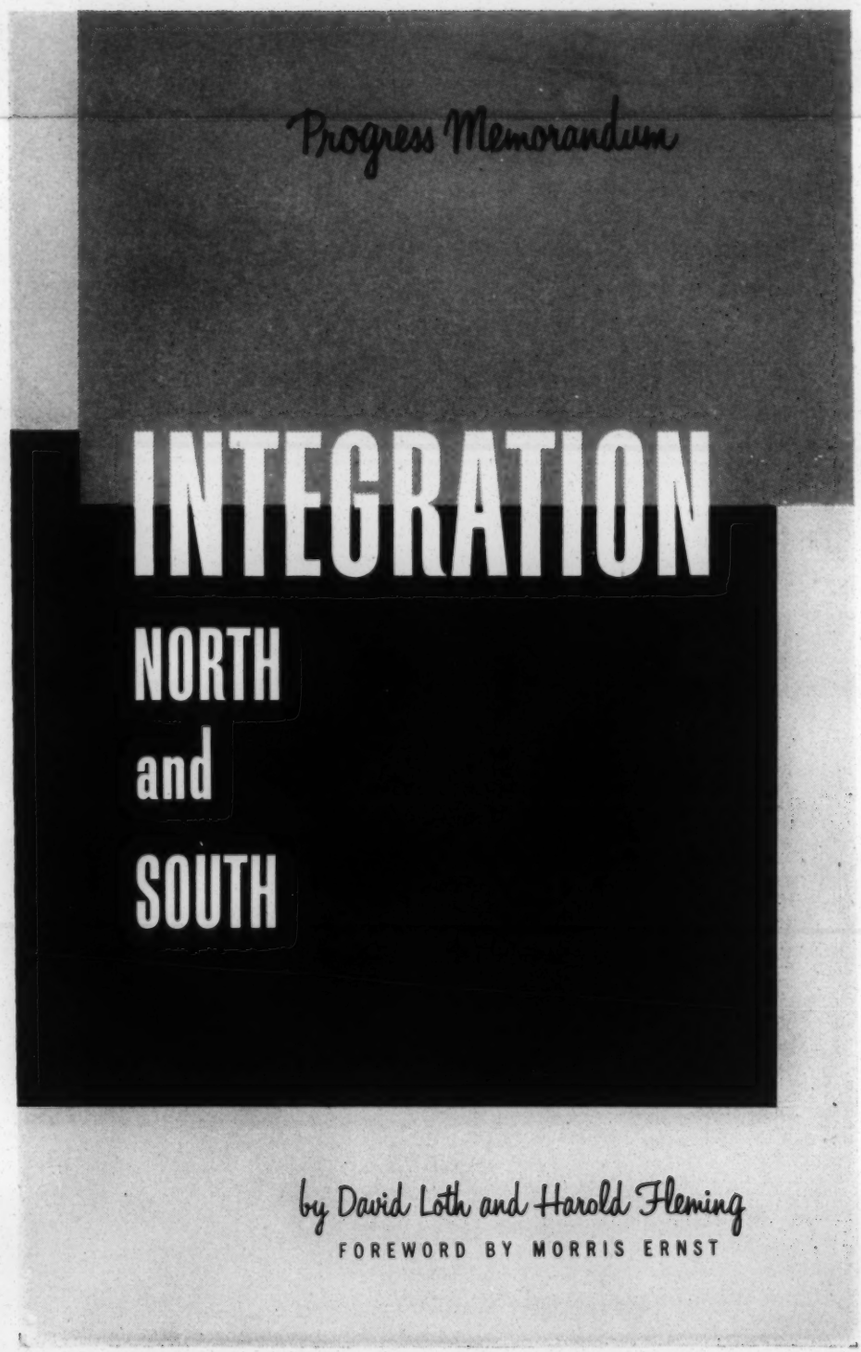
J. Martin Klotsche, *Chairman*
Lavone Hanna, *Vice-Chairman*

Herbert L. Seamans, *Director*

National Conference of Christians and Jews
381 Fourth Avenue, New York City

BROTHERHOOD

"This volume might well be titled Inventory of Hope or An Answer to the Faint of Heart."



So begins Morris Ernst's foreword to INTEGRATION NORTH AND SOUTH, an important study of the progress the United States has made in racial integration since the United States Supreme Court decision on desegregation of schools in 1954.

While the press, radio, and television usually carry only news of the troubles that have arisen as a result of opposition to the decision, the authors of this "progress report" describe hundreds of examples of successful integration all over the country in education, employment, housing, travel, health, recreation, and other areas of public life.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS →

Materials - Bibliography

INTEGRATION NORTH AND SOUTH

About the Authors

DAVID LOTH, author of many books, was a staff member of *The New York World* for ten years and *The New York Times* for seven years. He has served as Information Director of the Surplus Property Board, the Columbia University Bicentennial Celebration, and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, for which he was also Acting National Director. He has also been a consultant to Nelson A. Rockefeller and the Eisenhower Foundation.

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Great world ideas oppose prejudice.
True religion makes bonds between men, not barriers.
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Written by William Van Til, professor of education and chairman of the Department of Secondary Education at New York University, and formerly chairman of the Division of Curriculum and Teaching, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

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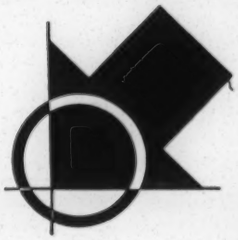

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Materials - Bibliography

THIS YEAR...

THIS MONTH...

THIS DAY...

Throughout the land, a complicated system of barriers of discrimination—based upon prejudice—is at work, harming people and institutions, and depriving the nation of its greatest potential for strength in its search for peace. Now, in one volume, the full story of discrimination against Jews in the United States . . .

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Patterns of Discrimination Against Jews

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27 per cent of 5,500 Chicago business firms specified restrictions against Jews in such words as "We're desperate—but not desperate enough to hire Jews," or "This is a Gentile firm. A Jewish girl wouldn't be happy here."

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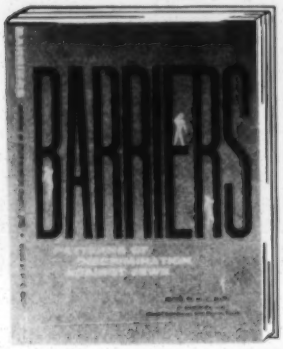

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION
By Henry Edward Schultz

WHY PEOPLE SCAPEGOAT
By Gordon W. Allport

SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION
- Discrimination and the Power Structure
- The Right of Privacy
- The Merchants Club

RESORT DISCRIMINATION
- Bigotry and Hotels
- Experience with Camelback
- Resorts: A National Survey
- State Laws Against Resort Discrimination

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT
- "Jews Need Not Apply"
- Insurance, Banking, Public Utilities
- FEPC: How to Answer its Critics
- Fair Employment Practices and the Law

DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION
- Barriers in Higher Education
- Medical School Quotas
- The Decline of Fraternity Bias
- State Laws Against Discrimination in Education

DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
- The Hidden Barbed Wire in Housing
- How to Keep Exclusive
- Delray Beach—The Realtors' Pride
- State Laws and Discrimination in Housing

THE COMMUNITY
- The Jews of Middletown
- Anti-Semitism Today

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"I have read 'Barriers' with a great deal of interest. I believe the greatest contribution that the Anti-Defamation League has made in its fight against prejudice and discrimination of all kinds has come through its ability to bring the subject out into the open and by studying its causes, encouraging debate and making people aware of its implications and evil results. Prejudice and hate, like most other slimy things, cannot bear the light of day."

HERBERT H. LEHMAN
Former United States Senator, State of New York

"This book will be an eye-opener . . . Well worth reading for Gordon Allport's 'Why People Scapegoat' alone."

ELMO ROPER
National Public Opinion Analyst

"A first-rate job. This book presents a picture which all Americans ought to see. It is both factual and interesting. The facts are challenging and they are presented in a way which arrests attention."

SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT
Executive Secretary in the U. S., World Council of Churches

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3 - Bibliographies

READING LIST: Improving Human Resources

Compiled by Miss Alma Jamison, Assistant Librarian, Carnegie Library of Atlanta, for the Georgia Citizens Council. The following books and pamphlets are in the Carnegie Library of Atlanta. If these are not available in your own local public library, they may be obtained from the Library Extension Division, Georgia Department of Education, 92 Mitchell Street, Atlanta. In addition, a wealth of material on these subjects may be found in current periodicals.

* * * * * * * * *

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176	Bromley:	Youth and Sex: a Study of 1300 Students.	1938
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323.35	Bingham:	Community Life in a Democracy.	1942
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371.74	Davis:	Play and Mental Health.	1938
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790	Bowers:	Recreation for Girls and Women.	1934
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R917.58	Georgia Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement --- Penal Systems.	1940
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R326	Georgia N. Y. A. --- Brief Report of the Vocational Guidance Project for Negro Youth.		1937-38
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975.8	Meadows:	Modern Georgia.	1946

* * * * * * *

Books in Library by Dr. Grace Sloan Overton, who will lecture in Georgia during January and February, under the auspices of the Georgia Citizens Council.

792.07	Overton, Grace Sloan	Drama in Education, Theory and Technique.	1926
173	Overton, Grace Sloan	Love, Marriage and Parenthood.	1939
173.1	Overton, Grace Sloan	Marriage in War and Peace.	1945

The following titles have been ordered and will be added to our collection as soon as possible:

Overton, Grace Sloan	The Home in a Changing Culture	1935
Overton, Grace Sloan	Youth in Quest.	1928

3 - Bibliographies

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL ISSUES

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I. GENERAL

ARTICLES

DOLLARD, JOHN, "HOSTILITY AND FEAR IN SOCIAL LIFE," SOCIAL FORCES, 17:15-26, 1938.

PRESENTS A THEORY OF THE ROLE OF HOSTILITY AND FEAR IN SOCIAL LIFE AND DISCUSSES THE DYNAMICS OF RACE PREJUDICE IN TERMS OF THE AGGRESSION AND HOSTILITY ENGENDERED IN THE INDIVIDUAL TOWARD THE SOCIETY AND ITS MEMBERS BY THE NECESSARY PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION. RACE PREJUDICE IS A MIXED DESIGNATION AND CAN BE SEEN AS AT LEAST TWO TYPES OF AGGRESSIVE RESPONSES -- DIRECT AND DISPLACED. RACE PREJUDICE, AS DIRECT OR DISPLACED AGRESSION, IS ALWAYS DIRECTED TOWARD IDENTIFIABLE OUT-GROUPS. THIS PROCESS IS ILLUSTRATED BY CASES IN AMERICAN LIFE INVOLVING LABOR CONFLICT, JEWS, NEGROES AND GERMANS. THERE IS A DISCUSSION OF THE ARTICLE BY FRANZ ALEXANDER OF THE CHICAGO INSTITUTE FOR PSYCHOANALYSIS.

*****

MCLEAN, HELEN V., "PSYCHODYNAMIC FACTORS IN RACIAL RELATIONS," ANNALS AM.ACAD. POL. SOC. SC., MARCH, 1946, P. 159.

AN EXPLORATION OF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS. BOTH THE NEGRO AND THE WHITE MAN FACE A PSYCHOLOGICAL DILEMMA. THE NEGRO CHILD IS AFFECTED BY EXISTING TENSIONS LONG BEFORE HE HAS BECOME FULLY CONSCIOUS OF BEING A NEGRO. THE INSECURITY AND IMPOTENCE OF THE NEGRO PARENT IN THE FACE OF WHITE DOMINATION MAKES IDENTIFICATION WITH THOSE PARENTS ANXIETY LADEN. YET IDENTIFICATION WITH ANY MEMBER OF THE WHITE GROUP IS ALSO ANXIETY PRODUCING SINCE THE NEGRO IS CONSTANTLY REJECTED BY THE WHITE GROUP. OFTEN THE NEGRO TRIES TO ESCAPE INTO MAGIC AND PHANTASY OR INTO REBELLION FROM FRUSTRATION. THE WHITE MAN, ON THE OTHER HAND, LIVES IN AN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION BEYOND HIS PSYCHOLOGICAL CAPACITY. FEELING INSECURE, HE PROPS UP HIS PRESTIGE FEELINGS BY THE MYTH OF WHITE SUPERIORITY. NEITHER THE NEGRO'S NOR THE WHITE MAN'S SOLUTION IS MATURE OR SATISFYING. THE SOLUTION TO SUCH A DILEMMA MUST LIE IN A FURTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL MATURITY -- IN A COMPROMISE; THE WHITE MAN MUST GIVE UP HIS CLAIM TO AN OMNIPOTENCE AND POWER HE DOES NOT POSSESS AND THE NEGRO MUST DISENTANGLE HIMSELF FROM A CYCLE OF PASSIVE SUBMISSION GIVING RISE TO GUILT AND REBELLION THROUGH REJECTION WHICH IN TURN ENGENDERS FURTHER ANXIETY AND PASSIVE LONGING.

*****

MCLEAN, HELEN V., "GROUP TENSION," J.AM.M.WOMEN'S ASSOC., 2:479-484, NOV., 1947.

MAN HAD BEEN PSYCHOLOGICALLY TOO IMMATURE TO HANDLE THE TENSIONS OF AN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION PRIOR TO WORLD WAR II. TODAY, WITH A NEW SOURCE OF POWER, THE ATOM, NEW WAVES OF DESTRUCTIVE ENERGY ARE APT TO BE LOOSED. SOME OF THE TENSION OF GUILT AND FEAR WILL BE RELIEVED INTERNALLY BY INCREASING HOSTILITY TOWARD MINORITIES IN THE U.S. MEN, IN ORDER TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST THEIR INNER INSECURITIES, TO GIVE THEMSELVES AN OUTLET FOR THEIR OWN FEELINGS OF INADEQUACY, TO PROTECT THEMSELVES AGAINST HUMILIATING INFANTILE OR FRIGHTENING FORBIDDEN HOSTILE AND SEXUAL IMPULSES, PROJECT AND EXPRESS SUCH CONFLICTFUL FEELINGS ON PEOPLE BELONGING TO OTHER RACIAL GROUPS. THE DETERIORATION WHICH MAY RESULT IN THE GROUPS SO TREATED WILL, IN TURN, HAVE A DELETERIOUS REACTIVE EFFECT ON THE GROUP WHICH IS THE ORIGINATOR OF THESE PREJUDICIAL ACTS AND FEELINGS.

MEKEEL, SCUDDER; MCLEAN, HELEN V.; AND LEWIN, KURT, "CONCERNING RACE PREJUDICE," AM. J. ORTHOPSYCHIAT., 14:699-705, 1944.

THIS ARTICLE POINTS OUT THAT PREJUDICE STEMS PARTLY FROM THE VERY NATURE OF SOCIETY ITSELF, BUT THAT WHICH WE COMMONLY CALL RACE PREJUDICE IS, IN PART, A SYMPTOM OF OUR PARTICULAR SOCIETY WHICH IS FULL OF TREMENDOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL STRESS AND STRAIN FOR THE INDIVIDUAL. ALL SOCIETIES HAVE SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION, A KIND OF PREJUDICE, BECAUSE IT IS FUNCTIONALLY NECESSARY FOR ANY SOCIETY TO DISTINGUISH PEOPLE ON THE BASIS OF SUCH FACTORS AS SEX, AGE, ABILITY. ALSO, ALL SOCIETIES IMPOSE SOME RESTRAINTS ON THE BIOLOGICAL ORGANISM. HOWEVER, OUR SOCIETY LAYS SUCH A BURDEN OF STRESS ON THE INDIVIDUAL WITHOUT PROVIDING ADEQUATE ANXIETY REDUCING OUTLETS THAT MANY INDIVIDUALS MUST DISCHARGE THIS ANXIETY BY PROJECTING THEIR HOSTILITY ONTO A SCAPEGOAT -- THE NEGRO, THE JEW, OTHERS.

*****

ROSE, ARNOLD M, "STUDIES IN REDUCTION OF PREJUDICE," AMER. COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS, CHICAGO, 1947.

THIS MEMORANDUM SUMMARIZES AND GROUPS A LARGE PART OF THE VAST AMOUNT OF SCATTERED LITERATURE REPORTING THE RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS. NO CLAIM IS MADE THAT THE FIELD HAS BEEN COVERED COMPLETELY. HOWEVER, THIS PUBLICATION MAKES EASILY ACCESSIBLE THE PRESENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE FIELD FOR THOSE ENGAGED IN RESEARCH. SOME OF THE AREAS IN WHICH RESEARCH IS REPORTED UPON ARE STUDIES MADE OF (A) THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PROPAGANDA TO REDUCE PREJUDICE, (B) THE DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTIVENESS OF PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES, (C) ATTITUDE TESTING TECHNIQUES, (D) APPEARANCE OF PREJUDICE AMONG CHILDREN, (E) THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PREJUDICE.

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WILLIAMS, ROBIN M., JR., "THE REDUCTION OF INTERGROUP TENSIONS: A SURVEY OF RESEARCH ON PROBLEMS OF ETHNIC, RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS GROUP RELATIONS," SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL, BULL. 57, 1947.

IN THIS REPORT THE AUTHOR EXAMINES THE MORE IMPORTANT TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES IN USE BY REPRESENTATIVE ACTION AGENCIES WHICH ARE SEEKING TO REDUCE HOSTILITY AND RESOLVE CONFLICT IN INTERRACIAL AND INTERCULTURAL GROUP RELATIONS. HE THEN ANALYZES THE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING THE ACTION PROGRAMS AND PROPOSES RESEARCH DESIGNED TO TEST THESE ASSUMPTIONS. IN CONNECTION WITH THESE PROPOSALS, RESEARCH WHICH HAS RELEVANCE FOR THESE PROBLEMS IS DISCUSSED WITH A VIEW TO POINTING OUT IMPORTANT GAPS IN OUR KNOWLEDGE. THE APPENDIX INCLUDES A WELL SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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BOOKS

DOLLARD, JOHN, ET AL., FRUSTRATION AND AGGRESSION, YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW HAVEN, 1939.

THIS BOOK PRESENTS THE RESULTS OF RESEARCH DONE BY THE INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS AT YALE UNIVERSITY. IT ATTEMPTS A MORE SYSTEMATIC FORMULATION AND FURTHER ELABORATION OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS PREVIOUSLY STATED BY FREUD AND OTHERS AND BRINGS TO BEAR UPON THIS HYPOTHESIS A LARGE BODY OF ILLUSTRATIVE

MATERIAL. THE BASIC POSTULATE OF THE STUDY IS THE ASSUMPTION THAT AGGRESSION IS ALWAYS A CONSEQUENCE OF FRUSTRATION. THE FIRST THREE CHAPTERS SET THE FRAME OF REFERENCE BY EXPANDING AND EXPLORING THIS ASSUMPTION. T HE REMAINDER OF THE BOOK DEALS WITH THE APPLICATION OF T HE THEORY TO (1) SOCIALIZATION IN AMERICA, (2) CRIMINALITY, (3) A COMPARISON OF DEMOCRACY, FASCISM AND COMMUNISM AND (4) A PRIMITIVE SOCIETY: THE ASHANTI.

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THIS BOOK PRESENTS A REVIEW OF THEORIES REGARDING THE "GROUP MIND." THE AUTHOR RELATES HIS OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EGO TO THOSE OF THE GROUP. IN A GROUP THE EMOTIONS OF AN INDIVIDUAL ARE INTENSIFIED AND THE INTELLECTUAL FUNCTIONS REDUCED. THE INDIVIDUAL GIVES UP HIS DISTINCTNESS BY SUGGESTION TO FEEL IN HARMONY WITH OTHERS IN THE GROUP. IDENTIFICATION IS THE EARLIEST FORM OF EMOTIONAL TIE, ITS VALUE DEPENDING ON WHETHER THE TIE (TO FATHER) ATTACHES TO THE SUBJECT OR OBJECT OF THE EGO. A PRIMARY GROUP IS A NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE SUBSTITUTED ONE AND THE SAME OBJECT FOR THEIR EGO-IDEAL AND HAVE CONSEQUENTLY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES WITH ONE ANOTHER IN THEIR EGO. THE DEMAND FOR EQUALIZATION (ONE PART OF IDENTIFICATION) IS THE ROOT OF SOCIAL CONSCIENCE AND SENSE OF DUTY. MAN IS NOT A HERD BUT A HORDE ANIMAL.

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THIS STUDY EMBODIES THE REPORT OF THE PLANNING SURVEY SPONSORED BY THE COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY INTERRELATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. IT DESCRIBES "THE SOCIAL TOPOGRAPHY.... IN THE BATTLE AGAINST BIGOTRY AND HATE." THE BOOK IS DIVIDED INTO TWO MAIN SECTIONS, THE FIRST OF WHICH IS CONCERNED WITH THE TYPES OF ORGANIZATION IN THE FIELD AND THE SECOND WITH THE PATTERNS OF ACTION. HERE THE AUTHOR DISCUSSES IN DETAIL THE METHODS OF EXHORTATION, EDUCATION AND PARTICIPATION, REVELATION, NEGOTIATION, CONTENTION AND PREVENTION IN AN ENDEAVOR TO EVALUATE CRITICALLY WHAT IS PSYCHOLOGICALLY EFFECTIVE AND WHAT IS INEFFECTIVE IN CURRENT EFFORTS TO COMBAT THE PATTERNS OF INTOLERANCE AND DISCRIMINATION. THE AUTHOR CONCLUDES WITH A CHAPTER ON ACTION RESEARCH. GOOD RESOURCE BOOK.

II. NEGRO

ARTICLES

BRENMAN, MARGARET, "URBAN LOWER-CLASS NEGRO GIRLS," PSYCHIATRY, 6:307-324, 1943.

REPORTS THE RESULTS OF A FIELD STUDY OF LOWER CLASS NEGRO GIRLS AND COMPARES THESE OBSERVATIONS WITH A PREVIOUSLY STUDIED GROUP OF MIDDLE-CLASS NEGRO GIRLS. DATA IS PRESENTED ON THE REACTIONS OF THESE GIRLS TO THEIR MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND ON THE SEXUAL BEHAVIOR AND STANDARDS OF MORALITY IN THE GROUP. PROCEDURES INCLUDED "PARTICIPANT OBSERVER" AND "INTERVIEWING" TECHNIQUES. THE MIDDLE CLASS NEGRO GIRLS STUDIED SEEMED TO SHOW MUCH INSECURITY RELEVANT TO THEIR MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP; THE LOWER GLASS GIRLS SHOWED LITTLE. THE DIFFERENCE IN SEXUAL STANDARDS AND BEHAVIOR BETWEEN THE MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASS GIRLS WAS ONE OF THE CLEAREST CUT OBSERVATIONS AND WAS THE AUTHOR'S MOST RELIABLE SINGLE CRITERION IN ESTABLISHING CLASS MEMBERSHIP.

CAYTON, HORACE R., "THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS," REED COLLEGE BULL., 25:#1, NOV., 1946.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE INJUSTICES IN AMERICAN CULTURE GIVING RISE TO INTERNAL CONFLICTS WHICH CONFUSE AND PARALYZE THE ACTION OF INDIVIDUALS. CONSIDERS THE RESULT OF THIS CONFUSION ON INDIVIDUAL PERSONALITIES -- WHITE AND NEGRO -- WHO LIVE UNDER A SYSTEM OF RACIAL SUPER- AND SUB-ORDINATION, AND THE DEVASTATING EFFECT THIS HAS ON ATTEMPTS TO ARRIVE AT A MORE MATURE CULTURE. THE AUTHOR TRACES THE DYNAMICS OF AN OPPRESSION PSYCHOSIS WITH A FEAR-HATE-FEAR COMPLEX IN THE NEGRO AND ITS COUNTERPART IN THE WHITE MAN, AN OPPRESSOR'S PSYCHOSIS WITH AN ATTENDANT GUILT-HATE-FEAR COMPLEX.

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GREENACRE, PHYLLIS, "CHILD WIFE AS IDEAL: SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATION," AM.J. ORTHOPSYCHIAT., 17:167-71, 1947.

THE AUTHOR DEALS WITH ONE SPECIAL FORM OF EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT -- THE CHILD-WOMAN OR ESPECIALLY THE CHILD-WIFE -- AND COMPARES INDIVIDUAL CASES WITH ONE SITUATION IN THIS COUNTRY, LIFE IN WEALTHY SOUTHERN HOMES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR IN WHICH THE TYPE SEEMED FOR A PERIOD TO BE AN ACCEPTED IDEAL. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DYNAMICS EXISTING BETWEEN WEALTHY WHITE CHILDREN, THEIR PARENTS AND THEIR NEGRO MAMMYS WERE SUCH AS TO BE PARTICULARLY FAVORABLE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CHILD-WOMAN TYPE OF PERSONALITY.

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MERTON, ROBT. K., "INTERMARRIAGE AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE: FACT AND THEORY," PSYCHIATRY, 4:361-374, 1941.

PRESENTS A THEORETICALLY ORIENTED TAXONOMY COMB INING CASTE, CLASS AND SEX PROVIDING A FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR ANALYZING INTERMARRIAGE STATISTICS. PREVIOUS WORK ALONG THESE LINES HAS ESTABLISHED CONCEPTS SUCH AS ENDOGAMY, EXOGAMY, CASTE, CLASS, ETC. THE AUTHOR FURTHER REFINES AND SYSTEMATIZES THESE, BELIEVING IT NECESSARY TO WORK WITHIN A THEORY WHILE COLLECTING FACTS. HIS THEORETICAL BREAKDOWN IS LOGICALLY CONSISTENT AND WHEN APPLIED TO FACTUAL DATA COLLECTED BY OTHERS SHOWS THE VITAL GAPS IN SUCH DATA. REFERENCE TO NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE SHOWS THAT THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF SUCH CASES ARE BETWEEN WHITE WOMEN AND NEGRO MEN: TECHNICALLY TERMED HYPOGAMY, OR MARRYING DOWN IN CASTE. PROBABLY MORE ILLICIT SEX RELATIONS OCCUR BETWEEN WHITE MEN AND NEGRO WOMEN BUT THESE NEVER REACH THE PROPORTION OF ACTUAL MARRIAGES THAT OCCURS BETWEEN WHITE WOMEN AND NEGRO MEN. THE THEORETICAL TAXONOMY PRESENTED OFFERS A LOGICAL EXPLANATION OF THIS PHENOMENA.

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STEVENS, RUTHERFORD B., "RACIAL ASPECTS OF EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS OF NEGRO SOLDIERS," AM. J. PSYCHIAT., 103:493-498, 1947.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER IS TO AID THE PSYCHIATRIST AND OTHERS DEALING WITH THE EMOTIONAL AND HEALTH PROBLEMS OF NEGROES. IN POSTWAR AMERICA LARGE NUMBERS OF NEGROES NEED PSYCHIATRIC CARE AND WILL GO IN SEARCH OF IT TO CIVIL AND INDUSTRIAL HOSPITALS AND CLINICS AS WELL AS TO THE HOSPITALS OF THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION. THE OBSERVATIONS ON WHICH THIS PAPER IS BASED REPRESENT FIVE YEARS OF MILITARY

SERVICE IN VARIED CAPACITIES WITH NEGRO TROOPS, INCLUDING CONSULTATION SERVICE PSYCHIATRIST. AN ADVANTAGE POSSESSED BY THE AUTHOR WAS THE ABSENCE OF THE BARRIER OF RACIAL DIFFERENCE. THE TEXT DISCUSSES THE EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF PARTICULAR PROBLEMS FACING NEGRO SOLDIERS IN ADDITION TO THOSE PROBELEMS FACED BY ANY SOLDIER REGARDLESS OF SKIN COLOR.

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BOOKS

DAVIS, ALLISON; AND DOLLARD, JOHN, CHILDREN OF BONDAGE; THE PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO YOUTH IN THE URBAN SOUTH, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., 1940.

THIS BOOK IS AN ATTEMPT, THROUGH INTIMATE LIFE HISTORIES, TO RECREATE THE PERSONALITIES AND TO DESCRIBE THE SOCIALIZATION OF EIGHT NEGRO ADOLESCENTS IN THE DEEP SOUTH. THE CHILDREN PRESENTED IN THESE STUDIES WERE SELECTED UPON THE BASIS OF THEIR CLASS POSITION AND REPRESENT ALL OF THE CLASS POSITIONS IN NEGRO SOCIETY. THEIR EXPERIENCES ILLUSTRATE THE FUNDAMENTAL CONTROLS WHICH EACH CLASS EXERCISES OVER THE SOCIALIZATION OF ITS MEMBERS. THE BEGINNING AND CLOSING SECTIONS OF THE BOOK CONTAIN A THEORETICAL SETTING FOR, AND ANALYSIS OF, THE LIFE HISTORIES. BOTH SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES AND THEORIES ARE EMPLOYED TO ANALYZE THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY WITHIN A CASTE AND CLASS SYSTEM .

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DOLLARD, JOHN, CASTE AND CLASS IN A SOUTHERN TOWN, YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW HAVEN, 1937.

THIS BOOK IS AN ATTEMPT TO GIVE A DYNAMIC VIEW OF SOCIAL LIFE IN A SMALL SOUTHERN TOWN. THE AUTHOR IS TRAINED IN BOTH SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY AND UTILIZES IN HIS FIELD METHODS -- T HE LIFE-HISTORY AND PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION -- THE INSIGHTS OF THESE TWO DISCIPLINES.
THE INTERACTION OF NEGROES AND WHITES UNDER A CASTE-CLASS SYSTEM IS DESCRIBED AND ANALYZED IN MANY AREAS OF EVERYDAY LIFE -- SEX, EDUCATION, POLITICS, RELIGION, ETC.

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DAVIS, ALLISON; GARDNER, BURLEIGH B.; AND GARDNER, MARY R., DEEP SOUTH: A SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF CASTE AND CLASS, UNIV. OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, 1941.

FOUR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS, A NEGRO MAN AND A NEGRO WOMAN AND A WHITE MAN AND A WHITE WOMAN LIVED IN A SMALL CITY IN THE DEEP SOUTH FOR TWO YEARS. THIS VOLUME IS THE REPORT OF THEIR RESEARCH WHICH CONCEPTUALIZES THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A SOCIETY COMPOSED OF WHITES AND NEGROES IN AMERICA AS A CASTE-CLASS STRUCTURE. THE FIRST SECTION OF THE BOOK IS A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THIS CASTE-CLASS SYSTEM AS IT EXISTS IN THE DEEP SOUTH. THE SECOND SECTION IS DEVOTED TO (1) A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM WITH WHICH THE SYSTEMS OF CASTE AND CLASS ARE INTEGRATED AND (2) THE OPERATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, THE LAW, AND THE COURTS IN MAINTAINING THE CASTE LINES.

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DRAKE, ST. CLAIR AND CAYTON, HORACE R, BLACK METROPLIS: A STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE IN A NORTHERN CITY, HARCOURT BRACE & CO., N.Y., 1945.

A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO, BOTH INTERNALLY AND IN RELATION TO THE METROPOLIS OF WHICH IT IS A PART. EMPLOYING THE METHODS OF BOT H SOCIOLOGISTS AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS, THE AUTHORS' RESEARCH REVEALS (1) THE RELATIONSHIP OF NEGROES TO WHITES IN CHICAGO, (2) THE KIND OF WORLD NEGROES HAVE BUILT UP UNDER THEIR SEPARATE SUBORDINATE STATUS AND (3) THE IMPACT OF THESE TWIN CONFIGURATIONS UPON THE PERSONALITIES AND INSTITUTIONS OF CHICAGO NEGROES. AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY RICHARD WRIGHT AND A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE BY W. LLOYD WARNER.

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FRAZIER, E. FRANKLIN: THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE U.S. , UNIV. OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, 1939.

THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE U.S. FROM T HE ARRIVAL OF NEGROES FROM AFRICA DOWN TO THE PRESENT. THE FAMILY IS SEEN AS A NATURAL HUMAN ASSOCIATION AND AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION SUBJECTED TO THE SEVEREST STRAINS OF SOCIAL CHANGE. THE AUTHOR TRACES THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO FAMILY BY A SERIES OF IDEAL CONSTRUCTS; AFTER THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY HE SEES A MATRIARCHAL FAMILY, SUPPLANTED BY A PATRIARCHAL FORM AS THE FREE NEGRO MEN ACQUIRED PROPERTY. THE PATRIARCHAL ORGANIZATION BECOMES UNSTABLE AS LARGE NUMBERS OF NEGROES MIGRATE TO URBAN AREAS. ONCE THE PATTERN OF LIFE IN THE CITIES HAS BEEN FORMED, THE FAMILY TAKES ON ITS MODERN EQUALITARIAN FORM AND THE NEGRO COMMUNITY BECOMESSPLIT INTO MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASSES.

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JOH NSON, CHAS. S., GROWING UP IN THE BLACK BELT, AMER. COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., 1941.

A STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL NEGRO YOUTH. EIGHT SOUTHERN COUNTIES WERE SO SELECTED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY AS TO INCLUDE THE MAJOR TYPES OF SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL LIFE. THE STUDY IS BASED UPON THE EXPERIENCES OF OVER 2,000 NEGRO YOUTH WHO WERE GIVEN SIX TESTS, FIVE OF WHICH WERE SPECIALLY DEVISED FOR THE STUDY. THE TESTS WERE FOLLOWED UP WITH INTENSIVE INTERVIEWS OF ABOUT TWENTY PER CENT OF THE YOUTH AND, IN ADDITION, 916 OF THE FAMILIES WERE INTERVIEWED THE VOLUME BEGINS WITH BRIEF PERSONAL SKETCHES OF TEN YOUTH, FOLLOWED BY A DESCRIPTION OF THE RURAL SOUTH IN WHICH THEY LIVE. THE REMAINDER OF THE VOLUME IS CONCERNED WITH THE DETAILED PRESENTATION OF DATA ON THE EXPERIENCES OF THESE YOUTH IN THE FAMILIAR INSTITUTIONS -- SCHOOL, CHURCH, MARRIAGE -- OF COMMUNITY LIFE.

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MYRDAL, GUNNAR, AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, HARPER & BROS, N.Y., 1944.

THIS IS A DEFINITIVE ANALYSIS OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE MADE BY A SWEDISH SOCIAL ECONOMIST AT THE REQUEST OF THE CARNEGIE CORP. AS SUCH, IT WAS DESIGNED TO PRESENT A FRESH, UNBIASED VIEWPOINT. COOPERATING IN THE RESEARCH WITH DR. MYRDAL WERE MOST OF THE AUTHORITIES IN THE FIELD IN THE U.S. THE VAST FACTUAL MATERIAL, CONTAINING INFORMATION AND REFERENCES ON EVERY ASPECT OF NEGRO LIFE,

IS ALL WOVEN AROUND ONE THEME -- THE MORAL DILEMMA OF THE AMERICAN: ".... THE EVER-RAGING CONFLICT BETWEEN, ON THE ONE HAND, THE VALUATIONS PRESERVED ON THE GENERAL PLANE WHICH WE SHALL CALL THE 'AMERICAN CREED,' WHERE THE AMERICAN THINKS, TALKS AND ACTS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF HIGH NATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN PRECEPTS AND, ON T HE OTHER HAND, THE VALUATIONS ON SPECIFIC PLANES OF INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP LIVING, WHERE PERSONAL AND LOCAL INTERESTS; ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND SEXUAL JEALOUSIES; CONSIDERATIONS OF COMMUNITY PRESTIGE AND CONFORMITY; GROUP PREJUDICE AGAINST PARTICULAR PERSONS OR TYPES OF PEOPLE AND ALL SORTS OF MISCELLANEOUS WANTS, IMPULSES, AND HABITS DOMINATE HIS OUTLOOK."

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WARNER, W. LLOYD; JUNKER, BUFORD H. AND ADAMS, WALTER A., COLOR AND HUMAN NATURE, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., 1941.

A STUDY MADE BY ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND A PSYCHIATRIST OF NEGROES IN CHICAGO. THE MAJOR HYPOTHESIS IS THAT WITHIN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AN INDIVIDUAL'S SOCIAL-CLASS POSITION AND SHADE OF SKIN COLOR ARE FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY. IF THE CRITERIA OF SEX, SHADE OF COLOR AND SOCIAL STATUS ARE USED, THEN 32 MAJOR TYPES OF SOCIAL PERSONALITY ARE POSSIBLE. THE TYPES ARE DISCUSSED AND ANALYZED IN DETAIL CONCERNING THE SOCIAL PERSONALITY OF EACH TYPE WITHIN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AND IN RELATION TO WHITE SOCIETY. ILLUSTRATIVE CASE HISTORIES ARE PRESENTED ON DARK SKIN AND LIGHT SKIN MEN AND WOMEN.

III. ANTI-SEMITISM

ARTICLES

ACKERMAN, NATHAN W., "ANTISEMITIC MOTIVATION IN A PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITY," PSYCHOANALYT. REV., 34:76-101, 1947.

THIS REPORT PRESENTS IN GREAT DETAIL THE LIFE HISTORY AND PSYCHOANALYTIC REACTIONS OF A MALE PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITY AND SHOWS THE DYNAMIC CONNECTIONS OF A PARTICULAR HOSTILITY PATTERN, ANTISEMITISM, WITH THE DEEPER ELEMENTS OF THE PATIEN'TS PATHOLOGY AND WITH HIS BASIC CHARACTER STRUCTURE.

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ACKERMAN, NATHAN W.; AND JAHODA, MARIE, "TOWARD A DYNAMIC INTERPRETATION OF ANTI-SEMITIC ATTITUDES," AMER. JEWISH COMM, NEW YORK, 1947.

THIS STUDY IS CONCERNED WITH THE EXPLORATION OF THE DYNAMIC BASIS OF ANTI-SEMITIC ATTITUDES IN A NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO ARE UNDERGOING OR HAVE ALREADY EXPERIENCE PSYCHOANALYTIC THERAPY. THE MATERIAL WAS COLLECTED FROM ABOUT 30 ACCREDITED PSYCHOANALYSTS. MOST OF THE CASES CONCERNED ANTI-SEMITISM IN NON-JEWS BUT SOME WERE INCLUDED ILLUSTRATING ANTI-SEMITISM IN JEWS AND HALF-JEWS. THE PATIENTS WERE NOT AWARE THAT THEIR ANTI-SEMITIC FEELINGS WERE BEING SPECIALLY INVESTIGATED. THE AREAS OF THE TOTAL RESEARCH DEALT WITH IN THIS ARTICLE ARE (A) THE DYNAMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE CURRENT PERSONALITY STRUCTURE OF THE PATIENT AND (B) THE PATTERN OF INTERACTION BETWEEN INTRAPSYCHIC DETERMINANTS AND GROUP DETERMINANTS RESULTING IN ANTI-SEMITISM. CLINICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CASES REVEALED THAT ANTI-SEMITISM IS NOT THE CONCOMMITANT OF ONE OR ANOTHER CLINICAL CATEGORY OF PERSONALITY.

BETTELHEIM, BRUNO, "THE DYNAMISM OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN GENTILE AND JEW," J.ABNORM. SOC. PSYCHOLOGY, 42:153-168, 1947.

THE AUTHOR WAS A PRISONER FOR A YEAR IN THE GERMAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS AT DACHAU AND BUCHENWALD. IN THIS ARTICLE HE COMBINES HIS THEORETICAL PSYCHIATRIC KNOWLEDGE WITH HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND HIS OBVSERVATION OF THE ACTIONS OF OTHER JEWISH PRISONERS IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH GESTAPO GUARDS. THE THEORETICAL CORE OF THE ARTICLE IS THAT INSUFFICIENT CONSIDERATION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THE FACT THAT THE JEWS REACT TO THE ANTI-SEMITIC THREAT WITH PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISMS FULLY AS QUESTIONABLE IN REGARD TO THEIR EFFICACY AND ADEQUACY ON A REALITY BASIS, AS THOSE USED BY THE ANTI-SEMITE. IF ANTI-SEMITISM IS TO BE RESOLVED EFFECTIVELY, THERE MUST BE NO CLASH OF STEREOTYPES. PITTING ONE DELUSIONAL SYSTEM, THAT OF THE ANTI-SEMITE'S, AGAINST ITS DELUSIONAL COUNTER-REACTION, THAT OF THE JEW'S, PRECLUDES REAL ACTION AND REAL CHANGE. IT ONLY CREATES A VICIOUS CIRCLE. IN ITS STEAD TRUE AND SPONTANEOUS INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS MUST BE ESTABLISHED.

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BOOKS

SIMMEL, ERNST, ANTISEMITISM, INTERN'L. UNIVERSITIES PRESS, N.Y., 1946.

FOLLOWING AN INTRODUCTION BY ALLPORT, THIS BOOK PRESENTS 6 ESSAYS ON ANTI-SEMITISM. MAX HORKHEIMER DISCUSSES SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF MODERN SOCIETY THAT EFFECT ANTI-SEMITISM. OTTO FENICHEL DESCRIBES ELEMENTS OF A PSYCHOANALYTIC FORMULATION -- THAT JEWS ARE HATED AS FOREIGNERS BECAUSE THEY IMPERSONATE THE REPRESSED UNCONSCIOUS OF THE INDIVIDUAL ANTI-SEMITE. THE EDITOR OF THE SYMPOSIUM, ERNST SIMMEL, VIEWS ANTI-SEMITISM AS A BY-PRODUCT OF CIVILIZATION, A MASS PHENOMENA FOR RESTORING A PATHOLOGICALLY DISTURBED MENTAL EQUILIBRIUM. BERNARD BERLINER COMMENTS ON THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT, PARTICULARLY THE PATERNALISTIC CHARACTER OF JEWISH RELIGION. DOUGLAS ORR RELATES "SOCIAL" ANTI-SEMITISM TO THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF EVERYDAY LIFE, PARTICULARLY TO ERROR IN COMPREHENSION AND JUDMENT AND TO THE MECHANISMS OF DISPLACEMENT AND PROJECTION. A RESEARCH STUDY ON THE ANTI-SEMITIC PERSONALITY BY ELSE FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK AND R. NEVITT SANFORD IS REPORTED. T.W. ADORNO IS CONCERNED WITH THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PROPAGANDA.

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WIRTH, LOUIS, THE GHETTO, UNIV. OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, 1928.

MANY DIVERGENT GROUPS OF PEOPLE LIVE TODAY, AND HAVE LIVED IN THE PAST, IN A GHETTO. IT IS AROUND THE CONCEPT GHETTO AND THE LONG HISTORY OF ONE GROUP, THE JEWS, WHO HAVE LIVED A GHETTO LIFE THAT THIS BOOK IS BUILT. THE GHETTO MAY BE REGARDED AS A FORM OF ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN DIVERGENT POPULATION GROUPS THROUGH WHICH ONE GROUP HAS BEEN SUBORDINATED TO ANOTHER. AS WELL AS BEING A PHYSICAL AREA, THE GHETTO IS ALSO A STATE OF MIND. THIS BOOK TRACES THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH GHETTO FROM ITS EARLIEST BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT DAY IN THE VARIOUS LOCALITIES WHERE JEWS HAVE GAINED A SUFFICIENT FOOTHOLD TO FORM TYPICAL COMMUNITIES. THE AUTHOR, IN TRACING THE EFFECTS OF THE GHETTO UPON THE CHARACTER OF THE JEW, THROWS LIGHT UPON THE EFFECT OF A GHETTO WHEREVER IT EXISTS TO HEM IN ANY RACIAL, RELIGIOUS OR NATIONAL GROUP.

IV. JAPANESE

BOOKS

BENEDICT, RUTH, THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD, HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO., BOSTON, 1946.

HERE AN ANTHROPOLOGIST PRESENTS THE PATTERNS OF JAPANESE CULTURE AND THE BASIC CHARACTER STRUCTURE OF JAPANESE PERSONALITY. AMERICANS CAN WORK, PLAY AND COMMUNICATE WITH OTHER AMERICANS BECAUSE OF A PRIOR STEP THAT IS SELDOM MENTIONED: THEY KNOW AND TAKE FOR GRANTED THE CONDUCT OF LIFE AND THE VALUE SYSTEM IN THE U.S. HOWEVER, BEFORE ONE CAN UNDERSTAND INDIVIDUALS COMING FROM A CULTURE OTHER THAN THEIR OWN, THEY MUST BE ABLE TO SEE, AT LEAST APPROXIMATELY, THINGS AS THE OTHER CULTURE'S MEMBERS SEE THEM. THIS BOOK PROVIDES, IN PART, SUCH A FOCUS, MAKING INTELLIGIBLE MANY SEEMING PARADOXES OF JAPANESE LIFE AND PSYCHOLOGY.

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LEIGHTON, ALEXANDER H., THE GOVERNING OF MEN, PRINCETON UNIV. PRESS, PRINCETON, N.J., 1945.

JOINING PSYCHIATRIC, SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL POINTS OF VIEW FOR THE STUDY OF A SOCIAL PROBLEM -- THE RELOCATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF JAPANESE EVACUEES -- THIS BOOK REPORTS AN EXPERIMENT IN APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE. THIS STUDY OF A COMMUNITY UNDER STRESS WAS MADE AT THE JAPANESE RELOCATION CENTER AT POSTON, ARIZONA. WHILE THE IMMEDIATE AIM OF THE RESEARCH WAS TO ADVISE THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS OF THE CAMP CONCERNING CURRENT SITUATIONS, THE SECOND PURPOSE WAS TO MAKE OBSERVATIONS AND ANALYSES THAT WOULD HAVE BEARING ON GENERAL PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY IN OCCUPIED AREAS. THIS BOOK IS THE RESULT OF THE SECOND PURPOSE. THE TEXT MAY BE CONSIDERED IN THREE PARTS: (1) THE STORY OF THE EVACUATION OF JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS AND ALIENS FROM THE WEST COAST AND THE SUBSEQUENT PROBLEMS FACED JOINTLY BY THEM AND THE ADMINISTRATORS IN MEETING LIFE IN THE DESERT; (2) THE PRINCIPLES AND RECOMMENDATIONS DERIVED BY THE AUTHOR JOINTLY FROM HIS SOCIAL PSYCHIATRIC BACKGROUND AND HIS EXPERIENCES AT POSTON AND (3) IN AN APPENDIX, AN ADMIRABLE STATEMENT OF THE CONCEPTUAL THEORY AND METHODOLOGY USED TO STUDY THE RELOCATED COMMUNITY.

V. SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL

BOOKS

BENEDICT, RUTH, PATTERNS OF CULTURE, PELICAN BOOKS, INC., N.Y., 1946 (1934).

CULTURES ARE INTEGRATED WHOLES AND THE MAJORITY OF INDIVIDUALS IN ONE CULTURE MAY NORMALLY EXHIBIT PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS FOUND INFREQUENTLY, AND THOUGHT ABNORMAL, IN ANOTHER CULTURE. HERE DR. BENEDICT COMPARES THREE CULTURES, EACH DOMINATED BY ONE RULING MOTIVATION. THE ZUNI INDIANS ARE APOLLONIAN IN THEIR SOBRIETY AND MODERATION; THE KWAKIUTLS OF VANCOUVER ISLAND ARE THE ANTITHESIS OF THE ZUNI, WITH THEIR DIONYSIAN PREFERENCE FOR INDIVIDUAL RIVALRY AND ECSTASIES; THEY HAVE PARANOID DELUSIONS OF GRANDEUR; THE DOBUS OF MELANESIA ARE SECRETIVE, DOUR AND PRUDISH, ALMOST SCHIZOPHRENIC. DR. BENEDICT POINTS OUT THAT ALTHOUGH THESE CULTURES EVINCE CLINICAL DEVIATIONS FROM OUR NORM, ABNORMALITY IN ANY CULTURE IS SIMPLY THE FAILURE OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO ADOPT SOCIALLY VALUED DRIVES.

KARDINER, ABRAM, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FRONTIERS OF SOCIETY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, N.Y., 1945.

THIS BOOK IS AN ATTEMPT TO FURTHER WORK OUT AND CLARIFY THE TECHNICAL PROBLEMS OUTLINED IN THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS SOCIETY. IT FURTHER REFINES THE TECHNIQUE PRESENTED PREVIOUSLY FOR STUDYING THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONS BETWEEN CULTURE AND PERSONALITY. THE TECHNIQUE CONSISTS ESSENTIALLY OF DETERMINING THE BASIC PERSONALITY TYPE OF A SOCIETY, SHOWING HOW THE TYPE IS DERIVED FROM THE CULTURALLY PATTERNED EARLY EXPERIENCES OF CHILDREN, THEN DEMONSTRATING HOW THIS PERSONALITY STRUCTURE IS REFLECTED IN THE PATTERNED B EHAVIOR OF AS MANY INSTITUTIONS AS POSSIBLE AND IS EXPRESSED IN THE PROJECTIVE SYSTEMS OF FOLKLORE AND RELIGION. THIS TYPE OF ANALYSIS IS PRESENTED FOR THREE SOCIETIES: COMANCHE, ALOR AND A MIDWESTERN AMERICAN COMMUNITY. THE FINAL CHAPTER ATTEMPTS TO OUTLINE THE USE OF THE TECHNIQUE IN ANALYZING THE MAIN CURRENTS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

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LINTON, RALPH, THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY, D. APPLETON-CENTURY CO., N.Y., 1945.

ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEMS IN RESEARCH WHICH OVERLAPS THE FIELDS OF SEVERAL DISCIPLINES IS THE CORRELATING OF THE THEORETICAL SYSTEMS BASIC TO EACH DISCIPLINE. THIS BOOK OUTLINES A THEORETICAL SCHEME FOR VIEWING THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN PERSONALITY FORMATION AND THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THE INDIVIDUAL, CULTURE AND SOCIETY.

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CAYTON, HORACE R., THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS, REED COLLEGE BULL., VOL. 25, NO. 1, NOV. 1946.
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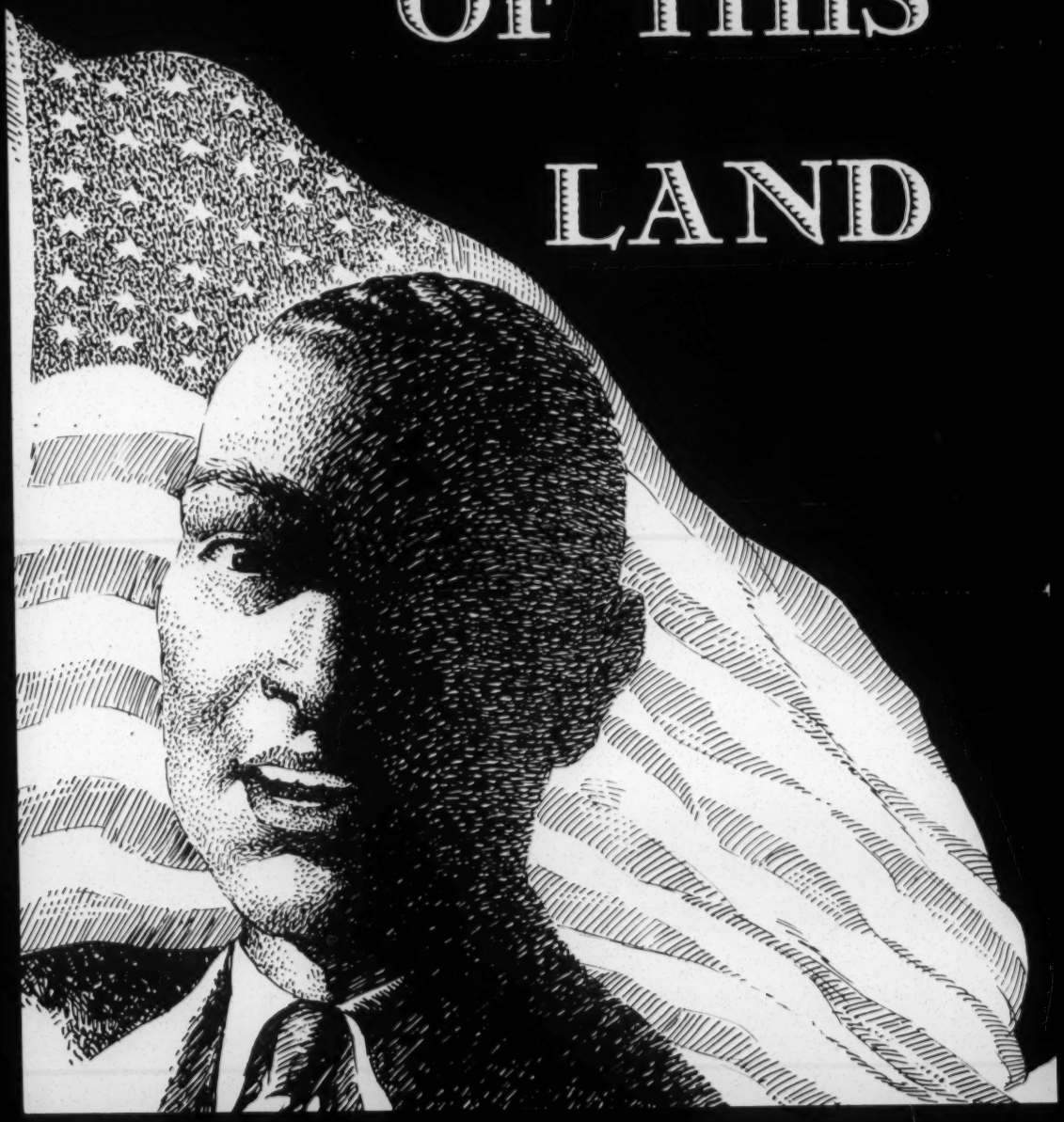

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Common Ground

Letter to Germany Pearl Buck

TOTAL EQUALITY, AND HOW TO GET IT
Stetson Kennedy

"FOR A KINDER RACE . . ." Helen Papashvily

I CAN TAKE IT—BUT SHOULD I HAVE TO?
A Jewish American

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: ERSATZ MYTHOLOGY
Carey McWilliams

PEACE CONFERENCE IN AN AMERICAN TOWN
Langston Hughes

THE COLLEGE—AN ACTIVE SOCIAL AGENT
Algo D. Henderson

EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY Malcolm Ross

THE "DISLOYAL" AT TULE LAKE G. Eleanor Kimble

50c. WINTER 1946

TOTAL EQUALITY, AND HOW TO GET IT

STETSON KENNEDY

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, a volume published last year by the University of North Carolina Press, brings together the answers of 14 prominent Negro leaders who represent various viewpoints—southern, northern, conservative, liberal, radical—but who are unanimous in asserting that what the Negro wants ultimately is total equality: precisely the same rights, opportunities, privileges, and responsibilities as other Americans. It may be assumed that all Negroes are in agreement with this; any who are not are certainly entitled to less. But wanting total equality and getting it are two different things, especially in the South. What white Southerners, and Americans generally, think and do about the matter are the determining factors.

In the South, the formidable institution of white supremacy stands in the way of total equality. Both within and without the South there are a variety of forces which would severally strengthen white supremacy, defend it as is, modify it, or overthrow it. Inside the South, these forces may be identified more specifically as the incumbent political administrators of the exploitive system, who are obligated to defend the status quo and make only necessary concessions; the race-hate demagogues whom the overlords of the South will seek to install in office should appeasement fail to appease; the white "southern liberals" who work for "separate equality"; and the real southern liberals, white and black, who fight for total equality. To identify these elements still further, representative spokesmen are presented herewith.

Speaking for the incumbents—whose order of the day is "concessions in public services; and that's all, colored folks!"—we have Governor Chauncey Sparks of Alabama, orating at the Tuskegee Institute for Negroes. Governor Sparks told his audience that "absolute segregation" and "independent development" should govern the conduct of the white and Negro races in the South. Similarly Governor Broughton of North Carolina has scored "outside agitators, who . . . would flout established and mutually respected conventions and traditions—which cannot in this State, now or ever, be obliterated"; and he went on to say, "We are striving in North Carolina to give the Negro equal protection under the law, equal educational advantages, the full benefits of public health, agricultural advancement, decent housing conditions, and full and free economic opportunity. . . . This is the assured path toward racial harmony and progress, not only in North Carolina, but in all America."

Such sentiments are voiced by virtually the entire southern press. For example, the Atlanta Journal said in a full-length editorial last year entitled "The South's Race Question": "We have tried to outline four constructive ideas for promoting happy and mutually profitable race relationships and for serving the best interests of the South. Each and all of these proposals rest on the major premise that social segregation shall continue."

Perhaps the leading press agent for this school of thought is John Temple Graves, whose Birmingham News-Age Herald column is widely syndicated throughout the South. It was he who very seriously proposed last year that the white "leaders" of the South call a race relations conference at which southern Negro representatives would either be conspicuously segregated or excluded altogether—to demonstrate what he sees as the white South's determination to maintain "perpetual segregation."

Such sentiment is of course reflected among the South's champions of white supremacy in Congress. As a single example, we find Senator Bilbo of Mississippi saying: "We, the people of the South, must draw the color line tighter and tighter, and the white man or woman who dares cross that color line should be promptly and forever ostracized. The white race is the custodian of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Anyone who would in the name of Christianity make us a Negroid people betrays his religion and his race."

Carried to its logical conclusion, such arch-demagoguery must arrive at the formula of the prewar, Nazi-approved "White Front" which cropped up in the South, which proposed to "make negroes wards of the Nation, with special codes to govern their behavior."

Dr. W. T. Couch, former director of the University of North Carolina Press, has recently argued that history demonstrates the inferiority of Negroes, and therefore the white majority in the South has a "democratic" right to impose segregation. This argument has been adopted as official by the other "southern liberals" who believe in "separate equality." These people, it must be recognized, not only believe in separate equality, but do what they can to promote equality, for which Negroes and all liberals can be thankful. What may be taken as the rock-ribbed platform of this group was enunciated by Mark Ethridge of the Louisville Times and Courier, in opening the Birmingham hearings of the FEPC, of which he was then chairman.

"The southern Negro cannot afford to drive from his side, in his march to a greater fulfillment of his rights, the southern white men of good will. He must recognize that there is no power in the world—not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied and Axis—which could now force the southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation. It is a cruel disillusionment, bearing the germs of strife and perhaps tragedy, for any of their [the Negroes'] leaders to tell them that they can expect it as the price of their participation in the war. . . . If [the southern white] is not willing to break down segregation—and he is not—he can at least see that it is not achieved on the brutal standards of a Ku Klux Klansman. He can see that it is made as painless as possible."

Ethridge grossly underestimated the potentialities of mechanized armies, but since the Axis armies would hardly have been inclined to enforce total equality in the South, and since the U.S. Army is not likely to be given any such assignment, the gentleman is correct insofar as he suggests that the means for the forcible overthrow of segregation are not in hand.

Late in 1943 something did make a slight dent in the epidermis of Jim Crow. Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, urged that the State's Jim Crow statute be repealed insofar as urban transportation was concerned, "on the ground that it fails to segregate and is a constant source of friction and ill-feeling." While the Negro press made much of the proposal, while generally ignoring its peculiar motivation,

the limited significance of Dabney's editorial was brought out shortly afterward in his response to a letter asking if the abolition of Jim Crow on urban transportation might not spread into other fields. He said: "Certainly the Times-Dispatch is not advocating the repeal of any of these laws, except those covering urban street cars and buses. The newspaper has expressed itself in the past as favoring equal, but separate, accommodations, facilities, and opportunities for our colored citizens, and it reiterates that position."

After a few weeks the efforts to get the Virginia legislature to act upon Dabney's proposal were abandoned, with this observation by him: ". . . we have regretfully concluded that the people and their representatives are not ready for the repeal of the segregation law on streetcars and buses."

However, there is in the South a comparatively small but nevertheless dynamic group of white liberals to carry the torch for total equality. Such people are not confined to any one sphere of activity but are to be found in the labor unions, the farmers unions, in education, journalism, and even politics. Among those who have exercised the widest influence is Lillian Smith, author of the best-selling novel *Strange Fruit* and editor of South Today. Although she has not always given due emphasis to the economic and political causes and effects of segregation, her penetrating diagnoses of its psychological costs are unequaled.

Segregation, however, is not to be abolished by any amount of diagnosis of its psychological costs. Man, as Miss Smith points out, is not just an economic and political unit; but the institution of segregation was created and has been maintained to serve the economic and political purpose of keeping southern labor divided and cheap; therefore the psychologically damaging aspects of Jim Crow are but incidental by-products. The South's Jim Crow psychosis cannot, as I see it, be successfully overcome except through elimination of the economic and political cancer of segregation—and this calls for economic and political operations, without which mental therapy will be to no avail.

Upon the handling of Jim Crow depends all hope for total equality (and progress of all sorts) in the South. The entire system of white supremacy is predicated upon prefabricated prejudices against social equality—and all other forms of equality are denied in that name. Thus the demagogue's favorite assertion is, "If you give a nigger a dollar, he'll take a $1.25." The demagogic formula for maintaining the status quo is that any economic or political concession to Negroes would ultimately prove conducive to social equality. For once the demagogues are correct, but it would be impolitic for southern Negroes to admit as much, as will presently be shown (trusting that demagogues don't read this sort of thing).

One of the undeniable facts of life in the South today is that the case for economic and even political equality can be argued on the street corner—yes, even in a Klan meeting—without necessarily making oneself a candidate for lynching. On the other hand, to so much as mention social equality is sufficient to ruin almost anyone.

Practically everything lies within the realm of immediate possibility, except the abolition of Jim Crow: that is the one change above all others to which white Southerners have been conditioned to react emotionally instead of rationally. Moreover, the majesty of Federal law can be brought to bear in protecting political rights and those economic rights encom-

passed by the FEPC. The prejudices of 20 million southern whites are no justification for illegal discrimination against 10 million southern Negroes, and the American people as a whole need have no compunctions about curbing the expression of such prejudice, via the Federal government. But it is their responsibility to see that those curbs are accompanied by adequate protection for the Negroes.

When the demagogues threaten that a forced breakdown of Jim Crow will bring on a resurgence of the Klan and mob violence, they are not just bluffing. But when I vouch for this fact, I do so not for the sake of intimidating Negroes and their friends, but to forewarn them so that their attack need not be inadequate nor premature.

It is this factor of kinetic violence that chiefly distinguishes the problem of establishing total equality in the South from the problem elsewhere (Detroit and Los Angeles excepted). Local police, far from dealing appropriately with such violence, would very often be in the forefront of it. When the disorder reached major proportions, southern governors would send in their lily-white, Klux-minded state guards. *Federal troops could not be sent in* without a legislature's or governor's request—and such requests would no more be forthcoming than they were in the wake of Reconstruction. In short, a massacre rather than a riot would ensue. (In Detroit, 85 per cent of those arrested were Negroes, 75 per cent of those killed were Negroes, and 60 per cent of the Negroes killed were shot by policemen; in the South Negroes would not escape so lightly.)

In 1942 a conference of southern Negroes convened in Durham, North Carolina, and drafted one of the most significant documents ever to come out of the South, now known as the Durham Statement. In addition to outlining a comprehensive program for promoting more equal economic and political opportunities for southern Negroes, the Durham Statement included this realistic pronouncement on strategy:

"We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds; however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may co-operate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework."

The Durham Statement practically demanded acknowledgment from the white South. It was forthcoming in a series of conferences which culminated in the formation of a Southern Regional Council, which absorbed the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and attracted to its fold 1,000 white and Negro Southerners of varying shades of liberalism. Without exactly saying so, the SRC adopted the goals of the Durham Statement without specifically endorsing its condemnation of segregation—and outspoken opponents of Jim Crow were quick to make an issue of the fact.

Lillian Smith, in an article in COMMON GROUND entitled "Southern Defensive," said, "Not much is going to be done to bring about racial democracy by this group [the SRC] until its leaders accept and acknowledge publicly the basic truth that segregation is injuring us on every level of our life and is so intolerable to the human spirit that we, all of us, black and white, must bend every effort to rid our minds, hearts, and culture of it." In the same issue, J. Saunders Redding, professor of English at Hampton Institute, charged, "The men who at present writing have policy-making pow-

ers in the new organization are pretty effectively enslaved by one big common thing: segregation. *Segregation is the sine qua non of race relations in the South.*"

No doubt there are some white members of the SRC who will go to their graves believing in segregation, but director Guy B. Johnson, in a succeeding issue of COMMON GROUND under the title "Southern Offensive," had this to say:

"Our goal is democracy and equality of opportunity. We are striving to improve the social, civic, and economic life of our region in spite of a deep-seated and undemocratic pattern of segregation. . . . Personally, I should rather help capture the foothills which have to be captured sooner or later than merely to point out the distant peak and urge my comrades to storm it at once! I, too, can see the peak, but I can see no particular virtue in starting an association of peak-gazers."

When Miss Smith was belatedly asked to become a director of the SRC, she declined because of its failure to take a stand against segregation. And so we have revolving in and about the SRC a controversy as to whether or not denunciation of segregation is essential to, or even advisable, in connection with an organized movement of southern whites and Negroes "to do the most and best that can be done here and now."

Even among the Negro drafters of the Durham Statement there was a difference of opinion on this. A minority argued that the Statement, in the interests of diplomacy, could have refrained from mentioning segregation at all. The controversy again came to a head at the 1944 meeting of the SRC. There, two resolutions on segregation were introduced and warmly debated. One said in effect, "We recognize the existence of Jim Crow; we dedicate ourselves to attaining equality of opportunity." A substitute was offered which, after the manner of the Durham Statement, said, "We condemn segregation because . . . ; however, we dedicate ourselves to attaining equality of opportunity." Both were tabled by a vote of 45-25.

Now who is right about this matter?

I would venture to say that the Durham Statement, coming from Negroes, was more or less morally obliged to include a condemnation of segregation, and that it could not have been done in a more statesmanlike manner. I would also say that the SRC, as an organization of southern whites and Negroes faced with the practical necessity of seeking improvements from the incumbent system of white supremacy, would needlessly frustrate itself by condemning segregation at this time. And I would say further that Lillian Smith has done and can do immense good by condemning segregation as an individual, but that she is not being realistic in demanding the same of the SRC.

There is another tangent, which, if pursued to the exclusion of other paths, would likewise lead nowhere. Dr. Gordon B. Hancock of Virginia Union University, a director of the SRC, wrote Miss Smith as follows upon her refusal to join: "You who make the whole issue one of segregation are overlooking the matter of prejudice, the more fundamental issue that we of the SRC are trying to face. . . . You are primarily interested in denouncing the effects; we are primarily interested in attacking and destroying the cause. . . ."

Subsequently in a letter to me Dr. Hancock said: "Race prejudice must be destroyed before discrimination can be taken out of segregation, and the law itself is hopeless and helpless to accomplish this fact where prejudice is too strong. It is true that, here and there, discriminations are being eliminated as

in the case of teachers' salaries; but it is also true that this is due to a relinquishment of prejudice in its most rabid form. In my releases to the Associated Negro Press I have been sloganizing as follows: '*Praeiudicium generis delendum est* (race prejudice must be destroyed)!' "

All of which is very well, provided no one is given the impression that mere sloganizing, whether in Latin or any number of current languages, can under existing circumstances bring about the abolition of prejudice or segregation or discrimination or white supremacy. To argue whether prejudice or segregation came first is to carry on about the goose and the egg. *First* came the excess profit motive which gave birth to the institution of white supremacy, and all its bastard offspring might be described as products of artificial insemination.

So long as white supremacy remains an economic and political reality, no amount of education or agitation can bring about the abolition of segregation in the South by the South (any more than mere agitation could have abolished slavery). In other words, short of another civil war, *the southern Negro must be emancipated economically and politically before he can be emancipated socially.* This means that he must first join democratic unions and beat a democratic path to the polls. Once those two things have been accomplished—gains in one will facilitate gains in the other—the abolition of Jim Crow will be as inevitable as was the abolition of chattel slavery after civil war broke out. Once the economic and political functions of Jim Crow have been negated, its social function will vanish as the subterfuge that it is.

At this point the proper strategy for achieving total equality in America becomes crystal clear.

In non-southern areas (where Jim Crow enjoys a quasi-legal existence only slightly less rigorous than in Dixie), the campaign for total equality can and should be prosecuted by all-out frontal assault.

In the South, the economic and political serfdom of the Negro with its concomitant potential of uncontrolled violence requires that there be no demand for *total* equality at this time; instead, the case for social equality must be presented entirely *apart from* the case for economic and political equality of opportunity.

If this strategy is not followed, there may be no progress in any direction, but reaction in all directions. So let it be understood that this is not at all a strategy of appeasement, but the most radical of practical programs for achieving *total* equality without wholesale violence.

The flanking approach for the South requires elaboration in terms of tactical maneuvers. That the strategy calls for presentation of the demand for social equality *apart from* demands for economic and political equality will bear repeating. This means that in the South a distinction must be made pro tem between segregation and discrimination—that the separate issues not be confused by indiscriminate application of the "Jim Crow" label to all manner of interracial inequities.

The several groups involved in the struggle for total equality should also assume specialized functions. The case for social equality in the South should be left largely if not exclusively in the hands of the real southern white liberals, who are in a position to present it most effectively. Non-Southerners can help most by concentrating on the basic task of economic and political emancipation for the southern Negro—by working for establishment of a permanent FEPC, by bringing suffrage cases before the Su-

preme Court, by insisting upon adequate Federal protection of the economic and political rights thus secured, and by aiding the efforts to organize southern Negroes into labor and farmers unions. And southern Negroes themselves should seek first to become union men and democratic voters.

The interim attitude southern Negroes should take toward segregation may at first seem incongruous. It is that they adopt the slogan: "Enforce the Jim Crow laws!" But this is correct procedure because all such laws require that "separate-*but-equal*" provisions be made, and the U.S. Supreme Court, if none other, will see to it that equality is provided in as many cases as can be brought before it. When the defense makes the countercharge—as it will repeatedly—that "what these niggers is really after is social equality," southern Negroes should insist that segregation and social equality are irrelevant to the economic and political matters at hand, and refuse to discuss them in the same connection.

It is of course true that Jim Crow has always meant injury added to insult. As colored folk say, it has always been a case of:

> *White folks in the dinin room,*
> *Eatin cake and cream;*
> *Niggers in the kitchen,*
> *Eatin good old greasy greens.*

Nevertheless, by going to court and exercising every other legitimate form of demand, protest, and pressure, the Negro can have an appreciable amount of the physical injury taken out of Jim Crow. This is what he has been doing since Reconstruction; but the accelerator should be pressed to the floor. The reaction of a typical white Southerner to this assertion was, "Hold on a minute! This business of equal rights has got to be fed to us Southerners just so much at a time. It's like tryin' to feed beefsteak to a baby that's never done nothin' but suck titty. You got to wean it away." While there is some truth in that, there is considerably more truth, and justice too, in what the old Negro woman said to the judge who cautioned her that colored folks couldn't expect to get even breaks with white folks all in a minute, "God knows it's been a long minute!"

There is no need for anyone to be concerned over the prospect envisioned by the so-called southern liberals who, under the fancy label of "biracial parallelism," would transform the Jim Crow fence from a discriminatory horizontal line into a vertical line of equal opportunity. Long before then, the preconditions for the abolition of Jim Crow altogether will have been established.

Confidentially (don't tell Talmadge & Co.), every step toward separate-but-equal provisions will prove to be a step toward free-and-equal status for all. Since the South is already spending almost all it can on public services, actually to provide equal facilities would require a lowering of white standards. This being the case, each time more equality is forced, more of the pinch of the Jim Crow shoe will be transferred to the white foot, and as soon as its intolerability becomes mutual, it will be cast aside.

Jim Crow is such a gross creature he has a way of rousing both Jim Crowers and Jim Crowed to an equally blind frenzy. This is forgivable among the latter, but not at all effective. To go at Jim Crow like Don Quixote versus a windmill has often proven less than unavailing.

It is past time Negroes and their friends stopped speaking loosely about the "unconstitutionality" of Jim Crow. Jim Crow may be un-American, un-Christian, undemocratic, and unjust; but under Supreme Court rulings to date, Jim Crow

laws are not themselves unconstitutional. At present, as Westbrook Pegler so gleefully maintains, "it is still legal in the United States to hold and express racial and religious prejudices"—even in the form of Jim Crow laws.

The 14th Amendment of the Constitution provides that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Now the privileges and immunities of American citizens are not at all nebulous—either they are specified in the Constitution or Federal laws, or they have no legal existence. Freedom from Jim Crow—the right not to be segregated—is not among the rights of citizens so specified—as those Negroes who have traveled the hard road to the Supreme Court have learned. In carrying out the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection of the laws, the Court has merely granted *redress* in cases where Negroes have complained of *unequal* Jim Crow facilities; but the Jim Crow laws themselves have been left intact.

One ground for complaint against Jim Crow facilities which has not been fully utilized is that the Constitutional guarantee of equal protection of the laws extends to equal *convenience* as well as other aspects of equality. For example, Negroes might sue for the right to attend the public school *nearest* them, regardless of race. The Supreme Court of New Jersey upheld this particular right last year.

But at best such court trials of Jim Crow can only bring about a slow amelioration of the discrimination inherent in segregation and bring to bear economic pressure for its abolition. The end can and should be hastened by Federal legislation. Congress has the power—under its Constitutional authority to enact laws to promote the public safety and welfare—to adopt an anti-segregation law, or an even broader statute establishing the equal rights of races.

Ideally and eventually, total equality should be guaranteed by an amendment to the Constitution. Such an organic law would not be without precedent. The Soviet Union, a land of almost 200 nationalities, has such a law and has found it eminently practicable and salutary. Article 123 of the Soviet Bill of Rights and Duties provides: "Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, social, and political life, is an indefeasible law. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred or contempt, is punishable by law."

Unlike a Congressional statute, a Constitutional amendment to this effect would of course require ratification by three-fourths of the states, which means that rejection by 13 states could kill it. It will be recalled that refusal of the southern states to ratify the 14th Amendment following the Civil War led to military occupation. An amendment guaranteeing the equal rights of the races, including as it would a ban on segregation, would unquestionably get a hot reception in the South today. Unanimous ratification by all non-southern states plus one or more borderline states would be necessary for its adoption.

Such a law or amendment would produce more rumors of civil war, but still no war. However, there would be mass violence, and the white supremacists would make good their threat to make life miserable for Negroes. White supremacy is going to die a hard death—almost as hard as slavery's. It will take the South

approximately as long to get over the death of Jim Crow as it is taking to get over the passing of Old Black Joe, the slave.

Of course the Negro is entitled to total equality now. But by suffering segregation another decade (no more) before seeking to establish total equality as the law of the land, he can with the help of most Americans build the economic and political framework which will give it a concrete-and-steel substance without which the legal superstructure would be an empty stage-setting.

Stetson Kennedy is a young southern author whose forthcoming book Southern Exposure *will be published by Doubleday, Doran. He is also the author of* Palmetto Country, *a volume in the American Folkways Series edited by Erskine Caldwell. He has supervised a series of social-ethnic studies in his region, and led an expedition recording southern folklore for the Library of Congress.*

For Common Ground's *own position on the issues raised by Mr. Kennedy, and the articles by Lillian Smith and J. Saunders Redding to which he refers, the reader is directed to the Spring 1944 number. Recommended also are three pamphlets by Lillian Smith (available from South Today, Clayton, Georgia): "Two Men and a Bargain," which, despite Mr. Kennedy, remains the best analysis of the economic base of race prejudice in the South; "Buying a New World with Old Confederate Bills," an analysis of the psychological base; and "The White Christian and His Conscience," a portrayal of the spiritual dilemmas of a society dominated by the concept of racial superiority.*

ADOBE ANCIENTS

DOROTHY L. PILLSBURY

"What a weird way for you to spend Christmas," our Anglo friends gasped, "on top of the Rock of Acoma. Those Acoma Indians are the most offish in the Southwest. They've been sitting on that Rock since long before the Spanish came into the country. They haven't changed. They're primitive and they're ignorant. Strange things have happened on Acoma, even in modern times." They wagged mysterious heads. "There was the priest who disappeared not so many years ago. They have secret rooms and underground chambers. And not a civilized person for miles around! It isn't safe for two women alone."

The head-waggings and the mysterious whispers came from people who had lived all their lives in New Mexico, within two hundred miles of the Rock. Lucia and I chuckled, remembering Felicitas. Felicitas' big black eyes had peered hungrily at us from under her scarlet and orange shawl when we had first visited Acoma. Such is the power of repeated assertions that we had been prepared for ignorance, for monosyllables, even for pidgin English. But Felicitas had said,

as she led us about her cloud-shadowed, four-hundred-feet-high Rock, "This is the patio of the old Spanish monastery. Willa Cather speaks of it in *Death Comes for the Archbishop*. Perhaps you are familiar with the book."

"Write to me," she had begged as we left. "I'd love to get a letter. I haven't had one since I left school two years ago."

"But you haven't a post office," we had said, peering up and down the narrow, solid-rock streets of the Sky City, where three-tiered adobe houses clung like swallows' nests.

"Send it to Acomita," she had instructed. "It's our farming center in the valley below. Some one comes up every few days."

So we had sent letters to Felicitas—letters in which we had been very careful of our grammar. Letters had come back to us from "primitive" Acoma. Among them was an invitation to spend Christmas Day on the Rock, that isolated, windswept mesa top.

As we bumped over some of the worst roads in the most desolate waste lands of New Mexico, it did seem a fantastic way to spend Christmas. A bleak wind was blowing down from snow-packed mountain tops. Clouds scudded wildly over the sky and cast a sinister green light over the surrounding country. It was as if we were seeing it for the first time. Grotesque rocks, carved by wind and storm, took on the form of giants standing before their battlemented dwellings. Desolation stretched as far as we could see—sand-clogged arroyos; twisted, stunted, desert vegetation. In the distance, swimming in a sea of unearthly light, the yellow ocher, straight-up cliffs of Acoma reared themselves from a plain already almost seven thousand feet above sea level.

Filled with misgivings, we parked the car in the dubious shelter of a juniper tree, buttoned our coats tight about us, and started up the switch-back trail toward the summit. Each step was a battle with loose sand that came half way to our knees. The wind sucked between chimney-like chasms and whooped it up with catcalls of derision. It hurled sand sharp as cactus thorns in our faces.

Balancing herself on the edge of a precipice, Lucia shuddered. "I can't help feeling that hundreds of unfriendly eyes are watching us climb this trail the way they watched old Coronado as he passed on his way to Cibola back in 1500. Felicitas may want us. But the rest of the Pueblo may not want us messing around in their Christmas—if they have one, which I doubt."

As we pulled ourselves, gasping and sputtering, to a shelf of rock between gargoyled pinnacles on the summit, we jumped as something separated itself from the shadows. It was only a little girl with a yellow shawl pinned with an enormous safety pin under her chin. She crooked a brown finger and whispered shyly, "We have been expecting you for a long time."

As we followed her along the treeless, solid-rock streets of Acoma, we collected an intrigued procession. Silent, round-eyed little boys in blue overalls followed us; dogs sniffed our legs; a lop-eared burro trailed along; and a flat-eyed billy goat brought up the rear. From nearby corrals, sheep baaed, horses snorted and stood on their hind legs. In the midst of the clamor, the little girl paused at the foot of a ladder that leaned against a three-storied adobe whose levels were set back from each other like giants' steps. On the topmost layer stood Felicitas making encouraging gestures.

Gritting our teeth, we climbed the ladder in spite of the onslaughts of the wind. From the first roof top, deep adobe steps sunk in the walls led to the top floor and Felicitas. Those steps gave on illimit-

able space on either side. There wasn't so much as a hand rail.

"I can get up, all right," Lucia wailed, "if I do it fast on the run. But I know I can never get back down. I'll have to spend the rest of my life up here between the desert and the sky."

Felicitas' home was a skyey penthouse on the topmost layer. Little windows cut in thick walls looked out over space and swirling light far below. In a corner fireplace no bigger than a beehive, piñon chunks blazed and chuckled. By it stood a piñon Christmas tree decorated with dime store tinsel and shining glass balls. It looked exactly like the one we had left at home beside our own corner fireplace. In a hollowed-out niche in the thick walls, Saint Estebán, the patron saint of Acoma, smiled in Spanish dignity. So he might have looked in any adobe house in Santa Fe.

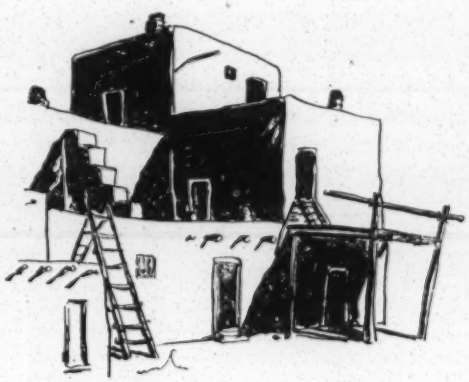
An ornate American brass bed was spread with gorgeous Navajo blankets. In a corner stood an outmoded sewing machine. From an oilcloth-covered table came the fragrance of crisp loaves fresh baked in outside conical ovens.

A girl came tripping in, her feet enclosed in white deerskin boots reaching to her knees. "I dance in the Ceremonial," she explained, pointing to her beautiful costume. Crimson skirts swirled about her boot tops. A fringed shawl floated like a mantle down her back. Turquoise and silver jewelry, enough to stock a curio store, glittered from her neck, her arms, her ears, her fingers. Straight black hair, with purple high lights, hung to her waist and her big eyes were slightly aslant in her face. The eyes and two circles of cerise paint on her high cheekbones made her look as if she had stepped from an Oriental tapestry.

"We dance the Butterfly Ceremonial," she said. "Listen, you can hear the drums pounding from the kiva."

"We'll have to hurry," Felicitas urged. "We dance in the old church. But first, María has something to show you."

Out we hurried and looked at the space-bounded great steps down to the next roof. "How are you going to get down?" I hissed in Lucia's ear. With her usual aplomb, she solved the difficulty. She simply sat down and bumped, bumped



down the steps to the accompaniment of laughter and encouraging cheers of Indians assembled on the roof top.

What María had to show us was a new baby—the most beautiful infant we had ever seen. It lay on a cradle board softened with a modern pillow. Its skin was sun-mellowed adobe, its hair as thick and black as the fur of a little rabbit.

"What are you going to call her?" Lucia asked before I could kick her to remind her of good Indian manners.

But María was equal to the social emergency. "What do you think would be a nice name?" she asked.

Not to be outdone, Lucia met the occasion with inspiration. "Rosemary," she said, "because she is a Rose, and Mary for Christmas."

The little room buzzed with approbation. "Next week the priest comes and we baptize the baby," María planned. "He only gets up here once a year. You Catholic?"

I could see Lucia gulp with longing. More than anything in all the world, she wanted to be godmother to an Indian baby on ancient Acoma. "No," she faltered.

People kept crowding into María's thick-walled little room—men in blue jeans, their heads bound with yellow and purple *bandas;* women swathed to the eyebrows in bright woolen shawls; children in overalls and gay cotton dresses. "My father, the Governor; my uncle, the War Chief; my brother, my husband." Brown hands were extended. "*Feliz Navidad,*" kindly voices kept repeating. "*Feliz Navidad.*" Never had we felt so welcome and never so at home as in this bare, whitewashed room perched high on ancient Acoma. "Stay all night," the Governor urged. "Stay all week. There will be more dancing. And we elect officers for the next year."

Bent before the wind howling over the barren Rock, we struggled toward the old, twin-belfried church. A procession formed again behind us—men, women, children, dogs, burro, and billy goat. As we stumbled into the semi-darkness of the vast building, Lucia whistled in my ear, "An Indian dance with Oriental accents, given in a 17th century Spanish Catholic church! Pinch me!"

That church was built on the very brink of the cliffs that dropped straight down four hundred feet to the desert below. Sixty feet upward its two-feet-thick adobe walls soared to a ceiling upheld by beams that were the shafts of giant pine trees. "Every pound of adobe dirt was dragged up on the backs of our ancients," Felicitas boasted. "And those great pine trees came in on Indian shoulders from the Turquoise Mountain in the country of the Navajo." Little slits of windows looked off into light-filled space. They made the church seem like a lighthouse perched high above a sea of color.

Nearer and nearer came the pom-pom of the drums. The voices of the chanters echoed along the high ceiling. Deep, resonant tones were lifted in spaced, monotonous syllables. As they sang, the chanters bobbed gently up and down to the rhythm of the dancers. Feet patted the hard-packed adobe floor. Each woman dancer held evergreen branches in outstretched hands. Nearly all the feminine dancing was done with those dramatic arms. The feet simply followed the intricacies of the masculine dance formation. Each face was serious. Dark eyes glowed with religious fervor. Some of the younger dancers among the men had short American hair cuts in contrast with the loose flowing locks of their elders. But their expressions and abandon were the same.

Hour after hour the Indians danced in the old church on Acoma. The drums increased their tempo. Bells jangled faster and faster on bronzed legs. Rattle gourds hissed in outspread arms. Fox skins dangled down sweating backs. Parrot and eagle feathers seemed in full flight from black heads.

Lucia and I clung together to keep a grasp on reality. An early winter dusk seeped in the little slits of windows. It veiled the strange world outside in an indigo net. A few candles were lighted here and there, but they only emphasized the shadows and the murk. In spite of ourselves we were transported; we floated in that indigo blue atmosphere. The old church tore loose from its rock moorings and seemed to float, too, like some bewitched galleon.

The dancing stopped. The wearied dancers disappeared kiva-ward. Back they came in blue levis and cowboy shirts—in calico petticoats and gay head shawls. Without so much as catching a breath, they walked to the steps of the great altar where candles had been lighted. Here in a bower of piñon and juniper boughs was

the Christ Child surrounded by the animals of the barnyard. The Indians of Acoma seemed strangely at home in such a scene. Through the half-open door came the baaing of their own sheep and the restless pacing of their own flocks.

On either side of the manger stood a young Acoma lad. He wore rough ranchman's shoes and the big-checked shirt of the cowboy. In his hands was an ancient rifle of Civil War vintage. He was there to guard *El Santo Niño*. His eyes were deep and serious with the vast responsibility. In spite of his modern American clothes and his Spanish setting, he was all Indian.

Silently, without benefit of clergy, the Indians of Acoma gathered about the manger. No word was spoken. No service was held. In that 17th century Catholic church, which a priest visited but once a year, the "uncivilized" Indians of Acoma presented their gifts like the Wisemen of old—blue and purple corn, scarlet chile, exquisite pottery made by their own hands. And they gave what was probably most precious to them—boxes of soda crackers and cans of milk.

As we crept out of the old church, a boy was ringing the ancient bell in one of the square belfries. Its tones reached only the few on the barren Rock. As far as the eye could see in the gathering darkness, there was only desolation.

Felicitas went as far as the edge of the Rock with us and loaded our arms with her beautiful pottery. It made the gifts we had slipped under her piñon tree seem tawdry and without meaning. All the way down the trail we could see the blur of her shawl-wrapped figure outlined against the winter sky. Fainter and fainter came the notes of her repeated, "*Feliz Navidad, Feliz Navidad.*"

We rode home through dry arroyos and hub-deep sand, under the Christmas stars. Once the clip-clop of a horse sounded in the darkness and we could just make out the figure of a mounted Indian headed late for Christmas on the Rock. "*Feliz Navidad,*" he greeted, lisping his labials like a good Spaniard. There was a little spark in the darkness as he passed. He had lighted his waning *cigarrillo* with an Anglo gadget known as a lighter.

But on the Rock the Christmas candle lifted high over a dark world.

This is one of a series of sketches about the Indian-Spanish-Anglo cultures of the Southwest which Dorothy L. Pillsbury is writing for COMMON GROUND.

The illustration is by Bernadine Custer.

Social Welfare

The Conference Bulletin

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Volume 57 FALL, 1953 No. 1

IN THIS ISSUE

REPORT on OPERATION QUESTIONNAIRE

by MERRISS CORNELL

BASIC PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

by JOE R. HOFFER

PLAN NOW

to attend

THE 81ST ANNUAL MEETING

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. May 9-14, 1954

THE CONFERENCE BULLETIN
of the
National Conference of Social Work
22 West Gay St., Columbus 15, Ohio

President: Brooks Potter, Boston
Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York City
Executive Secretary: Joe R. Hoffer, Columbus, Ohio
Editor of the Bulletin: Eula Wyatt, Columbus, Ohio

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Editorial

It is customary for us to devote the fall issue of the Bulletin to a listing of our 30 year members. We still think it is a good idea because it is the continuing members who make it possible for the Annual Meeting, our publications, our services to the state, regional and international conferences to continue year after year. However, because a number of significant developments have occurred which have implications for the Conference and all its members, we have taken the liberty to break our normal pattern.

The Conference has undertaken a continous self-evaluation of the Annual Meeting by the membership of the Conference. This is conceived of as the introduction of research as an integral part of administration and planning. It has importance we believe not only to the National Conference but to every group in the social welfare field which has a forum, planning, action or educational function. It is important because there has been relatively little evaluation in our field of the effectiveness of the "conference technique" in agency training, local, state, regional, national and international meetings. It is our belief that the findings will be helpful to the National Conference and the methods and techniques useful to our members.

The first project in this program was Operation Q, which has been summarized by Merriss Cornell, our research consultant. In this project the major goal was the analysis of attendees. The article on Basic Issues and Problems takes us into the area of long-term program planning and the vital subject of timeliness. We need to make a complete diagnosis of each of the problems and issues and formulate each problem into sub-problems and specific issues so that an interested group can make a fruitful attack on the possible solutions.

The film listing illustrates an ever growing tool for our use in presenting facts and defining issues.

We hope in the future to continue to keep you up to date on these and similar developments. J. R. H.

Headquarters Hotels for 1954 Annual Meeting

The Ambassador and Ritz-Carleton hotels will be headquarters for the National Conference of Social Work at the 81st Annual Meeting which will be held in Atlantic City May 9-14. Associate groups have been assigned to the following hotels;

Advisory Committee on Citizen Participation of Community Chests and Councils of America and the National Social Welfare Assembly	**Ambassador**
American Association of Group Workers	**Chelsea**
American Assoc. of Medical Social Workers	**Ritz-Carlton**
American Assoc. of Psychiatric Social Workers	**Brighton**
American Association of Social Workers	**Chelsea**
American Cancer Society	**Shelburne**
American Federation of International Institutes	**Brighton**
American Home Economics Association	**Brighton**
American Legion Natl. Child Welfare Division	**Traymore**
American National Red Cross	**Ritz-Carlton**
American Public Welfare Association	**Ambassador**
Association for the Study of Community Organization	**Ambassador**
Child Welfare League of America	**Ambassador**
Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc.	**Ambassador**
Committee on Social Service Exchange, Community Chests and Councils of America	**Ambassador**
Council on Social Work Education	**Traymore**
Family Service Association of America	**Mayflower**
Florence Crittenton Homes Association	**Ritz-Carlton**
National Association of School Social Workers	**Madison**
National Association of Training Schools and Juvenile Agencies	**Shelburne**
National Association on Service to Unmarried Parents	**Ritz-Carlton**
National CIO Community Services Committee	**Ritz-Carlton**
National Committee on the Social Aspects of Epilepsy	**Ritz-Carlton**
National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers	**Brighton**
National Travelers Aid Association	**Shelburne**
Planned Parenthood Federation of America	**Traymore**
The Salvation Army	**Madison**

Conference Calendar

The following meetings have been held recently or are being planned for the near future:

October 2 and 3—Program Committee, New York City

November 4-6—Institute on Methods of Social Action, New Orleans

November 20 and 21—Executive Committee, Columbus

January 8 and 9—Program Committee, New York

January 28—State Conference Secretaries, St. Louis

February 13 and 14—Steering Committee of the Committee on Nominations, Columbus

March 22—Meeting of Officers, New York.

1954 Annual Meeting

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The Program Committee met in the Carnegie Endowment International Center in New York City on Friday and Saturday, October 2 and 3, under the chairmanship of Brooks Potter, President of the Conference. All of the Section and Common Service Committee chairmen were present, along with most of the members-at-large.

During the course of the two days attention was given to the theme for the 1954 Annual Meeting, subjects and speakers for the General Sessions and the plans for the Section and Common Service Committee meetings. The Program Committe is responsible for the meetings held on Sunday evening, Monday, Wednesday and Friday during the period of the Annual Meeting. It has no responsibility for the content or scheduling of the Associate Group meetings, although frequently suggestions of subjects which might be covered in one or more Associate Group meetings are passed on to the appropriate organizations.

Two innovations for the 1954 Annual Meeting were discussed by the Committee. One was the selection of three social scientists to deliver the Lindeman Memorial Lectures, which were described in the summer issue of the *Conference Bulletin*. Each of the social scientists will speak at a meeting of one of the three Sections of the Conference. The second was the abstracts which had been submitted by Conference members and others in response to the announcement that the Program Committe was interested in knowing about papers which might be available for the program. Approximately thirty abstracts were received prior to October 1, the closing date for the 1954 Annual Meeting, and have been duplicated and distributed to the appropriate Sections and Committees. These are now being considered along with other program suggestions received from various sources.

Table of Contents

	Page
Basic Problems and Issues	9, 10
Books—New List	12
Conference Calendar	2
Editorial	2
Film Notes	8
Film Program for Atlantic City	11
Hotels for Associated Groups	2
International Conference	4
Madras Book Exhibit	4
NCSW Publications	3, 11
New Orleans Institute	4
Nominations Suggestions	4
Officers of the Conference	5
Operation Questionnaire	6, 7
Plans for 81st Annual Meeting	3

ASSOCIATE GROUPS

A meeting of the program representatives of the Associate Groups of the Conference was held in New York on Monday, October 5. This was devoted to a general discussion of plans for the 1954 Annual Meeting. One of the chief items on the agenda was the Combined Associate Group meetings. Various possible topics for these meetings were discussed, and the Associate Groups were asked to consider the matter further, so that they would be in a position to indicate which subjects they felt were to be of importance when they were asked to do so.

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Institute on Methods of Social Action

The New Orleans Institute was sponsored by the National Conference of Social Work and the Louisiana Conference of Social Welfare. The theme "Improving Your Community and State—Blue Print for Action in Social Welfare", evoked much interest. More than 200 persons were registered attendees. The National Resource consultants were; Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Warren Schmidt, Area Project Coordinator, Adult Education Association, Nelson Jackson, Director of Community Services, National Urban League, Joseph P. Anderson, Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, Mrs. Geneva Mathiason, Executive Secretary, Committee on the Aging, National Welfare Assembly, Margaret Berry, United Community Services, and Berkley F. Watterson, National C.I.O. Community Services Committee. The very high quality of the meetings seemed to indicate publication of the proceedings. Plans are under way and Irving Weissman and Ludwig Guckenheimer have been chosen as editors.

News of The International Conference of Social Work

The Seventh International Conference of Social Work will be held in Toronto, Canada on June 27 to July 2, 1954. The theme is "Promoting Social Welfare through Self-Help and Cooperative Action". Registration must be made in advance not later than April 1, 1954, must be accompanied by the $10.00 fee and sent to the U. S. Committee of the Conference at 345 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y. It will be necessary to limit the registrations from Canada and the United States, in which case those received first will be given preference. Attendance will be limited to dues-paying members of the International Conference of Social Work. Six writers have been chosen to prepare working papers based on discussions of various phases of the theme by organizations and local groups. If you are interested in participating in these preliminary discussions, the U. S. Committee will be glad to send you more information.

Study tours are being planned for attendance at the Conference, an orientation seminar and group travel after the Conference is over. Detailed information on these tours is also available from the U. S. Committee.

Proceedings of the Madras Conference are now available from the U. S. Committee. The title is "Social Service and the Standard of Living" and includes the papers presented at the Plenary Sessions, the reports of the Commissions, the Open Discussions, the meetings of the International Schools of Social Work and sundry "official papers". The book should be of special interest in continuity of development from Madras to Toronto. Price: 3.00 to members; 4.00 to non-members.

The Madras Combined Book Exhibit Becomes A Permanent Library

American publishers and social welfare organizations contributed 800 books to a Combined Book Exhibit at the 6th International Conference of Social Work held in Madras India last December. Worth mentioning is the fact that, they paid more for the privilege of displaying their books in India with scant hope of receiving enough orders to repay them for the cost. Their fees were turned over to the Indian Conference to defray expenses of the exhibit.

The whole project was an interesting example of cooperation between a number of groups. The NCSW contributed its staff services in promoting and planning the project. The U.S. Committee ICSW sponsored the project and helped developed it. The publishers furnished the books and paid the exhibit costs. The U.S. Department of State transported the books to Madras. The Indian Conference of Social Work made all local arrangements and printed the catalogue.

In May the entire exhibit was presented to the Indian Conference of Social Work in formal ceremonies at the Jehangir Art Gallery in Bombay. Miss Evelyn W. Hersey, Social Welfare Attache, American Embassy at New Delhi made the presentation. Dr. Shri Jivraj Mehta, Minister for Finance, Prohibition and Industries received the gift as President of the Indian Conference of Social Work.

Dr. Mehta said the books would be used as a nucleus of a library to be established by the Indian Conference at its central office in an easily accessible area of the city of Bombay. Before going permanently to the office of the Indian Conference, the 800 books were placed on display for three days in a public hall in Bombay.

"The books on social work could be used by Indian students for solving problems facing them." (Free Press Journal May 1, 1953).

Copies of the Madras Combined Book Exhibit Catalogue are available on request at the office of the U. S. Committee.

Nominations Suggestions

The Steering Committee of the Committee on Nominations will meet in Columbus February 13 & 14. All Conference members are urged to send to the National Office the names of persons qualified for positions as officers of the Conference or members of Committees or Sections. Accompanying these suggestions should be information about these possible candidates. The more information the Committe has the better will be its recommendations to the Nominating Committee. Special forms for submitting names may be secured from the National Office but these are not essential. It is the suggestions we need.

CONFERENCE PERSONALITIES

PRESIDENT

BROOKS POTTER, a lawyer of Boston, Mass., is retiring president of the Family Service Association of America. He is the first lay president we have had for a number of years. His work with Mass. Welfare organizations furnished excellent background for leadership of the Conference.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

MEYER KESTNBAUM has been president of the firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx since 1941 and has been with the company since his graduation from Harvard. Graduate School of Business Administration. He has been a director of the Community Fund of Metropolitan Chicago, the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations and other civic organizations. President of the Welfare Council, Board of governors of International House, he is now chairman of the Board of Trustees of the committee for Economic Development.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

C. W. PFEIFFER has spent his life in the field of Community organization. He is now executive secretary of the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region where he has been since 1942. He has worked with Community Chests and Councils of Social Agencies in Minnesota and Missouri and on the national council as Board member. He is a member of the Executive Committee of National Health and Welfare Retirement Association.

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT

JOSEPH P. ANDERSON is Executive Secretary of the A.A.S.W. He is secretary of the Council on Social Work Education, a member of the National Budget Committee and the Executive Committee of the NSWA. He is active in International Social Work and a member of the U. S. Committee.

SECRETARY

HARLEIGH B. TRECKER Secretary, is Dean of the School of Social work of the University of Connecticut where he has been for the past two years. For ten years prior to that he was professor at the School of Social Work, University of California, Los Angeles, California. He is president of the American Association of Group Workers and has written a number of articles, and books on group work. His most recent publication is "How to Work with Groups" by Woman's press 1952.

TREASURER

ARCH MANDEL is Assoc. Executive Director of the Community Chests and Councils of America where he has served for a number of years.

He has been treasurer of the National Conference of Social Work for the past 17 years.

OPERATION QUESTIONNAIRE

by Merriss Cornell

A Report on the Cleveland Analysis of Attendees

At Cleveland – 1953

This report is a summary of the study of registrants at the Cleveland Annual Meeting, 1953. The study was designed to help in the process of evaluating the National Conference, by providing information about the people who attend and some of their reasons for attending. Your Program Committee will use the results in planning future Annual Meetings. We are indebted to the many persons who participated in planning and carrying out the study to its completion as well as the registrants who provided the basic data. (See the *Bulletin*, Summer 1953 for more background on the study).

Most registrants cooperated in filling out the questionnaires. The 4698 questionnaires that were sufficiently complete to tabulate represented 9 out of 10 of the registrants. Some of the attendees in the rush to complete registration turned in blank or nearly blank questionnaires. Others went to the other extreme and checked too much.

WHO ATTENDS?

A little less than 90 per cent of the attendees reported that they were employed in social work. Lay attendance was small — 272 persons or 5.8 per cent. The only sizeable group among the lay persons were 97 housewives who were board members or volunteers. The following percentages are based on the 4698 attendees reporting:

	Per cent
Employed in social work	88.8
Other occupations—lay persons	5.8
Students	5.4

The 88.8 per cent who reported that they were employed in social work represented 4174 persons. The largest part of this group was employed in voluntary non-sectarian agencies:

		Per cent
Voluntary		60.6
Sectarian	17.6	
Non-sectarian	43.0	
Governmental		37.5
Others (and no report)		1.9

SPECIALTY

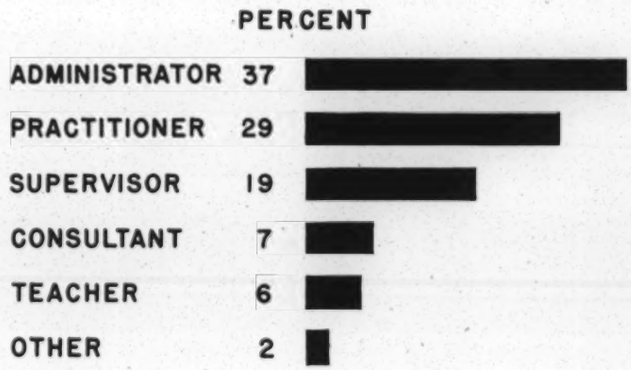
Specialty in social work was difficult to classify. One out of 8 attendees checked more than one specialty. Others did not find their specialty listed and may have checked a class that was not appropriate. In the following tabulation each specialty was counted whether checked alone or with another:

	Per cent
Child welfare	22.4
Group work and recreation	15.4
Family service	13.5
Medical social work	12.8
Community organization	12.6
Mental health services	12.6
Public assistance	9.6
Research	2.9
School social work	2.7
Other	11.3

Among the "others" were a variety of persons such as, teachers, administrators, clergy, and probation, correctional, and rehabilitation workers.

POSITION

Some have said that the administrator is about the only person who attends the Conference. The administrator did account for a little over one-third of the registrants but he was closely followed by the practitioner. The percentages in the following chart were based on the 4174 registrants employed in social work:



SALARY

The annual salaries of social workers attending the Conference were well above the salaries of all social workers reported in the Bureau of Labor Statistics study in 1950:

	Per cent Cleveland 1953	B.L.S. 1950
Under $3,600	19.1	71.0
$3,600 to $5,999	56.5	25.4
$6,000 and over	24.4	3.6

EXPENSES PAID?

The employing agency paid the expenses of nearly one-half of all the social workers attending at Cleveland. If the attendees from Cleveland Metropolitan Area were excluded, the proportion with all expenses paid would be increased by about four per cent. The following percentages are based on 4085 social workers who answered the question:

	Per cent
All or nearly all	49.3
Partial	21.9
None	28.8

Could we not find a way for more practitioners to attend this Social Welfare Forum? Many of our higher-salaried administrators have their expenses paid.

HERE, THERE, AND EVERYWHERE

The Conference can be proud of the wide geographical representation of its attendees. Of course, there were:

	Registrants	Per cent
From Cleveland Area	702	14.9
From Ohio	1161	24.7

But represented among the registrants were:

4 out of 5 of the 168 U. S. Metropolitan Areas
46 of the 48 States and the District of Columbia
4 U. S. Territories
3 Canadian Provinces
18 Foreign Countries

Besides Ohio there were seven other states with more than 100 registrants, they were in order:

	Registrants
New York	732
Michigan	341
Illinois	339
Pennsylvania	318
District of Columbia	140
Indiana	128
Massachusetts	111
California	86

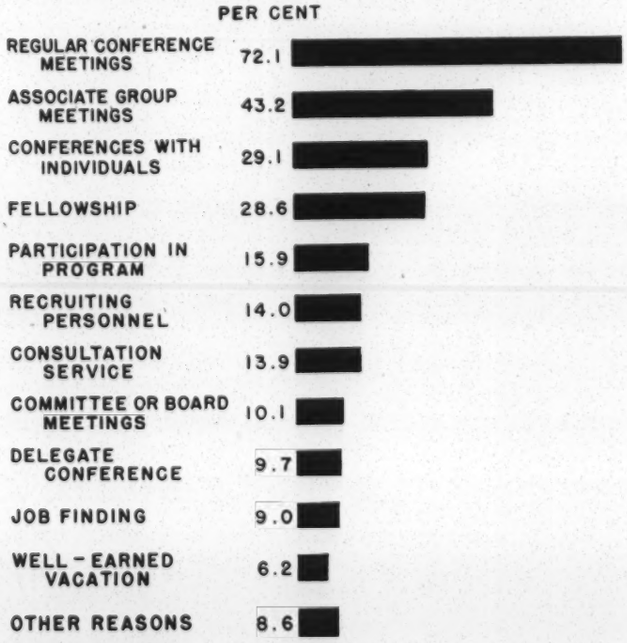
GEOGRAPHIC LEVEL OF OPERATION

The Conference reaches down to the grass roots and at the same time has wide geographic representation. Nearly three-fifths of the social workers report that their agency operates on the local level:

	Per cent
Local level	56.9
State or district	24.4
National or regional	13.2
International	5.5

WHY ATTEND?

One of the biggest questions for the Conference planner is - why do people attend? Each person was asked to check three major reasons. A few persons checked more than three but more tended to check less than three. The percentages in the check are based on the total of 4698 attendees reporting:



MEMBERSHIP

Over two-thirds of the persons attending the National Conference reported affiliation thru either individual or agency membership. Many of the attendees failed to answer the questions about membership or did not know whether their agency had membership in the National Conference. The results were as follows:

Individual or agency membership	Per cent
Both	16.1
Individual only	21.6
Agency only	29.9
Neither	14.8
No report	17.6

DAILY ATTENDANCE

Closely related to reasons for attendance is the daily pattern. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday June 1, 3, and 5 were set aside for regular Conference Meetings with the opening session coming on Sunday evening Tuesday and Thursday June 2 and 4 plus the three early meeting days of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday were for Associate and other special Group Meetings. The average attendee stayed about four and one-half days. The days from Sunday thru Friday were by far the biggest. About 7 out of 8 persons were in attendance on Tuesday - the peak day. These percentages are also based on 4698 attendees:

		Per cent
Friday	May 29	9.0
Saturday	May 30	14.9
Sunday	May 31	50.8
Monday	June 1	78.8
Tuesday	June 2	87.3
Wednesday	June 3	83.5
Thursday	June 4	71.5
Friday	June 5	49.0

PAST ATTENDANCE

We were curious to learn what if any relationship existed between attendance at Cleveland in 1953 and attendance during recent years. Registrants were asked to check each of the last five meetings they had attended (1948 to 1952) or some earlier meeting. About 30 per cent of the 4698 attendees reporting checked no previous meeting. But among the other 70 per cent, every possible pattern of attendance was represented—from 322 persons reporting at least 6 straight years to 878 persons with but one prior year. The summary of all previous years checked is as follows:

	Per cent
No previous meeting	30.0
Chicago 1952	34.4
Atlantic City 1951	27.4
Atlantic City 1950	26.7
Cleveland 1949	31.7
Atlantic City 1948	22.6
Some earlier meeting	35.1

BUT WHAT NEXT?

We could now put together the imaginary "typical" attendee but we need to know something more important in our evaluation of Annual Meetings. We need to know how he thinks and reacts toward the various meetings and sessions, we need answers to such questions as:

Do you approve of the choice of topics for discussion? of speakers? of discussants? of panel participants? Which topics attracted large attendance? Did the group participate actively in the discussion?

These and many other questions would form a framework for a more complete evaluation. Let's learn more in '54!

Film Notes

by JOHN HORWITZ

CHILDREN IN TROUBLE (10 minutes) was produced by March of Time for the New York State Youth Commission, 66 Beaver St., Albany 7, N. Y. It devotes itself to demonstrating a single principle: joint action by police, schools, home, church and social agencies can cope with juvenile delinquency far more effectively than any group alone. The picture includes several effective animated diagrams.

PASSION FOR LIFE (85 minutes) distributed by Brandon Films, 200 W. 57th St., New York City. This *French language film with English titles* tells the simple story of a village school teacher who completely changes the flavor of life in his community by the impact of his steadfast devotion to youth. This film is the definitive presentation of "modern" education in terms of the spirit of free inquiry and a passion for freedom—even freedom for children. Without an attractive building, virtually without educational materials, the teacher opens the world to his children and through their lively curiosity stimulates a new civic pride in the adult inhabitants of the village.

TALE OF TWO TOWNS (40 minutes) distributed by Audio Visual Education Center, 4028 Administration Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan. A deliberate and detailed presentation of the effect upon civic organization of personal rivalries in one town and a good natured give-and-take in another. Here, in homely episode after episode is a realistic picture of the mesh of relationship that goes into community organization process. People who live in middle-sized cities, especially, will recognize many familiar types; people who can make or break the collective enterprise every time.

PLAYTOWN, U.S.A. (23 minutes) Association Films, 35 W. 45th Street, New York City 19, N. Y. A blunt exposition of the problems involved in organizing community support for a public recreation program. How recreation fits into people's lives and how they can exert themselves to get adequate facilities and a competent staff.

STEP BY STEP (45 minutes) Institute of Film Techniques, C.C.N.Y., 139 St. & Convent Avenue, New York City, N. Y. In telling how "detached" workers approach and help teen-age youth in delinquent and potentially-delinquent street gangs, this picture gives a notably vivid treatment of group work process. The undergraduate volunteer who takes on the task has surprising success with the most demanding problems, but the overall approach is clear and thought-provoking.

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE (20 minutes) R K O for National Federation of Settlements, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City 22, N. Y. — A vivid presentation, through the eyes of a lonely old man, of the variety of services offered by a modern settlement house. The "story line" centers around a retired shoemaker's dream of setting up a repair service in the House as a community project. While the particular undertaking may be a unique one, the overall treatment of the social roots and objectives of the Agency apply in many other settings.

Philosophy and Social Welfare

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Basic Problems and Issues in Social Welfare

by JOE R. HOFFER

What are the basic problems and issues in social welfare today? How can we marshall our forces to solve them? These and many other questions have been uppermost in our minds for some time.

The National Conference of Social Work feels that if we move with appropriate care and deliberateness in dealing with the basic issues troubling us, we might do much to clarify them, stimulate fruitful consideration of them generally, and assist materially in the advancement of social welfare.

The field of social welfare has vast forum resources in the International Conference of Social Work, the National Conference, state conferences, national agency meetings and many special conferences. Our major task now is to define our targets and close our ranks for the achievement of our common goals.

The Joint Committee on Program Planning (N.C.S.W. and N.S.W.A.) came to grips with this vast problem and presented some tentative conclusions in a Progress Report on Basic Problems and Issues for Forum Treatment. This report grew out of a letter which was sent early in 1951 to approximately one hundred leaders in the social welfare field, and approximately 60 Associated Group members of the National Conference and Affiliates of the Assembly, asking for their views as to the most important social welfare problems and issues requiring forum consideration during the next two or three years both in the Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work and in meetings sponsored by other organizations.

The following criteria were used in selecting the problems and issues:

1. It must be one on which the social welfare community has a contribution to make;
2. It must be generic or of general interest to the social welfare field;
3. It must be appropriate for forum treatment.

The problems and issues which emerged from the material received may be summarized in the following manner:

I. Factors Effecting the Development of Social Service

1. *How can we secure better public understanding of social welfare?*

   The general public appears to have little understanding of the underlying philosophy and concepts on which social welfare services are based. Much of the publicity about social welfare in the past has been based on a purely emotional appeal with little interpretation of the values inherent in welfare programs or of the reasons why there is a need for them. Many social workers have shied away from telling their story and have been accused of lacking a news sense.

2. *Is social work essential to defense?*

   Social workers and social welfare organizations are in a dilemma regarding their role in the mounting mobilization and defense efforts. The essentiality of social welfare is being questioned by some individuals and groups who feel that expenditures for the armed forces should have priority and that social welfare services and expenditures should be curtailed.

3. *How do the changing patterns of population and of community organization affect social welfare services?*

   The country today is faced with many new and broader social problems due to population growth and changes. These problems include housing, with its pressures on the family; the need for additional recreation facilities, new challenges in race relations and unprecedented demands on existing health facilities.

II. Functions of Social Work

1. *What can we do to insure security for all our citizens?*

   The UN Declaration of Human Rights states "Everyone has a right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family". Social workers believe that this principle is basic and that social services, including economic aid, should be available to all persons in need regardless of geographic location, residence, race or religion. In order to accomplish this, adequate financing of both governmental and voluntary programs is essential. Recently there have been evidences of citizen resistance to public spending for welfare, as well as to contributing for increased budgets for voluntary agencies.

2. *What should be the role of social work in preventing human erosion and waste?*

   As we continue in a period of crisis and the nation moves into high gear in terms of mobilization, the importance of preserving and strengthening each individual increases. We need to look at precisely the nature of the problem and the amount of loss when persons do not function because of emotional and social maladjustments, lack of education and physical handicaps.

3. *To what extent should social workers participate in social action?*

   It is commonly accepted that social workers are the servants of the people and exist for the purpose of being made use of by them. There are some who believe that in this capacity they should confine their activities to providing knowledge about matters within their special competence.

III. Relationships Within the Field

1. *How can we preserve local initiative and citizen responsibility in social welfare?*

   There are many factors in both public and voluntary welfare programs which tend to discourage participation and a sense of responsibility on the part of citizens generally. Citizens feel remote from the apparent sources of authority and as a result engage in negative criticism and irresponsible opposition.

2. *What should be the inter-relationship of voluntary and government effort in social welfare?*

   There appears to be increasing misunderstanding regarding the role and relationship of public and voluntary agencies. In some places competitive feeling has developed which has resulted in poorer quality of service and higher costs to taxpayers and contributors.

3. *What should be the role of social work in providing health services?*

   The Federal Emergency Relief Administration made a signal contribution to the welfare of needy persons when it declared medical care to be an essential of life. Welfare agencies are one of the largest purchasers of medical services today. Therefore, sound policy and procedures established within the welfare framework would provide leadership and guidance for the administration of medical services for other groups in the population.

4. *Have we over-specialized?*

   Local planning groups are almost universally concerned with health, welfare, and recreation. Nationally there is a tendency to segregate these three fields despite their close interrelationship as parts of a total community program of services. In addition, many welfare services and problem areas cut across functional lines, e.g. services to age groups, rehabilitation, delinquency and crime, etc. Our practice of setting up categories raises questions not only in terms of planning but also in administration. There is some sentiment that all categories should be abolished and that only need should be the criterion for eligibility.

5. *What should be our role in relation to displaced persons and migrants?*

   The concern with immigration and problems of resettlement will be a continuing one. As tensions increase in the world and as boundaries shift, the number of refugees will increase and attention will have to be given to the solution of their problems. More than 250,000 individuals have entered the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. Problems of Americanization, education, etc. need attention. In addition, the problem of migrants within this country is increasing in importance and needs special attention.

6. *Federal and State Relationships*

   The President has appointed a Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to study and investigate all the present activities in which the Federal aid is extended to state and local government. The appointment of this Commission has highlighted an important area of relationships which is of vital concern to the field of social welfare. They are some who believe that "Charity belongs at home". Still others believe that the federal government should assume even greater responsibilities. In general, it is agreed that we must recognize substantial areas of gray in the landscape of federal, state and local government.

Next Steps

Our first task, I believe, is to re-examine these problems and issues in the light of present developments and the state of the nation and the world. An attempt could be made to determine some priorities although that will be a difficult job. Individual groups may have more success because of their specific objectives and resources. The following criteria have been suggested which individual organizations with forum responsibilities might use in determining priorities.

a. The problems and issues should be appropriate for inclusion in the program of a social welfare organization and for the particular forum or program in which it is included;

b. The seriousness of the problem to the person affected;

c. The seriousness of the problem to the public including the family;

d. The frequency of the problem;

e. The extent of knowledge and techniques available to enable us to do something about the problem if the forum extends beyond the area of research;

f. The readiness of the public to do something about the problem. In other words, as between two problems otherwise equal, there would be sense in tackling the one which the public is willing to accept.

Members of the Conference are requested to review these tentative proposals and send their comments and suggestions to the Conference office. A future issue of the Bulletin will be devoted to the presentation of the returns and the data will be referred to appropriate groups for their study and attention.

Film Program for Atlantic City

by JOHN HORWITZ, *NCSW Film Chairman*

Screening of films produced by or for member agencies will be a feature of the program planned by the Film Committee for the Atlantic City Conference next May. There also will be the usual series of showings of notable new films of interest to social workers.

Agencies which have produced sound movies of their own on budgets of $500 *or less* are urged to write to John Horwitz, Film Committee Chairman, care of NCSW, 22 W. Gay St., Columbus, Ohio. The Film Committee will go over descriptions of available pictures and plans to preview close to two dozen, in order to select three or four low-budget "home made" agency pictures for presentation at the Conference. "Shoe string" productions can have real merit and their makers are urged to write and "tell all". However, these films will not be in competition with professionally produced product.

Selected films professionally produced for social agency public relations will be presented at a special showing at the Conference. Agencies, chests and national bodies that feel they have something "out of the ordinary" in the field of interpretation are invited to forward a brief description to Film Committee at the NCSW office.

Pictures dealing with substantive problems and processes in social work and related fields will continue to be the feature attraction of our film schedule. The Film Committee is especially interested in learning about pictures spelling out THE "HOW" OF SOCIAL WORK. There are a goodly number of stories about why families break up, how juvenile gangs get into trouble, why social conditions are oppressive. But when it comes to picturing in equal detail the *way* social workers cope with such problems, not too many files are available.

The Film Committee will be busy between now and Conference time with a series of preview sessions, to pick "the cream of the crop" for presentation in Atlantic City. Since it is possible to screen only two or three films of every ten offered, NO PICTURES SHOULD BE SHIPPED FOR PREVIEW UNTIL REQUESTED. Film Committee is, however, very desirous of receiving a descriptive paragraph or two about any and all pictures Conference members feel should be considered.

Elsa Volckmann and a group of film specialists with national agencies in New York City are passing along picture suggestions. A preview panel of film people, social work practitioners and executives in Columbus will be making the final selections and arranging program. John Horwitz, who heads up Film Committee work this year has been active in Columbus, Pittsburgh, Washington, and New York film circles for the past eighteen years.

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R E P O R T

O F

CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER

The Lutheran Church of the Redeemer
Atlanta, Georgia
May 8 and 9, 1947

Sponsored by

Georgia Council of Church Women
Woman's Society of Christian Service
Southeastern Jurisdiction
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Chairman

I. PURPOSE

The Conference was planned in order to bring together "representative" individuals of various racial, cultural, and economic groups for the purpose of interpreting "Human Rights" in the world scene today, and adapting them to local, regional and national practices.

An added purpose was to undergird the forthcoming report of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee and to prepare the leaders of women's organizations of the South to face clearly and understandingly that the denial of human rights to any group anywhere affects the peace and safety of all people everywhere.

II. DELEGATIONS IN ATTENDANCE

A. A total of 212 persons attended the Conference.

B. States represented were Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky, California, Washington, D.C., Virginia, Oklahoma. - Total 13

C. Denominations represented were Methodist, Episcopal, Christian (Disciples), Lutheran, Presbyterian, Jewish, Salvation Army, Baptist, Congregational, Baha'i World Faith, Unitarian-Universalist, African Methodist Episcopal Church, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Total 13.

D. Organizations represented were

Agnes Scott College
American Red Cross
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League
Atlanta Christian Council
Atlanta Civil Liberties Committee
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta Urban League
Atlanta University

Baha'i World Faith
B'nai B'rith Women of Atlanta

Civil Rights Division, U. S. Dept. of Justice
Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church, U. S.

Emory University

Organizations represented (Continued)

Farm Home Administration
Federal Council of Churches

Georgia Citizens Council
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Georgia Conference on Social Welfare
Georgia Council of Christian Women (Disciples)
Georgia Council of Church Women

Athens Council of Church Women
Atlanta Council of Church Women
Augusta Council of Church Women
DeKalb Council of Church Women
Macon Council of Church Women
Marietta Council of Church Women

Georgia School of Technology
Georgia Workers Education Service

Jewish Council of Women

League of Women Voters

Metropolitan Council of Negro Women

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Northern Conference, Woman's Society, Lutheran Synod Georgia-Alabama

Piedmont College

Salvation Army
Scarritt College
Spelman College
Southern Field Division, Nat'l. Urban League
Southern Regional Council
Social Service Index

Teamsters of A. F. of L.

Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council (Episcopal)
Woman's Auxiliary, Synod of Georgia, Presbyterian U.S.
Woman's Bureau, Department of Labor
Woman's Connectional Council, C.M.E. Church
Woman's Division Christian Service (Methodist)

Womans's Society of Christian Service,
Southeastern Jurisdiction

Alabama Conference
Atlanta Conference
(Central Juris.)
Florida Conference
Holston Conference
Kentucky Conference
Louisville Conference
Mississippi Conference
Mississippi Conference
(Central Juris.)
North Alabama Conference
North Carolina Conference
North Georgia Conference
North Mississippi Conference
Savannah Conference
(Central Juris.)
South Carolina Conference
South Carolina Conference
(Central Juris.)
Tennessee Conference
Upper South Carolina Conference
Virginia Conference

III. PROGRAM

Although thirty people are listed as speakers and resource people, we had only one substitution.

A. The first session was for orientation.
Mr. Turner Smith, Chief of Civil Rights Division of U. S. Dept. of Justice defined civil rights under Federal and State legistation.
Dr. Harrison McMaims, First Christian Church, Atlanta - gave the basic spiritual foundations that should underlie study and action in the field of Human Rights. The session was followed by a lunch of cereal served to children of war devasted countries. Persons were privileged to pay any amount they wished for the lunch, the money to be sent to overseas relief. The collection amounted to $100.00.
If the film strips "Seeds of Destiny" and "Brotherhood of Man", shown during the luncheon had preceded it, the collection would have been larger.

B. Three afternoon workshops ran simultaneously for three hours. In the workshops discussion was intensive and full and sometimes heated. Agreement or compromise was attained on all points before others were taken up.

C. The findings committees met from 4:30 to 6:00 o'clock. The reports were mimeographed overnight. The next morning an hour was given to the quiet study of reports so that every person had an opportunity to read through them and have his or her notations ready for discussion.

Two hours were given over to the discussion. Great pains were taken with phrases, etc. I have never been with a more serious or hard working group.

See Report of Findings Attached.

D. The night session presented 3 speakers, Dr. Williams Holmes Border Miss Lillian Schaerer, Dr. Richard Fagley.

IV. FROM THE CLOSING CHALLENGE BY DR. JOHN A. BROKHOFF:

"We have been sitting here, discussing and deciding about basic human rights. If you could put into action the recommendations you have here, you would change society - you would be bringing the Kingdom of God on earth. You have done well in terms of knowledge, but knowledge is not enough - and if there is any unforgivable thing about a convention or conference or study group it is that we spend so much time in studying and thinking and do nothing. We merely work out nice phrases in terms of "we recommend" and do nothing. We need action now. One of the things we have to possess in addition to knowledge is determined aggressiveness. Jesus went to meet his enemies - He did not wait to be called. Aggressive determination depends upon this fundamental: Are these rights or are they not? If they are right, they are a part of God. If they are a part of God, they must be put into action. Too, you must have the courage of your convictions. If you want action, then you must sense the urgency of this day. Communism and fascism flourish on lack of these very human rights. The greatest stake we have is our stake in "Christianity itself."

V. EXPRESSIONS AND EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS FROM DELEGATES IN ATTENDANCE

A. President Kentucky Conference W.S.C.S.: "..The Greatest experience I ever had."

B. A South Carolina minister: "What a great Conference! It should be repeated in every state and community."

C. From Alabama: "'Twas surely a worthwhile Conference. How grateful I am to the Southern Regional Council for this experience."

D. A Social Worker: "It was most stimulating."

E. From Tennessee: "The Human Rights meeting gave me a working inspiration."

F. From Oklahoma: "Thanks sincerely for the grand privilege of being in that very significant meeting. I think I have never attended a meeting any where more progressive and far-reaching in its objective."

G. Vice-Chairman, the Woman's Advisory Committee, Woman's Auxiliary, Presbyterian Church: "I had no idea of the magnitude of that Conference on Human Rights and World Order. Not until I began to meet the people and hear the speakers and until I heard the report of Credentials when all the states and organizations were listed. Thank you with all my heart for what it meant to me personally."

IV. FINDINGS AND ACTION-
Work Shop Groups.

Preamble

> This day... I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therfore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live.

The root problem of world order are spiritual and moral. Character is the fundamental issue in the control of the new weapons of mass destruction. A new sense of human solidarity, of community, is prerequisite to adequate reconstruction and development of war-torn and underprivileged areas. A deeper belief in common moral principle, and in methods of tolerance is necessary to a solution of Soviet Western tension. A greater recognition of the rights of undeveloped peoples is needed to meet the problems in dependent regions. The basically moral and spiritual character of these world order issues challenges the people of our churches.

To meet our Christian responsibility we need to do all we can to help build a common foundation of moral principles to undergird international organization. Central in this task is an effort to restore the sense of the dignity and worth of the human person. This means to present and to practice the concept of man as the child of God in all its implications.

Within the United States there are 13 million Negroes, 2 million or more Mexicans, 5 million Jews, 750,000 Indians and 250,000 Orientals. Add to these the Puerto Rican and the Italian and we have a total of 20 million (between 1/6 and 1/7 of our population) who are restricted as to where they can live, work, go to school, or have recreational advantages. A large part of these groups have no voice in the government under which they live and can get neither protection nor justice in courts.

Human hands must reach up and pull into realization the dreams of the prophet that "They shall set every man under his vine and under his fig tree. None shall make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it" (Micah 4:4)... the dream of the Declaration of Independence that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights".... the dream of the Charter of the United Nations that "We, the people of the United Nations, determined...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...and to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors...."

The right to earn a living is a basic human right without which the human personality becomes undermined by fear, the most devastating of all human emotions. Yet there are an estimated 20 million people in our American population whose right to work is constantly abridged because of economic uncertainty, displacement, prejudice, and discrimination. Among those against whom such factors operate are Negroes, Mexicans, Japanese, Italians, Porto Ricians, Jews, and women of all nationalities and creeds.

Our economy is organized so tightly on the side of capital and management that the right of workers to earn a living can best be safeguarded through unions. Yet unions themselves sometimes limit the right of certain groups to work.

Christian attitudes can settle these differences between groups if we will but apply these principles in a spirit of cooperation and brotherhood. It is the responsibility of the church to minister to all peoples and all groups to the end that the welfare of all groups may be served with equity. The community centered church functions best in such a capacity.

WORKSHOP NUMBER I

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER

Findings

Because human progress can be based only upon certain rights which must be enlarged to include fundamental freedoms of humanity, we must assume as citizens the responsibility of bringing about a situation in which orderly change can take place.

In our acceptance of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we must contribute individually to world order.

1. By education. Inform ourselves of world problems, such as the hunger and destruction in many areas, the Palestine Question, minority groups, displaced persons, and understanding and appreciation of cultural distinctions of other countries.

2. By developing right attitudes, influencing public opinion, and making definite plans. "We must be careful," as Mr. Turner Smith pointed out, "of name-calling," because it is making many people afraid to do good and stand up and be counted on the right side lest they be labeled with some odious ideology.

3. Acting upon plans. With the new educational process keying the human personality as most important, the church can reach out into local communities and bring together in forums and discussion groups the best thoughts of religious leaders, industrialists, scientists, politicians, educators, and other lay people and thus shape the order of the world which will include and be representative of all people.

Action Recommendations

1. Without food and clothing and medical care to sustain life itself, human rights to political, religious, and intellectual freedom are hollow and meaningless. Therefore, we advocate: (a) prompt action in setting up an International Children's Emergency Fund, the primary United Nations relief agency succeeding UNRRA in the relief field, and urge United States participation to the full extent of our needed share in the Fund; (b) revitalization of our community overseas relief program by sending food and clothing through the Church, World Service, and other established private agencies of relief.

2. We recommend widespread study and discussion among church and other community groups of the draft using International Bill of Human Rights as a guiding set of principles for the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations. We also suggest the appointment of local committees to implement the findings of study groups.

3. Realizing that our own success in making basic civil rights universal at home has a profound bearing on our moral leadership in the United Nations, we urge unremitting efforts in putting Judeo-Christian principles of brotherhood into practice in our own neighborhoods and states. Violations of civil rights of Negroes and all minority groups should be condemned and brought to justice. Civic practices in our communities and churches should be checked against the principles we stand for in our own Bill of Rights and as a member of the United Nations.

4. As a basis for better understanding among nations, we urge an enlarged program of cultural exchange with other countries, and especially the increased exchange of students.

5. We urge adjustment of our immigration laws and the adoption of temporary legislation (HR 2910) to make possible the entry into our country of refugees from devastated war areas.

6. Develop and support the evangelistic, missionary, relief and reconstruction work of our churches in all of its phases.

7. Demonstrate in daily life and the life of our church and community that regard for human beings which we know to be essentially Christian.

8. Study, support and pray for the growth of the United Nations and its undertakings for human rights and welfare.

9. Hold firmly to our Christian faith in the possibility of a better world order, in the possibility of a new beginning through repentance and God's grace.

WORKSHOP NUMBER II

HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW

Findings

The emphases made in the Workshop are given briefly as follows:

Necessity for understanding what constitutes Human Rights, what guarantees Human Rights, and the relation of Federal to State and to local government in safeguarding Human Rights.

Necessity for creating and maintaining a "climate" of public opinion that is right and just and that encourages obedience to the law. It is dangerous to have a "climate" that permits people to think that things can be adjusted beyond the law. Daily violation of decent rights is a serious thing.

People must know what is going on, must make sure of the caliber of men administering justice, and must continue an educational program that includes the teaching of human relations.

Citizens should know the rights that are guaranteed Labor by the First and Fourteenth amendments of the Federal Constitution and by the NIRA, and should constantly exercise their own rights and persistently help to safeguard the rights of others. A high sense of moral responsibility must be developed and we should seek to keep on the Supreme Court men who value Human Rights above property rights.

Necessity to change attitudes, to plan and carry out a program for developing right and just attitudes in the home and in the school. Information alone is not enough; experiences are also needed.

Sensitivity to the needs of people and a sense of moral responsibility toward securing rights to all people must be developed. Influence of teachers and parents stressed.

The concept of segregation denies equality. (This statement was questioned by some in the group.) "Separate but equal" is an attitude that has crystalized into law.

Understanding the law is important. In enforcement of rights, difficulties are encountered. More people should know the law of the land as given in the State and Federal Constitution. White people should be willing to give testimony when it would set forward justice, and should be willing to accept jury service. We must create an atmosphere favorable to Negroes serving on juries. Ignorance maintains prejudice and mutual suspicion. The dominant group should maintain contact with a like-minded Negro group.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson spoke of the inadequate protection of Negroes due to:

a. the inadequate number of police and too few Negro police
b. police too quick to abuse Negroes
c. police often rely too much on show of force, and forget scientific principles in dealing with Negroes.

Such treatment of Negroes has built up over a long time an attitude of evasion of or non-cooperation with police, or even a bitter hatred of them on the part of Negroes.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Dr. E. G. Mackay emphasized the place of the home in teaching Christian ideals and the need to make real in the home things taught in the school. He encouraged the group, as he called to mind the evidence of progress being made by the Church and also by the press. "The Church is the basic workshop and most ministers are teaching social justice and the great Christian concept of the supreme value of human personality."

Action Recommendations

We recommend:

1. That we study our laws in order to learn a true definition of civil rights as they relate to Federal, State, or community.

2. That our efforts for social change start where we are—at home, next door, and across the tracks.

3. That individuals and groups voice their disapproval when the civil rights of any person or group is disregarded.

4. That we study the organization and education programs of labor groups as they relate to our total economy.

5. That we study the personal and public record of every candidate whose name is presented for public office.

6. That we continue our effort to build Christian attitudes toward all people through home, church, and school, realizing experiences as well as information are needed.

7. That we work toward the training of all public officers, particularly policemen. Work toward higher standards of personal conduct of all officers of the law.

8. That we accept jury service as a responsibility and opportunity to serve.

9. That we know conditions in penal institutions—who are there and why.

10. That the Christian idea of the supreme worth of individuals be put into actual practice.

11. We also earnestly deplore the injection of Race as an issue in any political campaign because doing so—.

provides a smokescreen to hide real issues:
breeds hatred, injustice and lynchings and encourages
Hate organizations;
destroys good government;
undermines World Peace by causing other nations to doubt
our sincerity.

12. And we pledge ourselves to work against such propaganda by publicly voicing our disapproval and requesting radio stations not to give time for political campaigns based on racial hatred.

WORKSHOP NUMBER III

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EARNING A LIVING

Findings

We, the Findings Committee, present the following report on Human Rights in Earning a living:

There is a definite ceiling to occupational opportunity for Negroes which acts as a blanket to the development of thrift, industry and ambition. The major obstacles to earning a decent living which the Negro faces are:

1. Occupations which are closed to him by organized labor, private enterprise, and political expediency in distribution of public jobs.

2. Limits to promotion and upgrading.

3. Restrictions on the purchase of good farm land.

The umhampered right of the Negro to earn a living considered controversial even where equal opportunity for health, housing, education and religion are granted. This is due to (1) fear within ourselves, and (2) fear of upsetting the status quo.

Some possible ways to surmount the obstacles are:

1. Labor unions should be open to all those who qualify, without restrictions based on race.

2. Employers have the power to make changes in the employment practices if they had the courage.

3. Fair employment practices should be extended at once to all federal employment and to other jobs where public funds are expended. In addition, someone should have the authority to inquire into private employment practices with the privilege of making recommendations.

4. Training in trades and industries should be provided on the basis of individual abilities regardless of race.

Earning a living in rural areas of the South has some problems that are peculiar to the Region, especially when the major crop is a southern crop. Some of the problems are:

1. Low average annual income due to seasonal demand for labor in cotton production.

2. The practice on the part of landlords of increasing the rent for land when the industrious tenant improves it. Insecurity of tenure, transient labor are direct results of such practice.

3. The tendency to retain old habits of production and marketing—to resist change.

4. Increasing opportunities for ownership for men of good character is needed.

Improvment of rural living included six major needs:

1. The rural worker needs education for production and for change to new and improved methods. So many rural families are so poor in experience that they do not want to change.

2. More non-farm work opportunities are needed.

3. Facilities for health and medical care are woefully inadequate.

4. A consistent program of land improvement is needed.

5. Too many rural people know how to do too few things well. Their workskills need to be increased and improved.

6. A most pressing need is for better rural preachers. The church occupies a very important place in rural life. Carefully chosen, adequately prepared ministers are needed for such service.

The law requires labor unions to represent minority groups as well as majority. Labor unions are a group of people getting together and deciding to do something about wages and better conditions.

With increasing pressure on a family to maintain standard of living, women need to work to supplement family income and to improve the standard of living. Women should have opportunity to work in their field of interest. Solutions are improved working conditions and plant facilities, vacation with pay, sick leave, maternity leave, equal pay for equal work.

The church must minister to all people and groups.

Christian attitudes if applied can settle all difficulties.

Actions Recommended

1. Make Community Surveys

The woman of the church have a definite responsibility for bringing about desired changes in the total picture of opportunities to make a living for all people. Church women in each community should assume the responsibility of finding out what kind of community they live in--information about workers, white and colored, men and women in the following areas:

1. Wages
   a. Health
   b. Recreation
   c. Living conditions
   d. Wage scales and working conditions
   e. Educational Opportunities
   f. Church life

2. Advance Education Program all along the line.
   a. Begin with public school system and church school program.
   b. Promote vocational education for all races, classes and groups.
   c. Work for Federal aid to education
   d. Study groups on: The right to make a living.

3. Advocate better employment practices.
   a. Work for civil rights as embodied in F.E.P.C.
   b. Work for protection of domestic employees and others not covered by social security.
   c. Womens rights to earn a living.
      Mimimum wages, maximum hours, better working conditions and wage scales based on job, not on sex.

4. Work for a rural program to include
   a. More concrete aid to give medical services to rural people.
   b. Cooperate and aid farm agencies for soil conservation.
   c. More skilled farmers through training programs.
   d. Seek security of tenure
   e. Encourage youth to prepare for farming as a vocation.

5. Arouse Church to its full opportunity.
   a. Revise the definition of Brotherhood.
   b. Make program of Church so comprehensive as to draw all men into it.
   c. Allow the church to be used for community meetings to include labor meetings.

PROGRAM

May 8, 1947

11:00 A. M.

Hymn - America, The Beautiful

Introductions and Greetings - Mrs. C. M. Lancaster,
President, Georgia Council of Church Women

Purposes and Plans - Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Chairman

Our Civil Rights - Mr. Turner Smith, Chief, Civil Rights Section of
U. S. Department of Justice

Basic Spiritual Foundations - The Rev. Harrison McMains, Pastor
First Christian Church, Atlanta

Luncheon Hour

The lunch will be the cereal served to children of war devastated countries. Persons will be privileged to pay any amount they wish for the lunch and it will be sent to overseas relief.

Film Strips - BROTHERHOOD OF MAN
SEEDS OF DESTINY

(Courtesy, Georgia Workers Education Service)

1:45 P. M.

Workshops

I. Human Rights and World Order

Chairman - Mrs. Chester Martin, President
Atlanta Council of Church Women
Leader - Dr. W. B. Stubbs, Emory University

Panel -

Dr. Richard Fagley, Secretary of Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor, Atlanta Constitution
Dr. Forest C. Weir, Executive Secretary of the Southeastern Inter-Council Office
Mr. Sady Machado, Brazil; Student, Emory University
Mr. Robert Chaplin, England; Student, Emory University
Mr. Sophocles Lolis, Greece, Student, Emory University

Discussion

II. Human Rights Under the Law

Chairman - Mrs. A. A. Hardy, Secretary Christian Social Relations, Georgia Council of Church Women
Leader - Atty. Devereaux McClatchey, Atlanta

Panel -

Mr. Turner Smith, Chief, Civil Rights Section of
U. S. Department of Justice
Mr. Alex Miller, Director Southeastern Regional Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Mrs. Agnes Douty, Assistant to Director
Georgia Workers Education Service
Atty. A. T. Walden, Atlanta, National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
Dr. A. E. Elder, Head Department of Education,
Atlanta University
Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Consultant, Southern Regional Council
Dr. E. G. Mackay, Atlanta, President of Christian Council

Discussion

III. Human Rights in Earning a Living

Chairman - Mrs. C. M. Lancaster, President Georgia
Council of Church Women
Leader - Dr. Glenn Rainey, Georgia School of Technology

Panel-

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
Mrs. Olive Haskins, Field Program Leader,
Georgia Workers Education Service
Mr. Nelson Jackson, Director, Southeastern Area,
National Urban League
Mr. R. L. Van Sant, Director,
Georgia Farm Home Administration
Mr. Frank Prohl, Southern Conference Teamsters,
American Federation of Labor
The Rev. Rembert Sisson, Pastor,
Haygood Memorial Methodist Church, Atlanta
Miss Lillian Schearer, Woman's Bureau,
Social Security Administration

Discussion

Evening Session
7:30 P. M.

Worship - The Rev. William Holmes Borders, D. D., Pastor
Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta
Woman's Right to Make A Living, Miss Lillian Schearer, Woman's Bureau,
Social Security Administration
Human Rights and World Order - Dr. Richard Fagley, Secretary of Commission on
a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of Churches
in America

May 9, 1947 9:30 A. M.

Continuation of Workshops

10:30 A. M.
Worship

Discussion of Findings and Action Program

12:00 A. M.

Challenge - GO FORWARD
The Rev. John A. Brokhoff, Pastor, Lutheran Church of the Redeemer
Atlanta

25 SRC - Historical Materials

2 for file

A CONFERENCE

on

The South's Post War Economy

Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

April 11-12, 1945

Sponsored by the

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Economic South . . .

- Is a community of approximately 42,000,000 people, containing approximately one-third of the Nation's total population, but more than one-half of its farm population.

- Has more children born per 1,000 women of each generation than any other region. It is able to offset the large migration to other regions by having the Nation's highest rural-farm net reproduction rate. Yet Southern urban communities have the lowest net reproduction rate in the Nation.

- Contains approximately one-third of the Nation's workers whose annual median salary or wage in 1939 (based on reports made by 9,000,000 of them) was $599—almost one-third *lower* than the national average wage of $877.

- Paid a lower per capita income tax in 1943 than any other region. For every dollar per capita of income tax reported from the United States as a whole, the southeastern states reported 63 cents and the southwestern states reported 77 cents.

- Has 42 per cent of the Nation's houses regarded as "needing major repairs." In every 1,000 Southern dwelling units there are 271 such structures; in every 1,000 houses for the United States 183 need major repairs.

- According to the United States Senate's Special Committee to Investigate Industrial Centralization, ten Southern states, having 15 per cent of the Nation's land area, 14 per cent of its minerals, 10 per cent of its manufacturing, and 39 per cent of its farm population, receive only 11 per cent of the national income and 20 per cent of the national farm income. They had a smaller volume of war contracts than any other region, and in 1943 had the lowest increase in value of manufactures over 1939—69 per cent. Other groups of states increased this value by 227 per cent, 270 per cent, and 639 per cent in the same period. The committee's report says if the "per capita income of these states were raised to the level of national per capita income, total national income would be increased by $10,000,000,000 annually."

- Pertinent to a discussion of current problems in this field is this statement from the *Monthly Review* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (September 30, 1943):

  > "It would seem therefore that a soundly based regional economy should be related to the region's own great resources and to a peacetime market structure rather than be tied, as a result of uneconomic conversions of war plants, to capacity designed for a totally different economic situation."

Program

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11

10:30 A. M.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

HOW SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT-OWNED WAR PLANTS CAN AID SMALL BUSINESS. Roger Stevens, Chief of the Industrial Plant Division, Smaller War Plants Corporation

* * * *

2:30 P. M.

Presiding: Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

POST WAR FOREIGN TRADE AND THE SOUTH. August Maffry, Chief of the International Trade Unit, U. S. Department of Commerce

SOUTHERN INDUSTRY AND POST WAR MARKETS. Wilford White, Acting Chief, Division of Small Business, U. S. Department of Commerce

* * * *

8:00 P. M.

Presiding: E. B. Schultz, Chief, Personnel Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON SOUTHERN LABOR. A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor

SOUTHERN POST WAR AGRICULTURE. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, U. S. Department of Agriculture

THURSDAY, APRIL 12

10:30 A. M.

Presiding: C. F. Palmer, President of Palmer, Inc., Atlanta

FREIGHT RATES AND SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH. Judge Edgar Watkins, Special Assistant Attorney General of Georgia, Atlanta

THE SOUTH'S POST WAR HOUSING PROBLEM. Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency

* * * *

2:30 P. M.

Presiding: M. T. Van Hecke, Chairman, Regional War Labor Board, Atlanta

POLITICAL FACTORS IN ECONOMIC PROGRESS, Glenn Rainey, Georgia School of Technology

WHAT NEXT? Lawrence Drake, Research Specialist for Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council

ORIGIN The Southern Regional Council is the outgrowth of a number of factors. One was the growing consciousness among progressive Southerners of the need for a Southwide agency for the promotion of constructive social and economic reforms. Another was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences of 1942-43, in which Southern leaders, white and Negro, covenanted together to work for a better South for all. The Council was chartered by the State of Georgia on January 6, 1944, and it held its charter meeting on February 16, 1944.

PURPOSE The Council represents the forward-looking conscience and efforts of liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. Although it is bi-racial in its membership and staff, it is not exclusively a "race relations" organization. It believes in the improvement of economic, civic, political, and educational conditions for the good of all people.

METHODS The Council believes that sound information, honest discussion, and cooperation, rather than agitation, are the best methods for promoting social progress. Its functions are: (1) research and survey to find the facts and to determine the possibilities of constructive action; (2) educational work through its own publications and through the press, radio, exhibits, conferences, and personal contacts; (3) cooperation with other agencies which have liberal and humanitarian aims; (4) consultative services to private or public agencies; and (5) formulation of constructive plans and proposals for "the South that could be."

MEMBERSHIP It welcomes to membership persons who believe in its purposes and methods. Voting members must be residents of the Council area: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Dues are one dollar a year, but members are urged to contribute additional amounts according to their financial ability. Members receive all Council pamphlets.

OFFICERS and DIRECTORS The officers of the Council are: *President:* HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; *Vice Presidents:* P. B. YOUNG, Norfolk, Virginia, HOMER P. RAINEY, Austin, Texas, CARTER WESLEY, Houston, Texas; *Executive Director:* GUY B. JOHNSON; *Associate Executive Director:* IRA DEA. REID; *Secretary-Treasurer:* EMILY H. CLAY, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Among the members of the Board of Directors are some of the outstanding Southern leaders in education, religion, business, and labor.

Loyalty Investigation

(Not printed at Government expense)

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

RECEIVED JUN 24 1948 Southern Regional Council

The Mundt-Nixon Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 4 (legislative day of Tuesday, June 1), 1948

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me at a luncheon given by the Committee of One Thousand on the Mundt-Nixon bill at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City, Thursday, June 3, 1948.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MUNDT-NIXON BILL

A leader in the field of the art of government or the science of politics must come to the conclusion that society and nations, like individuals, suffer from ill health. Disease, poverty, and ignorance seem to be with us always. Perhaps they are with us to induce the incentive necessary to overcome in order to become strong. History shows that a victorious nation sometimes adopts in a more virulent form the very ideas and practices which it fought to destroy. If history is repeating itself again, we must strengthen that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

In my lifetime and in your lifetime we have passed through revolutions—social, political, and economic—so great that when we compare them with periods in the past we marvel at the momentum for change modern man has developed. Let us take an illustration. When the Manchus conquered China, they imposed upon all Chinese men the custom of wearing a Chinese queue. It was a sign of servitude, but it became so universal that some people said that George Washington's wig, with its little queue in the back, was an adaptation of John Chinaman's sign of servitude. Washington, who gave us liberty, wore, while he did it, the sign of slavery. I am not giving you that as absolute fact, I am giving it to you as a deduction and as a point I should like to make about society, nations, and people.

The serious minded among us, who feel and know that there are great values in our way of life which must be preserved, think we should study the crises in the history of nations because we then could keep our heads a bit better above the hysteria of the day. I heard a great British Ambassador, who spent his life in foreign service and who is now retiring, say that that which is considered today's crisis turned out to be merely yesterday's wind. We are living in chaotic times, but I have full faith that that which is attempted through the Mundt-Nixon bill will not happen, and the next generation will be forever grateful to the even-tempered minds of this generation for refusing to take on the ills of single-will ideas.

The great principle of my life has been absolute faith in democracy. I have always sought to live up to the precept of that greatest of American democrats, Thomas Jefferson, who said: "I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

The letter and the spirit of our Constitution and its Bill of Rights is directed to guaranteeing our people certain fundamental freedoms. It is not intended to impose tyrannical proscriptions. Our country has grown great and strong, despite the fact that throughout its history, there have been periods in which reaction, dictated by fear, burned witches, drove men further into the wilderness, threw men into prison, and chased them from public life and office. The spirit of democracy as embodied in our Constitution always triumphed in the end. Peoples all over the world seeking freedom, have looked to our democracy as a beacon light, have looked to our Constitution as a model for their own charters of freedom. These people have not looked upon our country as the land that burned witches, but as the land whose Constitution proclaims; "Congress shall make no law respecting establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; of abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

It is for these reasons that I am unalterably opposed to the Mundt-Nixon bill. In my opinion, this bill, and the vagueness of its language, threaten the fundamental constitutional American right to openly and freely discuss and criticize political and social ideas and institutions.

The great discussion and the debate which have been developed around this bill, are, in my opinion, in the best American tradition. The bill itself is not.

In this discussion, much has been said about the alien and sedition laws of 1798. Many parallels have been drawn between the purpose of those laws and the victorious struggle against them—and the situation we are facing today. In the days of the alien and sedition laws, Thomas Jefferson was called subversive, an infidel, a Jacobin, since it was the French Revolution that the conservatives of those days feared. His supporters were also accused of being Jacobins, engaged in international conspiracies directed against the Government of the United States. In the hysteria whipped up against the supporters of Jeffersonian democracy, it was wildly stated that they—and I quote: "Had applied the torch, and having commenced to burn cities, they would soon begin to murder the citizens." Anyone bold enough in those days to suggest that fires might have been started natural causes, would have been dubbed a Jacobin. "A Frenchman was a natural enemy to America," and all should be wiped out.

Think of our feelings when we were suffering from an attempt to crush something we did not like in the first third of the last century, when the anti-Masonic party came into existence. Read your history and see how much you loved the Americans during the drive against the "know-nothings," or see how you cherished the idea of the "know-nothings" in their particular days. Read the Copperhead philosophy during the Civil War and after, and then concerning the zeal of the followers of that element in Congress who were set upon crushing, punishing, and even impeaching our President. Go back and read the period after the First World War. Think of the things that happened when somebody suggested there was a Bolsheviki present. Then come down to the present and analyze the Mundt-Nixon bill.

In 1919 Jefferson would have been labeled a Bolsheviki. In 1948—in the spirit of the Mundt-Nixon bill—he would be dencunced as a Communist.

Such thinking was the product of fear in 1798. Such thinking is the product of fear in 1948. For a long time now, I have been combating fear as an instrument of national policy. In 1944, I wrote a little book called the Four Fears, and with your indulgence, I will quote a few words from it, because I feel that they apply to the problem of the Mundt bill that we are facing today. I said: "If we are so terrified of communism, it must be because we have lost confidence in ourselves, it must be that we have a very uneasy feeling about the living reality of our own democracy. I have no uneasy feeling about the reality of our democracy. It will be here stronger than ever, after communistic and fascistic adjustments have been made."

It is probably true what Jefferson said—"that the rule of the majority is the natural law of society"—but the rule of the majority can become a single will and crush the best thought there is in society. The genius of America is not that the majority rule, but that we have set up institutions to see that the minority is protected. There can be no majority rule for thought, for art, for aspiration, for expression. There can be no freedom if any element in society becomes a single will and by force directs all elements.

The reality of our democracy will be here stronger than ever, if we reject all efforts to legislate thought—to legislate conformity. The warning words of the Supreme Court in the Barnette case are worth pondering. The Court declares: "Those who begin coercive elimination of dissent soon

find themselves exterminating dissenters. Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard."

The American Constitution was set up under the theory that the people should rule. That of necessity means deliberation, freedom of discussion, substitution of ballots for bullets. Let us go back and read Milton's ideas and see how plain he made it: "That man could not be free in a proscribed society; that freedom to print was essential in a free government." The whole world has had to face this problem probably more often than any other problem.

Think through those things that are facing us today by answering to yourselves where you think you would have been in your sentiments and feeling when Socrates drank the hemlock. Would you like the actions of the proscribers during the period of the triumvirate, where one of the three had to allow his friend to be killed if another of the three considered that friend his enemy? Oh, of course, you will all say conditions are different; the evils that face our democracy must be crushed. But the techniques of crushing are not different. If we become a single-will state, there will be a technique of a single-will idea that is working and democracy will be destroyed. We cannot kill ideas by force or by outlawing them.

May I cite a case—one I like best when I am discussing these questions? It is far enough away from us so that no one can get particularly mad, nor can they say our conditions are different. The greatest of all of the Chinese—Confucius—became completely rejected after he was dead and all of his books were ordered burned throughout the whole nation. They were preserved by zealots who knew their worth. But Confucius thought he knew what was right for his people so well that he wrote a book, The Spring and Autumn Annals of Lu, to hold a nation to his thinking "for 2,000 years." He almost did it. Now, compare that idea with John Marshall's words: "Gentlemen, it is a Constitution we are expounding—a Constitution set up to endure through the ages."

Shall we be ruled by fear or shall we accept Marshall's theory about the Constitution and be ruled by reason. If the Constitution is to endure through the ages and is to meet changing conditions it must meet them on the basis of its own experience. One hundred and fifty years of American constitutional history shows us that the founding fathers knew the worth of freedom and knew the meaning of liberty. They knew that we could have no government of the people unless the people could aspire and think new thoughts. They knew that we could have no government by the people unless the people had a chance to express themselves, to deliberate, to discuss, and feel free in their discussion. And they knew that we could have no government for the people unless we acted in accordance with the fundamental theory that man is a rational, reasonable being; and that if he is free to use his head his decisions will be good. Shall we respond to the emotions to hit against something we do not like, or shall we say to ourselves—John Marshall grasped the meaning of America and the place of the Constitution of the United States in the development of man. I know that if the Mundt bill were left to the people of the United States and considered by them it would never become a law.

Now what does our American constitutional theory say to the individual? It says to him: Believe as you wish, worship as you choose. This is the essence of man's right to think for himself. This is the essence of the state's duty to restrain itself. American constitutional guarantees of freedom depend on the restraint placed upon the state through fundamental law. That is to say, the state puts a limit on its own power so that the individual may have freedom. It is a poor state that cannot leave a man his own soul. And once again in the words of Thomas Jefferson: "It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions on it, in the case of others; or their case may —by change of circumstances—become his own."

It seemed to me that our country had learned that lesson in the long years of the Second World War. Our boys died in far-flung corners of the world resisting invasion of liberty in the case of others, as well as defending our own liberties as Americans. They went willingly into battle against Hitler and his attempt to impose tyranny over the minds of men—as well as over their bodies. The ultimate lengths to which the enemies of human freedom went in World War II were brought home to me with particular sharpness, when, in company with a number of my colleagues from the United States Senate, I stood in the Nordhausen concentration camp in the summer of 1945. It began with persecuting men's religion, men's social and political rights and it ended by throwing even women and little children into death ovens.

We went to war against dictatorship. Our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, our American way of life rejects dictatorship. Why, then, should we in any manner imitate any of its methods? I say we have better methods than Mundt bills for protecting our liberties. I say we must not destroy the freedoms we hold dear under the guise of safeguarding them.

It was very gratifying to me to find support for my position in such a citadel of conservatism as the Wall Street Journal, whose editorial on May 20, 1948, said the Mundt bill was of doubtful usefulness. What impressed me most about that editorial was the reasoning on which it based that opinion. It said: "If we sincerely believe, as we profess to, that freedom under law is incomparably better than any species of dictatorship, that the individual has rights of which the State cannot deprive him, we should not begin to betray the political ideals we honor by risking any infringement of that freedom or those rights. Our Constitution permits the people to change it as they see fit; that is part of the freedom which the Constitution was established to protect. As for attempts to change the nature of our Government by other than lawful constitutional means, we already have enough laws to punish and defeat them."

I leave to the practicing lawyers the task of analyzing the legal weaknesses and faults of the Mundt-Nixon bill. Many eminent legal minds have said that this bill violates not only the first amendment to the Constitution—but also the fifth amendment which guarantees American due process of law; the sixth amendment which protects citizens from compulsory self-incrimination; and article 1 of the Constitution itself, which prohibits bills of attainder.

I have studied this bill carefully and also the debate upon it in the House of Representatives. I am much impressed by many of the arguments presented by the Congressmen who opposed the bill.

I agree with those who said that this bill represents a grave danger to the working men and women of our country. I especially agree with those who asked why we don't spend as much time praising our form of government as we do denouncing communism—and those who said why don't we do something about the things that may cause the spread of communism. I agree with those who said this is not a good bill because it is the same kind of legislation that drove Roger Williams out of Massachusetts into Rhode Island 300 years ago.

It is the kind of law that not only seeks to legislate how men shall think, but it also places inordinate power into the hands of nonelective officials. It even condemns in advance people who, for example, may wish to band together to work for the repeal of the bill should it become law. Under its broad and general terms about persons who in any manner do one thing or another—what is to prevent administrators of this law to declare an organization called Committee to Repeal the Mundt-Nixon Law a Communist-front organization and require it to register with the Department of Justice.

But I wish to state here that the arguments that most impressed me with regard to the Mundt-Nixon bill were those advanced by a great patriot and an able lawyer—Mayor William O'Dwyer, of New York City. They were sober and intelligent arguments. They were good American arguments. O'Dwyer said he considers this bill a "dangerous short-cut to thought control and police-state regulation" because it would establish the undemocratic and dangerous principal of guilt by association without proof of actual guilt. He pointed out that it empowers a Government officer to determine the subversiveness or disloyalty of any political, civic, or religious organization.

Mayor O'Dwyer went still further and courageously touched upon a subject that needs courageous discussion. He disagreed with his fellow Catholic War Veterans who criticized him for opposing the Mundt bill. He reminded them of some of the anti-Catholic intolerance that has existed and still exists in our country. To them he said: "It is not impossible to imagine a situation where a Ku Klux administrator in some local community that is hostile to the Catholic minority, might declare a Catholic organization subversive, disloyal, or subservient to a foreign domination. This may sound impossible, but the proposed bill opens the door and opens the door wide, to just such fantastic possibilities."

As a member of a church which has known persecution even in this free country, I understand something of what O'Dwyer warned against.

In conclusion, I would like to call attention to another fact that has been made very well known in the discussion for and against the Mundt bill. There are already some 27 laws on our statute books directed against the evils which the supporters of the Mundt bill say we must be protected. It would seem to me that there is nothing to be gained from passing a twenty-eighth law. On the contrary, it seems to me that there is danger of losing a great deal, if we do pass the law. We shall be losing much of our proud heritage as free men, dedicated to building and strengthening a country based on the fundamental political rights and freedoms embodied in our Declaration of Independence. Our country must never fear ideas—new or old. Our country must not fear the idealism of our own great revolution. We don't need restrictive laws directed against political opponents, if we do not lose the conviction that here in the United States—with political and economic democracy for all, with absolute faith in democracy—with complete freedom from fear—we can keep ours the greatest and freest country in the world.

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United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Statement by American Civil Liberties Union on Jury Trial Amendment to Civil Rights Legislation

REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to a statement which the American Civil Liberties Union has released today opposing the jury trial amendments to the civil rights bill.

As Senators know, the heart of the attack upon the right to vote bill (S. 83), now pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee, is the allegation by its opponents that persons cited for contempt of court under the bill's provisions would be denied the right to jury trial.

The bill in question would permit the Attorney General to bring a civil suit in the Federal district courts to enjoin State officials or others from depriving citizens of their right to vote. In the normal court case, of course, the party who is enjoined from a given course of action can be expected to comply with the court's order. Contempt cases arise only when the court's order is disobeyed.

It is in the latter kind of case that opponents of right to vote legislation now seek to impose a jury trial.

The injection of this issue into the discussion of S. 83 has engendered confusion not only in the press but in Congress as well. No supporter of constitutional rights likes to be charged with denying another's rights, particularly a right so fundamental as trial by jury. And much of the public does not understand that neither the Constitution nor prior legal precedent provides for a jury trial in contempt cases of the kind which might arise under S. 83.

It is, therefore, particularly gratifying to note the Civil Liberties Union's release today of a lucid and concise analysis of the jury trial amendment.

During its long career the Civil Liberties Union has steadfastly refused to temporize with any of our constitutional liberties. For this reason, its opposition to the jury trial amendment assumes particular significance at this time.

The jury trial is, of course, one of our most prized institutions of justice. While our Constitution does not guarantee jury trial in contempt cases, Congress has on occasion extended the right to jury trial to cases where the Constitution does not require it. I, for one, appreciate fully the jury's value as a check upon the arbitrary exercise of governmental power. But I am convinced that it has no place in so-called civil-rights legislation.

As the ACLU's memorandum points out:

> While there is always need to guard vigilantly against the misuse of Government power, including injunctions which are too broad and restrain constitutional activity (as we have recently argued is the case in the Clinton, Tenn., injunction), there is also need to prevent weakening of the power of our courts to uphold the law of the land. The right of equal treatment under law is fatally undermined when community sentiment blocks the enforcement of law.

Enforcement of the law has been undermined in some sections of the country where community sentiment has blocked effective enforcement of the right to vote. If court orders are to be respected in cases of this kind in which the Federal Government seeks to uphold public policy, the courts must be able to punish contemptuous acts. In conclusion, I quote once more from the ACLU's memorandum:

> To grant jury trials in the civil-rights legislation would protect officials who are failing to do their duty in protecting the constitutional rights of citizens. Jury trials in contempt cases growing out of such legislation would give a privileged position to State officials who might defy Federal judges upholding the law of the land.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the statement from the American Civil Liberties Union be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACLU STATEMENT ON JURY TRIAL AMENDMENT TO CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

The American Civil Liberties Union believes that all Americans are entitled to all the civil liberties guaranteed in the Constitution, free speech and association, due process and equality before the law. To advance equality before the law for all Americans, particularly the Negro citizens of the South who have been denied equal treatment, the ACLU is supporting Federal legislation toward this objective—bipartisan legislation suggested by the administration and backed by influential leaders in the Democratic Party.

The key sections in this legislation authorize the Federal Government to seek by the civil remedy of injunction a more effective protection of the right to vote and other constitutional rights, against deprivation especially by State officials. This is proposed to insure more effective protection for Negroes against intimidation, coercion and physical assault which prevent their voting and enjoying other constitutional rights. The need for this civil relief was pointed up by the Attorney General, in his testimony of February 14, 1957, before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights:

"Criminal prosecutions of course cannot be instituted until after the harm actually has been done, yet no amount of criminal punishment can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls. Furthermore, criminal prosecutions are often unduly harsh in this particular field where the violators may be respected local officials."

Civil rights legislation has been blocked for years by the filibuster and other devices. This year it is being opposed especially on the ground that persons who are charged with contempt of a Federal court injunction restraining interference with the right to vote will not receive a trial by jury. Opponents of the legislation correctly state that under present law, although a person charged with criminal contempt is generally entitled to a jury trial when the enjoined acts would be a violation of the criminal law, he is not entitled to it in a case where the United States has brought the action for injunction, as would happen under the proposed civil rights legislation.

The right of trial by jury is rooted deep in our constitutional guarantees, to prevent the power of Government being used as a weapon of oppression, among other purposes. The American Civil Liberties Union has been a vigorous defender of this right, even in some areas where it is not strictly required constitutionally, because of our strong belief that the abuse of governmental power can be limited by juries, which represent a cross-section of community sentiment rather than the views of a single judge. This concern for the citizen's liberty has made us apprehensive of broadening the power of Federal courts to prohibit criminal conduct under the threat of punishment for criminal contempt, as indicated in our February 27 statement on the Clinton, Tenn., case. That case concerned John Kasper and 16 other anti-integrationists who were arrested for contempt of the court order enjoining them from interfering with the Clinton school integration program.

The Constitution guarantees jury trial only in criminal cases, and in civil suits involving more than $20; there is no such guarantee in contempt cases. Until 1914, Congress made no provision at all for jury trials in contempt proceedings. Then, in the Clayton Act, it allowed jury trials in contempt cases where the acts were also violations of Federal or State criminal laws except, in order that the Federal Government might carry out its functions and enforce the laws of the land, in cases to which the United States is a party. Another exception was made in 1932, when the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act accorded labor unionists jury trials when they were charged with contempt of court injunctions in strike situations.

The absence of a jury trial in suits brought by the Government is not unusual. There are at least 28 other laws under which the United States is authorized to seek injunctions, without provision for jury trials; these include the antitrust laws, the Atomic Energy Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Securities and Exchange Act and acts affecting the Interstate Commerce Commission and Federal Trade Commission. Moreover, jury trials in contempt proceedings are not generally required under the constitutions or laws of the States, including the Southern States.

After full and careful study of the possible need for a jury trial amendment to the proposed civil rights legislation, we are convinced that the present jury trial argument is chiefly a contrived obstruction to defeat the desperately needed civil-rights legislation. So, we are vigorously opposed to any amendment requiring a jury trial.

What are the reasons for the ACLU's opposition to the jury amendment?

1. While there is always need to guard vigilantly against the misuse of Government power, including injunctions which are too broad and restrain constitutional activity (as we have recently argued is the case in the Clinton, Tenn., injunction), there is also need to prevent weakening the power of our courts to uphold the law of the land. The right of equal treatment under law is fatally undermined when community sentiment blocks the enforcement of law. The injunction is an effective legal technique to protect constitutional rights. As the Attorney General pointed out in his testimony, this method of protection would seek to prevent State officials from committing acts violative of a criminal statute. It is far better for all concerned—including those officials—to enjoin these acts before they are committed than to prosecute after the harm has been done. The main point to be kept in mind is that the proposed legislation aims simply at providing more effective enforcement of voting and other constitutional rights for all citizens.

2. Supporters of jury-trial amendments contend that to grant power to the courts to restrain criminal conduct would circumvent due process. However, before a person is enjoined he is entitled to all the guaranties of a fair hearing, with every opportunity to prove the invalidity of the application for the order. He also has a full right to appeal to higher courts, a check on arbitrary decisions. Even temporary restraining orders are issued only if the Government's affidavits show clearly that an immediate and irreparable loss will be suffered, so that no notice can be given and a hearing held. Then hearings on temporary restraining orders are quickly scheduled; the orders are of minimal duration; preliminary injunctions cannot be issued without notice and a hearing, which gives the defendants an opportunity to be heard. Then, at the trial for a permanent injunction, the Government has to present its case that there is a threat of irreparable injury; the defendants are represented by counsel, they may confront and cross-examine witnesses and present information to show that the injunction is unwarranted. Finally, if the order is disobeyed, it must be established beyond reasonable doubt that the disobedience was willful before a person can be punished for criminal contempt. The act of disobedience is an act of contempt of court, not an act violating a criminal statute, and it is penalized in order to maintain the court's traditional and indispensable authority to uphold the law—and the due process requirements provide a safeguard against the fear that Federal judges will not administer justice impartially, because of regarding violation of their injunctions as a personal affront or because of owing loyalty to the national administration under their appointment by the President.

3. A major argument advanced for the jury-trial amendment is the alleged discriminatory treatment of persons disobeying an injunction to guarantee civil rights, as compared with the treatment of labor unionists under the Norris-LaGuardia Act. But the very purpose of the Norris-LaGuardia Act was to support a congressional policy, that workers should be free to organize and bargain collectively; it was passed for the very reason that judges had been going beyond the law. As Senator PAUL DOUGLAS said, in a brief submitted to Congress on the jury-trial question on April 18:

"In the decades prior to the 1932 * * * courts would issue injunctions and use their contempt power indiscriminately, not to prevent violations of law but to prevent labor organization and freedom of collective bargaining. Decades of such demonstrated hostility by the courts to labor and its interests prompted Congress to implement the growing national policy in the labor field by specifically curtailing the Federal injunctive power in many areas of labor litigation and by providing that juries rather than judges determine whether contempt had been committed."

In short, the jury trials granted under the Norris-LaGuardia Act were included to protect people against oppressive government. To grant jury trials in the civil-rights legislation would protect officials who are failing to do their duty in protecting the constitutional rights of citizens. Moreover, Congress subsequently limited the Norris-LaGuardia Act jury trial provision by providing in the Taft-Hartley Act that such provision would not be applicable to injunctions sought by the United States under the new act.

The current congressional proposals to strengthen our civil-rights laws are the least dramatic and most cautious approach to the enforcement of basic constitutional rights. Their purpose is not to punish, but to prevent infringement of the right to vote. Jury trials in contempt cases growing out of such legislation would give a privileged position to State officials who might defy Federal judges upholding the law of the land.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to compliment my colleague, the Senator from New Jersey, for inviting the attention of the Senate to the document he has just offered, which refers to the key question on the proposed civil-rights legislation, the right to a trial by jury on a contempt citation brought by the United States Government.

I believe the procedure mentioned is nothing but begging the question. The procedure of citation for contempt is a time-honored method of procedure, and I am very glad to see that other organizations, in addition to those which are discussing the matter here, are coming to grips with it. I compliment the Senator from New Jersey for bringing this statement of the American Civil Liberties Union to the attention of the Senate.

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EXCERPTS FROM

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

July 10, 1957

PROPOSED CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION—THE JURY TRIAL AMENDMENT

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary has adopted an amendment to S. 83, the civil-rights bill, providing for jury trials in all contempt cases which might arise under the provisions of the bill.

I may say in all kindness, without reflection upon the motives of any Senator, that this particular amendment is designed to weaken and destroy the effectiveness of the civil-rights bill and, in particular, to destroy those sections which would help to guarantee the right of Negroes to vote.

I have secured for the information of Members of Congress—and I ask unanimous consent to have it made a part of the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks—a memorandum prepared by the Research Office of the Southern Regional Council, which I received from the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, concerning Negro voter registration in 11 Southern States. In most cases classified by county. I shall include in the RECORD the explanation of how the figures were gathered and some comments on their accuracy, all of which I ask unanimous consent to have printed at an appropriate point in the RECORD.

GEORGIA

County	Nonwhite population over 18, 1950	Negroes registered, 1956
Appling	1,356	1,068
Atkinson	897	408
Bacon	558	8
Baker	1,819	0
Baldwin	8,461	2,487
Banks	229	32
Barrow	1,235	413
Bartow	2,404	702
Ben Hill	2,659	918
Berrien	1,107	738
Bibb	28,993	5,140
Bleckley	1,588	39
Brantley	451	175
Brooks	4,603	707
Bryan	1,269	885
Bulloch	4,755	1,795
Burke	8,797	399
Butts	2,168	1,414
Calhoun	3,232	126
Camden	2,062	1,556
Candler	1,494	1,174
Carroll	3,578	939
Catoosa	183	129
Charlton	772	12
Chatham	38,272	9,720
Chattahoochee	1,510	8
Chattooga	1,030	1,020
Cherokee	473	320
Clarke	6,249	2,866
Clay	2,148	97
Clayton	2,070	275

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Alabama's Negro Vote By Counties

The rock bottom race issue in the South is not race mixing in schools, but the registration of Negro voters. In the Senate debate over providing jury trial in the civil rights bill, the enemies of jury trial saw away at the theme that white Southerners would not vote for conviction and Negroes are excluded from juries because they are not qualified voters. Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois argued last week:

> We believe that in the interest of justice . . . this cause will be better aided by having the judges, who are Southern whites, who come from Southern communities, and who share the mores of those communities, but who are somewhat insulated from improper pressure by life tenure, make the decisions, than by having cases tried by juries chosen from carefully culled jury lists, which either completely or preponderantly exclude Negroes.

In this connection, Senator Douglas had inserted into the *Congressional Record* a county-by-county breakdown on the number of Negro voters in Alabama. His figures were supplied by the Southern Regional Council. There is no perfectly accurate count of Negro voters, but this compilation is perhaps as accurate as any available:

County—	1950 potential Negro Voters	1956 number of Negroes registered
Autauga	4,042	73
Baldwin	4,493	625
Barbour	7,158	220

Birmingham Post-Herald

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER — TELEPHONE 53-5381

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Douglas Blasts Alabama Juries

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 12 — Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), warming up to the civil rights fight, yesterday lambasted Southern juries and customs, particularly those in Alabama.

He said low registration of Negro voters in Alabama and other Southern states "is the very reason" why civil rights legislation is needed.

Douglas' remarks were printed in full in today's Congressional Record.

Accompanying his statements was a county-by-county breakdown of the number of Negro residents in 11 Southern states in 1950 and the number of Negro voters in those counties in 1956.

Douglas said the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress obtained figures for him from the research office of the Southern Regional Council.

Citing Alabama, Douglas declared:

"There were 516,245 Negro males and females over the age of 21 who were entitled to vote; but the number of Negroes registered was 53,396, or 10.3 per cent."

He said Southern states vote fewer people by percentage than other regions.

Alabama, with 28.5 per cent of the population voting, ranks 46th, followed by South Carolina and Mississippi.

His figures showed in part:

Jefferson County with 121,667 Negroes had 7000 Negro voters; Calhoun with 8304 had 1800; Cherokee, 736 had 250; Chilton, 2027 had 350; Cleburne, 380 had 60; Colbert, 4519 had 291; Cullman, 249 had 81; Etowah, 7672 had 2000.

Fayette, 1497 had 326; Franklin, 700 had 200; Lamar, 1204 had 100; Lauderdale, 4022 had 495; Lee,

Douglas Takes On South

A View That the Senator Is Emerging As Chief Champion of Civil Rights Bill

By JAMES RESTON
Special to the New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 11—Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, is emerging as the most effective advocate of the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill in the Senate.

The white-thatched professor from the Middle West is contending with another powerful orator in the Democratic party, Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina, for domination of what promises to be the most acrimonious debate of the session.

Every few days now, Senator Douglas appears on the floor armed with heavy catalogues of facts, to prove that the Negro in the South is being deprived of his right to vote in Federal elections.

The New York Times

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935

Vol 107; 87th Congress
JAN. 30, 1961 #19

He was cofounder of Medico—the Medical International Cooperation Organization. He gave to it the proceeds from his compelling writings. Now with widespread public support Medico flourishes in at least 10 countries, with 17 programs, with its own staff of able doctors, and a small legion of local assistants and trainees.

In the simple story of Dr. Dooley there must be an accent on heroics. But unless we accept the heroics along with the humility and the humanity of this dedicated being, we shall have lost the lesson of Dr. Dooley's life.

Against the pain, hunger, and ignorance that fashion the common denominator of man's fear and hatred of man, Dr. Dooley taught us that the deadliest weapons are the kindliest gifts—intelligence, gentleness, good will.

May that lesson live with us, and may Dr. Dooley's memory linger forever.

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we were fortunate today to listen to the remarks of the President of the United States. It was a masterly diagnosis of the world situation and the domestic situation. I use the word "diagnosis" because physicians differ in their diagnosis of the ills of the human body. Nevertheless, it was a masterly diagnosis by a great American of our domestic and foreign problems and the challenges that lie ahead.

I remember other occasions when this country was privileged to listen to great addresses about situations which confronted it. The other day I called attention to the time when, in 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt took office he made a great speech in which he said that the only thing we had to fear was fear itself. I thrilled to that statement, and I am sure all America did. But we waited and waited for the panaceas. They did not come.

We are talking now about 4 to 5 million unemployed. Back in the 1930's, the number of unemployed was as high as 10 million, with only 30 million employed. What we are all hoping and praying for is that the panaceas which will be forthcoming now will not be attempts to find solutions as were attempted to be found then. It took a war to solve those problems, and the war did not really solve them; it merely multiplied them. We are all hoping and praying that, under the new administration, the light that is necessary—and by "light" I mean understanding—will be forthcoming so that solutions will be found. I say again the address was a masterly diagnosis by a great American.

PROPOSALS OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I should like to comment on the report which has been made by the Southern Regional Council. This is a very distinguished council, composed of both Negroes and whites, leading southerners, generally considered moderate southerners.

I ask unanimous consent that a sketch of the principal executive of the council, Mr. Harold Fleming, may be made a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 30, 1961]

A FIGHTER WITH HUMOR—HAROLD CURTIS FLEMING

ATLANTA, January 29.—Behind the Southern Regional Council's blueprint for Presidential action on civil rights, made public today, stands an unassuming Georgian whose name is a legend in the race relations field.

Harold Curtis Fleming took a temporary job with the council more than 13 years ago and never left. He first became information chief and later executive director of white and Negro leaders in 14 Southern States.

The advice to "see Fleming" has become commonplace for those with more than passing interest in the region's most pressing problem. Sociologists, Government officials, foundation executives, visitors from abroad, and writers have listened for hours to his calm, reasoned interpretation of the complexities of the racial crisis.

The 38-year-old executive's telephone rings frequently with calls for advice from officials of some State or city caught in an explosion touched off by racial change. On many occasions, respect for his opinion among both whites and Negroes has enabled him to help bring about a solution.

PUBLIC OPINION INFLUENCED

He has directed a staff of 16 specialists in its efforts to advance the cause of equal opportunity for "all the South's people." This has been achieved primarily through a program of research, information, and education, which has influenced public opinion and legislation by making it impossible to ignore the facts.

Ralph McGill, noted liberal spokesman for the South, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution and a founder of the Southern Regional Council, advised Mr. Fleming to join the organization. He says of him today:

"I've never known a man who has so met the needs of the times. He is a dedicated, intelligent person with all of the necessary courage—one of the great figures of the new South."

Hal Fleming, as he is known, was born in Atlanta on July 27, 1922. He spent his early years here and on a farm in Elbert County in the red clay hills of northeast Georgia. He attended Atlanta's now defunct Boy's High School some years after Dean Rusk, the new Secretary of State.

WON HARVARD SCHOLARSHIP

He accepted a scholarship from Harvard University, worked on the college newspaper, the Crimson, and the literary magazine, the Advocate, and was elected to membership in the Signet Society.

His college education was interrupted by World War II. Mr. Fleming, who is white, served as captain of a Negro quartermaster company on Okinawa. After the war he returned to Harvard.

He and his wife, Jane, a Vassar graduate from St. Paul, Minn., live with their two small sons in a Dutch Colonial home in Atlanta's Ansley Park. Indicative of his favorite pastime is her complaint that they have "too many books and not enough bookshelves."

The slim, blond, and somewhat bald executive also is something of a ragtime virtuoso on the ukulele. He can and does switch to hill-billy tunes when friends insist.

AVOIDS THE DOCTRINAIRE

One characteristic sets Mr. Fleming apart from many others in his field. This is his refusal to adopt a doctrinaire stance on racial questions or to lose his sense of humor.

This attitude has caused some hotheads to consider him at first as irreverent.

"Those who know him well," says one friend, "are aware that he is seething inside over the injustice done to Negroes. They also know that he can be counted upon for the intelligent answer, the fine assessment of the facts, the sound judgment, the knowledgeable insight."

While Mr. Fleming's analysis may be profound, according to one who has known him for years, "he laces it with a mild, delightful humor like that of the classic British soldier in 'Journey's End.'"

Neither his personality nor his views are typically southern. But his associates contend that he is deeply concerned about the region's problems and that he has shown a greater sense of dedication than most in the search for a solution.

Mr. JAVITS. The significance of this report is that it calls for major areas of Executive action by the President. I have noted six such areas. I think the report emphasizes the fact that the implementation of great words will be what will count, rather than the brave words alone, admirable as they are.

I agree thoroughly with the statement of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY], which have just been uttered concerning the President. I was sorry to see that civil rights was "kissed off" in the message to Congress by one sentence, and not a very powerful one. The President's message related not only to foreign policies of this country, but domestic policies. I am deeply disquieted that we have been hearing only about legislative action, and not executive action as well, because I am completely convinced that school desegregation cannot be successfully carried through except with executive action as well as legislative action.

Executive action is called for in the report in six areas. I shall conclude my statement by mentioning them:

First, the President is urged to publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his intention to employ his Executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it.

Second, it is urged that an announcement be made that, at a date certain, no research funds will be granted by the Federal Government to any institution of higher learning, or its faculty, public or private, which refuses admission to anyone because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Third, a national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President, should be launched and supported by publications describing registration and voting qualifications and procedures in each State.

Fourth, desegregation of the National Guard in Southern States is urged.

Fifth, there is a need for certification by Government contractors in advance that no one will be denied employment because of race. This can be done by executive action.

Sixth, a declaration by the President that Federal housing programs will be guided by integration rather than by segregation policies.

These are the specifications set forth by a distinguished group. Here are

policies that can be implemented, to the credit of America.

I ask unanimous consent that the specific proposals of the Southern Regional Council may be included in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the extract was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We urge upon the President that he publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his intention to employ his Executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it;

* * * * *

An announcement ought to be made that, at a date certain, no research funds will be granted by the Federal Government to any institution of higher learning (or its faculty), public or private, which refuses admission to anyone because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

* * * * *

A national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President, should be launched, and supported by publications describing registration and voting qualifications and procedures in each State.

The National Guard in Southern States is the remnant of segregation in the armed services; segregation in southern colleges and universities, and the mode of selection of academy cadets and misdshipmen, restrict the opportunities for Negroes to become military officers. All of these situations are within the power of the President to remedy or ameliorate.

* * * * *

There needs to be more effective enforcement of the bar against discriminatory employment by Government contractors. Large contractors can be appropriately charged with a special responsibility for positive recruitment of Negroes; an appropriate means of requiring this would be prior certification as a condition for award of contract.

* * * * *

A declaration by the President that Federal housing programs will be guided by a belief in the values of integration would be the soundest basis for an Executive order prohibiting discrimination.

FORTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, January 22 marked the 43d anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. Since the middle of the 17th century these hard working and courageous people had been living under Russian regimes. Unhappily, their experience as a free people was brief. In 1920 the Red army attacked the new republic and the Ukraine was made part of the Soviet Union.

The freedom loving people of Ukraine, who number 42 million in Europe, have maintained their national unity through great adversity, and they still do so. They represent a force for freedom in the struggle against Russian Communist imperialism.

Americans of Ukrainian descent, many of whom live in Minnesota, celebrated Ukrainian Independence Day last January 22. I wish to acknowledge the efforts of the Minnesota branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and that of Mr. Wasil Dombrowsky, its president, and Mr. Mvkola Derbush, secretary, in calling attention to the plight of the Ukrainian people and their continuing fight for freedom.

Ukrainian Independence Day presents the Congress with an opportunity to recall our position made officially in the enactment on July 17, 1959, of the joint resolution designating "Captive Nations Week." On that occasion the Ukraine was listed as one of the captive nations enslaved by Communist Russia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I should like to be heard on the motion, to ask the Senator whether he feels we should have a quorum call.

Mr. SMATHERS. I shall suggest the absence of a quorum as soon as the Senate proceeds to the consideration of executive business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Florida.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, and withdrawing the nominations of Charles H. King, of Michigan, to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission, Walter C. Wallace, of New York, to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor, and Theodore F. Stevens, of Alaska, to be Solicitor for the Department of the Interior, tranmitted to the Senate on January 10, 1961; which nominating messages were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, from the Committee on Armed Services, I report favorably a group of nominations of flag and general officers in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force, and ask that these names be placed on the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The nominations will be placed on the Executive Calendar, as requested by the Senator from Missouri.

The nominations are as follows:

Rear Adm. Edward C. Kenney, Medical Corps, U.S. Navy, and sundry other officers of the Navy, for appointment and promotion;

Lt. Gen. Robert Frederick Sink, and sundry other officers, for appointment and promotion in the U.S. Army;

Lt. Gen. Joseph H. Atkinson, (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force, to be placed on the retired list in the grade of lieutenant general;

Brig. Gen. Joe C. Moffitt, and sundry other officers, for appointment as Reserve commissioned officers in the U.S. Air Force; and

Richard A. Evans and Robert B. Bell, for temporary appointment to the grade of brigadier general, Marine Corps Reserve.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, in addition, I report favorably a total of 12,095 nominations in the Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force in the grade of colonel and captain and below. All of these names have already appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In order to save the expense of printing on the Executive Calendar, I ask unanimous consent that they be ordered to lie on the Vice President's desk for the information of any Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations will be held at the desk, as requested by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate proceed to the consideration of nominations on the Executive Calendar.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Department of State.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimuos consent that the nominations in the Department of State be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to say a word about the nomination of Mr. George W. Ball to be Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, by way of emphasizing to the Senate the critically important nature of this office and the great expectations which many people hold, that George Ball may carry on in the very distinguished tradition of Douglas Dillon, whom he is succeeding in this critically important office, and to highlight the fact that what will be before us and what Mr. Ball will be called upon to deal with immediately is the ratification by the Senate of the treaty for the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. In that regard I point out that notwithstanding all the talk about initiative in terms of foreign policy in the Eisenhower administration and the administration that preceded it, the OECD represents one of the most distinguished of our foreign policy initiatives ever taken in this country, with the purpose and the form of the organization far greater than the size and aggregate economic power of the whole Atlantic community, aggregating almost $1 billion in productive power, infinitely outshining the Communist bloc. This initiative was the initiative of the previous administration, carried through by Secretary of State Herter and Under Secretary of State Dillon.

Mr. Ball will now have, I think, the great privilege and honor of carrying that program through to completion.

Vol. 107; 87th Congress
Jan. 31, 1961 #20

Attached are copies of Senator HART's letter to Freeman and a memorandum of a national forest program for the State of Michigan.

JANUARY 21, 1961.

The Honorable ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary of Agriculture,
U.S. Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In the counties in and adjacent to all five of Michigan's national forests, and in particular in the Upper Peninsula area, there is substantial unemployment. This has been a condition which has prevailed for some time. It is due in a large measure to the underdevelopment of the renewable natural resources and the recreational possibilities.

For some time, along with other Members of the Senate, I have been deeply concerned about the need better to develop our natural resources, particularly those in public ownership.

Last year, when the Secretary of Agriculture requested that the Congress enact the multiple-use bill for the national forest, and we agreed, I looked quite closely into forest matters. I was encouraged to find that there had been prepared a comprehensive program to develop these public forest resources. I was disappointed to discover that the Eisenhower administration viewed this plan—its own product—as either impossible or not worthy of attainment.

The program for national forest development involving a $1.7 billion investment stands on its own feet as a conservation measure of superlative merit. There is not a shadow of doubt that with our projected population growth and our growing resource needs, this program is modest both in scope and projected rate of accomplishment. It is already behind schedule.

Of special significance just now is the capability of a forest work program to meet certain criteria for selection in a recession situation. A substantial portion of the work is in or near areas of chronic unemployment. Many of the projects take relatively few skills, thus able-bodied jobless can be readily utilized without extensive retraining. The Forest Service, by virtue of its extensive fire control experience, can rapidly expand or contract its personnel base. Much of the work can be undertaken at once—not being contingent upon extensive planning or specification preparation.

Several of the more important program elements, such as reforestation, recreational site developments and timber stand improvement, assure that as much as 75 percent of every dollar invested is utilized for salaries yet the capital investment ratio is still extremely high.

The combination of recognized conservation needs and suitability for acceleration at a time and in an area of recession are compelling reasons for a decision to move now. The new frontier of this decade lies in the reconstitution of our resources for the service they can render now and in the critical years ahead.

Permit me therefore to urge that immediate steps be taken to move in the last quarter of this fiscal year on the national forest program.

The current Forest Service budget is $143 million. The program I suggest involves a supplemental appropriation for fiscal year 1961 of approximately $50 million, an increase for fiscal year 1962 over the resulting 1961 budget of $92 million as outlined in the attached document, and action in fiscal year 1963 which will bring the Forest Service budget up to the level of $320 million. In the process, special consideration should of course be given to programs of work in areas of chronic unemployment and to provide jobs for these now jobless.

I know you will give this your thought and hope you will find it sound.

Sincerely,

PHILIP A. HART.

NATIONAL FOREST PROGRAM ESTIMATES FOR THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Work projects listed are a portion of the 12-year program for national-forest lands in Michigan. Many of these projects could be started within 1 or 2 weeks after receipt of funds. Surplus trees are available in the nurseries for expanding reforestation programs.

While the attached lists of projects represent about a 12-year program, the major part of the work could effectively be telescoped into about 3 years. There is also a reservoir of work that goes beyond the 12-year program. This would normally have been programed at a much later date, but much of this work could be moved ahead and accomplished in the next 3 to 5 years.

This work program provides for balanced development of national-forest lands in Michigan. Most of these projects require a relatively high percentage of labor, thus offering maximum employment opportunities. Cost data are based on local going wages.

National forest program estimates

Type of work	Approximate man-days	Estimated cost
MICHIGAN—UPPER PENINSULA		
Timber resource management: Plant trees on 154,000 acres and cultural treatment of 431,000 acres	625,000	$12,644,000
Recreation-public use: Construct 980 family units and related facilities on public campground areas	37,000	1,200,000
Wildlife habitat: Improve 20,000 acres of game habitat, 80 miles of fishing streams, and 230 acres of lakes; control rodents on 60,000 acres	14,000	240,000
Soil and water management: Stabilize gullies, roads, and streams and rehabilitate eroded lands	5,000	101,000
Forest fire protection: Reduce fuel on 8,000 acres and construct 600 miles of firebreaks	75,000	1,548,000
Structural improvements: Construct 20 housing units, 20 service buildings including lookouts and special structures; betterment of existing structures; new radio installations and replacement of substandard telephone lines	15,000	568,000
Forest roads and trails: Construct or reconstruct approximately 1,900 miles of roads and assist in construction of roads by timber purchasers	150,000	8,970,000
Total	921,000	25,271,000

Type of work	Approximate man-days	Estimated cost
MICHIGAN—LOWER PENINSULA		
Timber resource management: Plant trees on 77,000 acres and cultural treatment on 218,000 acres	300,000	$6,000,000
Recreation-public use: Construct 420 family units and related facilities on recreation areas	17,000	428,000
Wildlife habitat: Improve 40 miles of fishing streams, 230 acres of lakes, and 13,000 acres of game habitat; control rodents on 20,000 acres	10,000	177,000
Soil and water management: Stabilize and rehabilitate eroded lands, gullies, roads, and streams	3,000	61,000
Forest fire protection: Reduce fuel on 400 acres and construct 400 miles of firebreaks	37,000	775,000
Structural improvements: Construct 10 housing units, 10 service buildings, 1 research office-laboratory, lookouts and special structures, new radio installations, replace substandard telephone lines	10,000	364,000
Forest roads and trails: Construct or reconstruct about 1,000 miles of roads and assist in construction of roads by timber purchasers	75,000	4,480,000
Total	452,000	12,285,000

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C., January 28, 1961.

Hon. PHILIP A. HART,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR: You will be interested to know that I have this date urged on the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers that as a part of the antirecession program there be included an active program of forest improvement and reforestation. Dr. Welch, Assistant Secretary of Federal-States Relations, and Dr. McArdle, the Chief of our Forest Service, are working to submit specific figures as to man-hours of labor and costs. In this connection, it might well be of interest to your constituents that we are moving aggressively here at your instance.

Sincerely yours,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN.

RACE STUDY URGES USE OF EXECUTIVE'S POWER

Mr. HART. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article, which appeared yesterday in the Washington Post, entitled "Race Study Urges Use of Executive's Power." This study and group of recommendations were prepared under the auspices of one of the Nation's most respected organizations concerned with improving race relations in America—the Southern Regional Council. The report contains a well-reasoned, constructive group of recommendations which, if put into action, would go a long way toward providing the kind of leadership and policy which have long been needed in the field of civil rights.

But this is not all that might be done. There remains need for legislative action, as well. I, for one, am hopeful that this Congress will assume its share of responsibility for making progress in civil rights, too. If this can be done, the legislative branch will take its proper place, along with the executive and the judicial, in making the Constitution a living instrument in the protection of the rights of all our citizens.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RACE STUDY URGES USE OF EXECUTIVE'S POWER

(By Elsie Carper)

An independent survey suggests that existing Presidential powers, "diligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable."

The study, prepared by the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit organization seeking ways to improve race relations in the South, was published yesterday. The council has offices in Atlanta.

The 48-page report was issued at a time when President Kennedy's administration is formulating policies and programs. Broad recommendations on ways the President may use his powers to combat discrimination are outlined in the report.

One of the major recommendations is a Presidential staff adviser to keep the President informed on racial matters and to coordinate activities of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

The report states that consideration be given to setting up an office, with adequate staff, to serve as a watchdog over Federal programs for compliance with a policy of nondiscrimination.

The Federal Government's own operations, the report declares, need to be a model of just race relations. The Government must hire, fire and promote with obvious regard for racial equality and eradicate segregation in its offices.

While the survey is limited to official activities of the President, the report makes it clear that the President's personal attitudes and actions also are important.

"A President of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial," the report states, "to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality. Such demonstration may be worth fully as much as Executive orders and formal pronouncements."

Presidential leadership is defined in the report as "a showing of concern, in all the countless acts of the office, that America be a place where men live with each other in confidence, and society cooperates with each of its members in the fulfillment of his search for a good life."

"There would be inestimable value if the President gave, simply and clearly, a declaration of national intent to move vigorously to end all discrimination and disadvantage of race, and pledge that the Federal Government in the conduct of its own affairs would show the way," the report declares.

The council points out that race relations is America's oldest unsolved problem, once again at a stage of crisis. In the past the crises were resolved by compromise, war, and from 1877 to 1933 by national avoidance of responsibility.

"This ancient and always divisive issue has a claim on us not only for settlement, but for decisive resolution," the report states. "It is a burden which national self-respect demands that we finally lay down."

Honest dealing by the Government and the public toward nonwhite citizens, the report declares, would strengthen the prestige of the United States abroad while continuing discrimination will weaken it.

The report states that Negroes are a disadvantaged tenth of Americans from, literally, the cradle to the grave. America has no undeveloped resources comparable to the reservoir of human talent, which, in the Negro population, is going to waste.

Negroes are not the only minority at a disadvantage and discrimination exists elsewhere than in the South but the racial problems of the South are the acute test of the American ideal of liberty and equality.

The council finds little in the record to encourage the belief that the situation in the South will improve "unless recognized as the Nation's failure, and properly subject to national policy."

National unity, the report states, will be served best if the President speaks forthrightly about racial problems in the South and if statements are confined to what he and the administration are prepared to enforce.

In an obvious reference to the recent riots in New Orleans that followed desegregation of two schools, the report makes this veiled criticism of the Eisenhower administration:

"That a state of near anarchy could exist for weeks in one of our largest cities without any public remark by the Chief Executive is well nigh incredible."

The report declares that within the South there are numerous whites who will give practical, effective support for reform if there is national leadership. Frequent conferences and consultations by the President with southern economic and political leaders would broaden this base of support.

"Preeminently the most compelling unfinished business is school integration," the report states. "Respect for law and Federal authority requires a prompt resolution."

The council urges the President to "publically reconfirm his full support" of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision and his intention to employ his Executive powers to insure compliance.

Throughout the South the burden of desegregating schools has fallen upon Negroes. The council urges the President to direct the Attorney General to look closely into authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases.

It also urges the President to direct the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to provide information and counsel to school administrations and schools engaged in desegregation of schools.

The report states that in the field of housing the policies of the Federal Government, through its mortgage credit aids, public housing and slum clearance programs, "has been a principal architect of housing segregation."

The President should issue an Executive order stating that the national policy is to encourage integration in housing, the report states. It recommends that the administration study proposals to reduce the size and increase the number of public housing projects and scatter them in biracial and all-white neighborhoods rather than place them in Negro and transition neighborhoods.

The administration also should consider a system of "benign quotas" in public housing projects to keep them from becoming all Negro or all white.

The council recognizes that a strict nondiscriminatory order for FHA and PHA housing will reduce the number of starts in the South and hamper or halt urban renewal but believes that Southern opposition should not be a deterrent. Benefits of participation in Federal programs have such a powerful attraction that there is every reason to believe that the slowdown will not last long, the council states.

Other recommendations by the council:

Federal employment practices should be reviewed with the aim of immediate compliance with nondiscrimination. Special effort should be made to recruit qualified Negroes for offices concerned with race relations such as U.S. attorneys, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. marshals, Civil Rights Division, Commission on Civil Rights and housing agencies.

Negroes should be appointed to the Foreign Service but not restricted to positions in African countries.

Federal grants in aid for vocational education and research funds should be withheld from schools and colleges which restrict admissions because of race. The Federal Government should insist that public schools attended by children of military personnel be nonsegregated.

Discrimination in the National Guard and in ROTC units in universities should be ended. The President in making appointments to the service academies should give special attention to Negro candidates who are at a disadvantage in receiving congressional appointments.

The Department of Justice should enforce vigilantly existing statutes and precedents to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly. Action could prevent violence, reprisal, and intimidation surrounding school desegregation, sit-in controversies, and Negro voting.

The Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department should be staffed with an adequate number of attorneys. Working relationships with U.S. district attorneys should be so defined to permit widespread enforcement of voting provisions of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts.

The Federal Government should undertake a national registration drive, under sponsorship of the President. A side result would be an upsurge in Negro registration in the South.

The separate but equal clause in Hill-Burton Act funds for Federal aid for hospital construction should be reexamined.

The Department of Justice should study ways to end discrimination in interstate travel now clearly established as unconstitutional.

The Federal Government should insist that its contractors follow practices of nondiscriminatory employment. Federal cooperation with discrimination should be ended at once in programs of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and the U.S. Employment Service.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR NEUBERGER

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, before the Senate adjourns, I wish to take this occasion to compliment the present Presiding Officer, the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], on the skill and the efficiency she has shown in presiding over the Senate today, during what really is the first full day of business the Senate has transacted this year. She has been diligent in carrying out her duties and she has been fair in her judgments; and I believe that the Senate as a whole is greatly honored to have this distinguished lady as its Presiding Officer on this occasion.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Madam President, will the majority leader yield to me?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I am glad to yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Madam President, I concur in the sentiment the majority leader has expressed. Let me add that in addition to the distinguished way in which the able junior Senator from Oregon presides over the Senate, she fairly suffuses this entire Chamber with her charm and removes from some of the exchanges the severities and the asperities which sometimes mark our deliberations.

ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, on that gracious note, I move that the Senate now adjourn until 12 o'clock noon, on Thursday.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 6 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, February 2, 1961, at 12 o'clock meridian.

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VITA–U.S.A.

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 8, 1969

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, in view of President Nixon's recent announcement of the creation of a National Center for Voluntary Action to help motivate and mobilize citizen-volunteers to "master common needs and problems," I think it is timely and appropriate to inform the Congress of a volunteer program in my home district which has already achieved outstanding success in mobilizing large numbers of volunteers to help solve the problems of poverty in the United States. I am speaking of the new U.S.A. Division of Volunteers for International Technical Assistance.

On past occasions I have commented on VITA's more than 9 years' experience in successfully providing technical consultation through its volunteers in helping to improve conditions in the developing world. Working with private citizens, missionaries, Peace Corps volunteers, and AID personnel, VITA's international operation continues with that important task. Recently, VITA counterpart organizations were established in the Philippines and Ceylon, and more are planned in the coming months.

Now I am happy to report that VITA, through its new USA program, is calling on its roster of over 6,000 volunteers to provide technical and professional assistance to both public and private antipoverty efforts. At a time when we are reviewing the authorization for the Office of Economic Opportunity, I think it significant to point out that VITA–U.S.A. was created with a grant from OEO last January. As an example of cooperation between a Government agency and the private sector in helping to seek solutions to some of America's critical problems, the VITA–U.S.A. program is very much in keeping with the President's recent remarks on voluntarism and the innovative thrust of OEO under Mr. Rumsfeld.

In a November 4 statement on voluntarism the President said:

> From the beginning of our country, Americans have worked together voluntarily to help master the common needs and problems. A major goal of this administration is to recognize and enlist the energies and resources of the people themselves, as well as government, in a renewal of this historic American approach.

A recent review of the first 9 months of VITA–U.S.A.'s operation indicates solid success in enlisting the energies and resources the President spoke of. Under unanimous consent I insert excerpts from that review and from a recent program description prepared by VITA:

VITA–USA: A PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The USA Division of Volunteers for International Technical Assistance (VITA) came into being with the signing of an OEO contract in January 1969. This was the culmination of discussions which OEO initiated in the summer of 1968 and reflected the reputation VITA had acquired in providing volunteer technical assistance to the developing nations since 1960.

VITA–USA shares an expanding roster of over 6,000 Volunteers with the organization's International Division. In the first nine months of operation, VITA–USA received more than 300 inquiries from all parts of the United States and its territories.

VITA–USA accepts requests for technical assistance from any organization, group, or individual—public or private—engaged in domestic anti-poverty work. The single criterion applied is that the recipient of VITA consultation not be able to afford normal fees for such services.

Requests are sometimes answered by mail but more frequently involve face-to-face contact. This is accomplished in one of two ways. In the first method, a volunteer living near the requester visits the client and often accomplishes the assignment in his spare time. Presently there are two field offices with small staffs who support the community service activities of VITA's Boston and Washington, D.C. Chapters.

Second method: the volunteer spends a block of time on "short term assignment". In such cases volunteers are usually required to travel to another area and must take leave from their jobs. Travel expenses are paid by VITA. The volunteer's employer makes a vital contribution by continuing his salary during the leave period. Duration of the assignments vary from one day to several weeks.

VITA Volunteers represent a wide range of skills from architecture and engineering to business management, systems analysis, education, and psychology. In the USA program they have assisted self-help housing groups, trained hotel employees, done marketing surveys, developed a volunteer manpower management system, and designed simple, easy to build playground equipment.

To date, new volunteers have been recruited on the basis of need in specific skills categories. On-board Volunteers are frequently used to recruit or refer others and even help in the selection and screening process when assignments are made. Many volunteers, particularly in the national headquarters area, give administrative assistance to staff members by working in the inquiry service, serving on research committees, and by representing VITA at meetings and conferences.

Once a request is received, the Inquiry Service staff check the roster to locate one or more volunteers with the skills required. They use a telephone interview guide to determine the person's willingness, availability, and suitability in terms of experience and attitude. The client himself usually participates in the selection process by also speaking with the candidate to make a final suitability determination. The volunteer's effectiveness is measured following receipt of reports submitted by him and by the client with whom he has dealt.

Although VITA–USA is still a new program, the response by those who have been assisted indicates that it has been very successful. Acceptance by community people being helped is based on two factors: *responsiveness*—we assist only those who request help, and *performance*—the volunteers have consistently provided competent professional assistance.

Basic elements of our plan for the second and third years of operation are the considerable expansion of local staff supported chapters in a number of American cities to better serve concentrated urban areas and an enlarged National Consulting Service to handle requests from smaller towns and rural areas.

VITA–USA: A SUMMARY REVIEW OF THE FIRST 9 MONTHS

General Conclusions: Based on the success of the program it may be said that the major hypothesis of the demonstration has been proven: "VITA's volunteer force, which has been utilized effectively in aiding developing countries, can be applied to help solve problems of poverty in the USA."

The USA program is unique in its ability to mobilize and apply volunteers for use in urban and rural poverty settings and on a national scale. The basic principles that have led to acceptance by community people needing help are:

1. Responsiveness: assistance is given only to those who request help and only in the form that it is requested.

2. Performance: the staff has shown an ability to handle volunteer selection, logistics of volunteer assignments, and follow-up. Volunteers have consistently demonstrated their ability to provide competent, professional asisstance.

The first two chapter projects established in Boston and Washington demonstrate the need for additional ones in metropolitan areas where manpower resources covering a broad skills spectrum can be mobilized.

The National Consulting Service is mostly needed by small cities and rural areas.

Quantity of Effort: During the nine months covered by the review, 316 requests were received by the program. Responding to them, over 500 volunteers contributed 7000 hours.

The program start-up was smooth, with top-notch staff being recruited within targeted dates. (Interestingly, six of the staff are ex-Peace Corps volunteers.) Methods and procedures have been developed, and an ongoing evaluation permits continual improvement of these procedures.

Voluntary technical assistance is extremely economical since the consulting time is free.

Quality of Effort: Evaluations of the Boston Project and the National Consulting Service include the following conclusions on operating procedures: (1) the requesters give VITA–USA high marks on volunteer selection and speed of response. (2) VITA–USA cases involve mostly "soft technology" and are much more complex than previous international requests. They require more in-depth, on-site help, and follow-up. (3) the volunteer's interest in providing repeated or long term assistance to our requests is increased when the staff provide him with up-to-date feedback on the results of his efforts. (4) there are still many potential users of VITA's services who do not clearly understand how to take advantage of the program or who have as yet not even heard of it.

Unique Characteristics: (1) Flexibility and Concern: there is frequent intermittent involvement, thanks to VITA's flexibility and lack of "red tape", (2) VITA–USA often serves as a bridge to other private or governmental resources, in many cases bringing together for the first time those in need with those in the best position to provide assistance, (3) Availability: for the first time in many communities VITA represents a source of free technical assistance. Too often in the past community projects needing such assistance have gone without and failed; (4) Objectivity: volunteers serve as objective outsiders; their advice can be used publicly or privately to help the requester achieve his goals. Examples illustrating these points:

A California Community Action Agency director reports valuable assistance in changing organization structure and personnel methods as a result of management analysis by a VITA Volunteer.

An Urban League housing project in Omaha is being considered for a $160,000 grant and is using a report by two qualified volunteers to back up its case.

Quote from a crafts project in Harlan, Kentucky: "VITA provided the assistance needed to this small agency which had neither funds nor confidence to seek elsewhere. In areas where volunteers were not available, excellent referrals were made, quite unlike others I have dealt with." As a result of VITA's help in costing and market sources, a grant providing initial capital has been obtained and a market established in Washington, D.C. Sixty people are involved.

Quote from Wyoming Community Health Council, New Richmond, Virginia: "I had contacted OEO in Washington and was told that the chances of getting a consulting firm were very dim. I contacted VITA but did not expect any results . . . VITA provided the assistance asked for and more . . . provided a *stimulus* to the project when many were discouraged and about to give up hope. Dr. Starkweather has shown the way. We have hired a health specialist and are preparing the proposal for funding."

Areas of Greatest Contribution: Based on experience to date, VITA's staff has been able to define areas where the program seems to be able to have its greatest impact. One of the areas is the field of *business development in rural areas and small cities.* Three ventures off to a successful start, due heavily to VITA volunteer assistance, are:

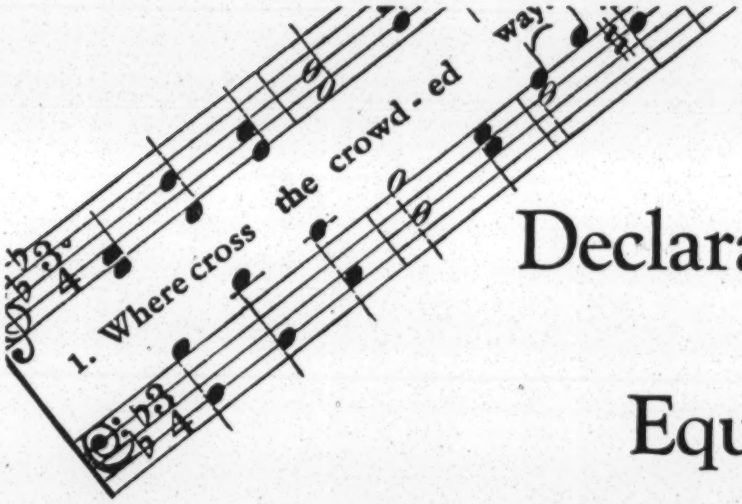
1. "Jack of All Trades Service Corporation", a maintenance business formed by the Bennington-Rutland Opportunity Council, Inc., received help from volunteer Richard Bowen on systems of floor maintenance, equipment procurement, job bidding. "Mr. Bowen brought over a floor machine and worked day and night to train the men. He visited our customers and set up a program of cleaning for each. Also helped with calls on new customers, increasing business."

2. A quilting group in North Carolina received information on production, marketing, and design. The co-op has been formed, and the first quilt samples are in production.

Other areas of special competence include

Management Methods and Systems Analysis, Fund Raising Assistance, Engineering—particularly rural water systems and sanitation, Education of the Disadvantaged, Recreation and Playgrounds, and Business Development.

VITA–USA has developed a model for establishing a nationwide network of effective urban chapter programs. Whereas one chapter program was the goal for the first year, two staffed projects have been stated. The Boston Project is already up to over 500 volunteer man hours per month being devoted to projects with high success potential. The District of Columbia Project is well under way.



A Declaration *of* Equality

The bus sped cross-country, topping one low hill after another, putting the white ribbon of concrete behind it. It was hot. The air quivered with heat, and the tar in between the huge cakes of concrete softened, melted, and became a jet black with the brilliant eye of the sun shining in it.

It was hot in the bus. Some of the windows were open, and men with open shirts lolled their heads on the seats, appreciating the hot stream of air. But some of the windows were closed. The women had closed them because the air marred their hair. They sweated, patiently.

But it was hotter in the top of the bus. The sun beat down upon the shiny steel covering, heating the air inside. The hot, heavy air made the Negro soldier sweat. He was standing up; everyone else was sitting. Every seat had been taken when he got on the bus. That had been seventy miles ago. Every seat was still taken. He shifted his weight to his right foot, leaned his right arm and shoulder against the baggage rack, and waited.

A man up front, a white passenger, reached for the bell cord, grasped it, and pulled twice. The bell beside the driver's seat tinkled, and the driver involuntarily lifted his foot from the accelerator pedal, the bus slowed, and stopped alongside a little path which led to a house. The door opened; the man got up and stepped out of the bus. The driver meshed the gears, and the bus moved along its montonous way. The seat remained empty.

Twenty miles later, twenty hot, sweaty miles later, the seat was still empty. The soldier watched it, longed to sit down. He was angry and tired and hot. He looked at his uniform, the American uniform which he had worn for — for such a long time. And then, his mind made up, he took six steps up the aisle and sat down. His white neighbor had been busy looking at the landscape, watching the telephone poles as they rushed by, reading the advertisements. Now he began to lose interest, and stole a few quick, sideward glances at the soldier. He was slightly embarrassed, and he was very angry. He had difficulty controlling his voice when he said:

"Get out of this seat. You can't sit here."

The soldier shuddered inwardly, but it didn't show on his face. He just turned slowly, and asked:

"Who says so?"

"The law says so, that's who," rejoined the white man. The soldier gripped the back of the seat ahead, and slowly pulled himself erect.

"I was a fool," he told himself. "I was a fool to think that I could sit there." He took six steps toward the back of the bus and resumed his old position. The driver, having watched the proceeding through the rear-view mirror, relaxed and began to pay complete attention to his driving.

The soldier shifted his weight to his right leg and leaned his right arm and shoulder against the baggage rack. He rested his head on his arm, and looked at his sweaty uniform, and pondered.

The bus continued its Southward journey. It was not concerned.

THE Southland; nation within a nation; a tradition.

The Old South, the land of plantations and slaves, is changed now. It no longer has the plantations. It has substituted tenant farms and absentee ownership. It no longer has legal title to any slaves, but it is laden with economic slaves, both white and black. Students of history speak of the Civil War as being won by the Union, or more commonly, the North. Such a statement is not completely true. Militarily the South was defeated. The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments were passed, and the forces which fought for slavery could do nothing. But in 1867 the South won the war, or a large portion thereof. It was in that year that the right of a railroad to segregate passengers according to race was upheld.[1] Jim Crow had arrived. The South had begun to adopt the "Black Codes" which were nothing more than discriminatory legislation aimed at the Negro, when Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act in 1875. This Act guaranteed nondiscrimination and gave weight to the constitutional amendments enacted immediately after the Civil War. The Supreme Court, holding that the Congress could not enact such legislation without exceeding its powers, declared the Act unconstitutional in 1883. The South, although not a participant in this fight, had won another battle. The "Black Codes" flourished and became the Jim Crow laws which the southern states abide by today.

No mention is made in the United States Constitution of the power of states to legislate discriminatory laws against a portion of their citizenry. The states claim validity for the Jim Crow laws by virtue of the "police powers" reserved to them by the Constitution. That no one who participated in the framing of the Constitution had in mind the "policing" and discriminating between one citizen and another is manifest. When the original Jim Crow laws were passed racial prejudice was at its height, a part of the chaos which followed the war. It was to be expected in the beginning. The ruling class had lost its hold, had lost its slaves, but it had not lost its influence over the other classes in the South. It had not lost its life.

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[1] Westchester Railroad Co. v. Miles. 55 Pa. St. 209.

The legislators of the 1870's, through the passage of Jim Crow measures, thereby insured that prejudice would continue. Through legal means, they wrought discrimination. That discrimination produced prejudice, which in turn produced more discrimination. Inspired by racial prejudice, and enacted under the protection of court decisions, the Jim Crow laws of today, throughout the Southland, continue to subvert the Constitution of the United States which makes no distinction regarding race.[2] Even when the facilities in southern transportation have been equal, the injustice is still obvious to all. It is a matter of elementary psychology; to place a man in a certain position because of his alleged inferiority is to degrade him, regardless of how clean or convenient or expansive the position happens to be.

It is the contention of many that prejudice cannot be legislated into nonexistence. The truth of such a statement is unchallenged. But what is ofttimes a producer of prejudice, namely, discrimination through laws, may be legislated away. To separate people, or animals for that matter, to set them apart, is only to create fear and distrust. The key to the problem lies in association and understanding between the races, not alienation of one from the other.

THE judicial tides of the nation move slowly, almost imperceptibly, but sometimes they engrave their message upon the beaches with startling clarity. National emergencies; depression, famine, war; all these help to accelerate these processes, to create new needs, new ideas. The cases in the courts give a clue to what is happening. More and more cases involving Jim Crow laws, more and more emphasis upon the Interstate Commerce Clause mark a change in attitude.

It was well known that the "equal protection" clause would be hard to enforce in discrimination cases. Just what constituted "equal facilities" would be a laborious question to decide in each

[2] See the 14th amendment; the "equal protection of the laws" clause.

". . . As there is no federal act dealing with the separation of races in interstate transportation, we must decide the validity of this Virginia statute on the challenge that it interferes with commerce, as a matter of balance between the exercise of the local police power and the need for national uniformity in the regulations for interstate travel. It seems clear to us that seating arrangements for the different races in interstate motor travel require a single, uniform rule to promote and protect national travel. Consequently, we hold the Virginia statute in controversy invalid."

(From Supreme Court decision on the case of Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia, June 3, 1946, 66, Supreme Court Reporter, *1058.)*

case; and even if such adjudication took place, there would be no uniform law effective throughout the nation. It has been just such a desire for uniformity in matters of economics which, in recent years, has promoted Congress to accord more significant meaning to the so-called "Interstate Commerce" clause which gives the Congress power to regulate interstate commerce.[3] The Fair Labor Standards Act (The Wage and Hour Law) was passed under the authority given Congress to regulate the "Commerce among the several States." By that Act the Congress decreed that workers making products which were transported in interstate commerce were themselves engaged in interstate commerce. For the well-being of the interstate commerce, it was necessary that the workmen receive a sufficient wage.

The reasoning was thought to be farfetched and it was. But since that time (the passage of the FLSA in 1938) more things "farfetched" have come forth. The Southeastern Underwriters Case declared that insurance was a commodity of interstate commerce, and therefore subject to Federal control. A Supreme Court case recently held that an Arizona state law prohibiting the length of trains to 14 cars was unconstitutional on the ground that it imposed too great a burden upon interstate commerce.[4]

The difficulty was that when a long train crossed the Arizona border, it had to have removed from it several cars in order not to exceed the maximum. This caused delays, necessitated more trains. The court said: "When the regulation of matters of local concern is local in character and effect, and its impact on the national commerce does not seriously interfere with its operation, and the consequent incentive to deal with them nationally is slight, such regulation has been held to be within state authority.

"But . . . the states have not been deemed to have authority to impede substantially the free flow of commerce from state to state, or to regulate those phases of the national commerce which, because of the need of *national uniformity*, demand that their regulation, if any be prescribed by a single authority."

THUS we have a well-defined trend. When the Court begins to apply what it has to say about freight cars to human beings, the Jim Crow laws will disappear. Even now, as the Southland casts inquiring eyes toward industrialization, and the massed strength of labor unions slowly but inexorably is applied, the cases in the courts make strides forward and place long avoided issues squarely before the tribunals. A few cases will serve to illustrate:

The suit by Mrs. Yolanda Barnett Wilkerson against the Texas and Pacific Railroad Company, which charged dining car discrimination, was settled out of court with the payment of $1,000 damages. Mrs. Wilkerson, Negro educator, was traveling from St. Louis to Dallas aboard the Sun-

[3] Art. I, Sec. 8, U. S. Constitution: "The Congress shall have power: . . . To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

[4] Southern Pacific Co. v. State of Arizona ex rel. Sullivan. (1945) 65, S. Ct. 1515.

shine Special on February 11, 1944. She went to the diner, and was told by the steward that she could not be served at that time. She was told that she would have to sit in the Jim Crow section, to which she agreed. However two white persons were in the Jim Crow section at the time, and Mrs. Wilkerson was refused service until they had finished. She was asked to leave the diner and wait outside until they had finished their meal. She preferred to wait inside the car. The conductor ejected her.

After being ejected, she returned to her seat in the Pullman Car. Later a steward told her that she could be served. She declined, and shortly sued the railroad. A New York Circuit Court of Appeals, reversing a District Court decision, took jurisdiction of the case, thereby allowing suit against a southern railroad in a northern state in which the railroad does business but does not operate.

The railroad offered to settle out of court for $1,000, and upon strong advice of counsel, Mrs. Wilkerson took the settlement, although it did not fully pay the expenses.

Evidently, in this case, the railroad did not think that its position was very secure. However, according to the traditional Jim Crow system, it had no cause for worry. The actions of the railroad gave rise, therefore, to much speculation regarding various carriers' desires not to have the specific discrimination question litigated because of the possible adverse results.

The Irene Morgan case, however, is more than a straw in the wind. The question appears to be squarely put, and the Supreme Court will have difficulty in not answering it squarely.

Mrs. Morgan was traveling on July 16, 1944, on a bus of the Richmond Greyhound Lines, Inc., from Hayes Store, Gloucester County, Va., to Baltimore on a through ticket. At Saluda, Va., the bus driver ordered her to move to a seat in the rear in conformity with the Virginia law. She refused, and as a result she was arrested and found guilty in the circuit court of Middlesex County of violating the Virginia Jim Crow law.

Mrs. Morgan appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and on June 3, 1946 that court handed down a favorable decision, with but one dissenting vote. The opinion of the court that racial segregation in interstate travel placed too great a burden on interstate commerce, thus made Jim Crow in travel across state lines illegal.

Some of the bus lines have announced their willingness to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. But in some cases, either out of individual initiative or upon company orders, drivers are seating white passengers first and then allowing Negroes to occupy the remaining seats — in the rear, thus maintaining the old Jim Crow in effect. In some other cases there seems to be a tendency for interstate buses to be stopped at state lines and passengers changed to "intrastate buses," in an effort to evade the court ruling.

The railroads, with the lone exception of the Richmond-Fredericksburg-Potomac line, have made no important effort to surrender their Jim Crow practices. In all probability a good test case

on trains will be required to secure their change of policy.

Intrastate travel, not covered by the Supreme Court ruling, still remains under the jurisdiction of state segregation laws. A typical southern state Jim Crow law, that of Tennessee, reads as follows:

Williams
Tennessee Code, Annotated 1934

5518. "All railroads carrying passengers in this state (other than street railroads) shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races, by providing two or more passenger cars for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger cars by a partition, so as to secure separate accommodations; but any person may be permitted to take a nurse in the car or compartment set aside for such persons. This law shall not apply to mixed and freight trains which only carry one passenger or combination passenger and baggage car, but, in such instances, the passenger car so carried shall always be partitioned into apartments, one apartment for the whites and one for the colored."

5519. "The conductors of such passenger trains shall have power and are required to assign passengers to the car or compartments of the car when it is divided by a partition used for the race to which such passengers belong, and should any passenger refuse to occupy the car to which he is assigned by such conductor, said conductor shall have power to refuse to carry such passenger on his train; and, for such refusal, neither he nor the railroad company shall be liable for any damage in any court."

5527. "All persons, companies, or corporations operating any street car line in the state are required, where white and colored passengers are carried or transported in the same car or cars, to set apart and designate in each car or coach, so operated, a portion thereof or certain seats therein to be occupied by white passengers; but nothing in this article shall be construed to apply to nurses attending children or other helpless persons of the other race."

5529. provides that the conductor may increase or diminish the space for either race, and may require a change of seats as often as he deems it necessary.

Similar provisions apply for motor buses.

Others vary in detail, but not in essence. These laws are an ugly anachronism in light of the world-wide upsurge toward democracy and freedom. They can be repealed. There is even more probability that they can progressively be ignored, and eventually killed by the sword of disease.

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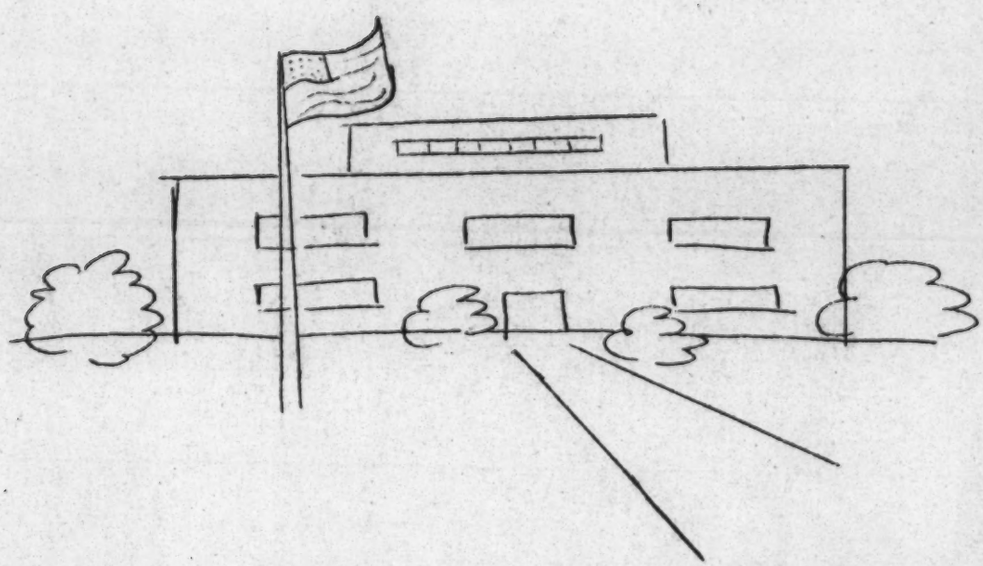
DESEGREGATION IN EDUCATION

TOWARD DEMOCRACY

IN THE

CLASSROOM



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IN THESE 10 CITIES

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

discrimination in housing

- ★ Charlottesville
- ★ Sledge
- ★ Phoenix
- ★ Los Angeles
- ★ Denver
- ★ Springfield
- ★ Chicago
- ★ Detroit
- ★ Waterbury
- ★ New York

THIS pamphlet tells how minorities are housed in ten communities of the United States. The house generally determines the family's place in the community. A segregated house leads to discrimination in schools, churches, employment and recreation.

Segregation is too often identified with the south. Many northern cities enforce housing segregation more rigorously than the south does. The nation's largest ghettos, for example, are not in New Orleans or Atlanta but in Chicago and New York.

Where people are working to end segregation, the pamphlet gives details. These efforts are of crucial timeliness. Most cities are preparing low-rent housing programs or urban redevelopment programs—or both—under the federal Housing Act of 1949.

The key fact is that urban redevelopment (the clearing and rebuilding of blighted areas) cannot be handled intelligently unless the principle of democratic housing is accepted. Central slums cannot be torn down until decent housing is provided elsewhere for their inhabitants, who are usually minority groups. And in nearly every city the only vacant land suitable for relocating these families is outside the segregated districts. The first step in redevelopment is to recognize the right of minorities to live anywhere they choose. Federal funds must not be used to build new ghettos.

This pamphlet is not meant to be a scientific study of racial discrimination. The ten cities are not a statistical sample. Rather, the pamphlet is a report, made as accurate as possible through checking with local and national authorities. The ten cities were picked for importance, size, location and special interest. Charlottesville and Springfield were chosen for their ties with Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. California is represented by Los Angeles, where the city housing authority has done a fine job (although San Francisco also deserves praise for its Council for Civic Unity and its Board of Supervisors—the first local governing body to block both discrimination and segregation in urban redevelopment projects). Washington was omitted because its story has been fully told in the pamphlet, *Segregation in the Nation's Capital*, by Kenesaw M. Landis.

As this pamphlet goes to press, the federal government has announced a vast war housing program. In the last war we failed to make public and private war housing available to whites and Negroes alike. But segregated war housing gives the lie to our democratic faith. The rest of the world judges us by what we do, not by what we say. And in this country segregation divides the people at a time when unity is more vital than guns.

CONTENTS

Charlottesville	**1**
Sledge	**3**
Phoenix	**5**
Los Angeles	**7**
Denver	**10**
Springfield	**13**
Chicago	**15**
Detroit	**20**
Waterbury	**24**
New York	**26**

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Cover by AJAY

If you are interested in doing something about segregation in your community, write to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 35 West 32 Street, New York 1. Ask for two helpful pamphlets: Forbidden Neighbors *(20¢), which turns a spotlight on little known facts about segregation, and* How to End Segregation in Housing *(15¢).*

PUBLISHED MARCH 1951

CHARLOTTESVILLE

THOMAS Jefferson, the great democrat, wrote for his epitaph: "Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia."

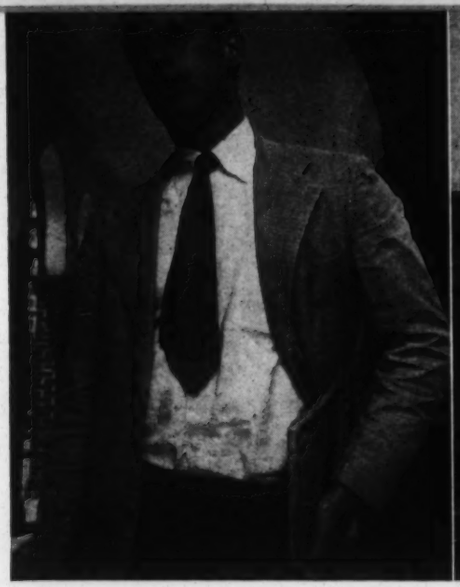
"This institution," he wrote in 1820 to a friend, "will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it."

The campus of the university today is a fine blend of lawns, old trees, red brick, and white columns. Until September 1950 Negroes could enter only to work in the hospital, the cafeteria, and the dormitories.

Negro housing in Charlottesville is concentrated along the railroads, in the damp hollows, and on a few small hills. The dwellings of Happy Hollow, Gospel Hill, and Vinegar Hill are, with few exceptions, rotten and overpriced.

Jefferson once planned an interracial farm colony of Germans and Negroes. Earlier he had tried unsuccessfully to include a condemnation of slavery in the Declaration of Independence. Charlottesville pays no homage to his belief in racial equality. The Negroes are trapped. They cannot buy land elsewhere and their present living space is threatened. Some of the land occupied by Negroes has become so valuable that attempts have been made to rezone it for business use. If these plans suc-

Dogwood trees grace the Charlottesville railroad station. Across the tracks, Negro slums are in full blossom.



A student weighs the question: "Should Negroes be admitted?"

Joyce Mayo says: "No. I think segregation works better."

"Yes," says Marea Jo Wiard. But James R. Bickley is opposed.

"No, sir," Frank Talbott adds, sharing the majority view.

ceed, the displaced families will have to move out of Jefferson's university town. There is no public housing, although a movement is under way to create a local housing authority.

Negroes are about one-fifth of the city's estimated 24,000 persons. They are strictly segregated in a genteel way. The Paramount theater and other movie houses do not have signs marking the "Colored Gallery" entrance around the corner. But every Negro knows he must go around the corner, just as every Negro knows he must sit in the rear of the buses. No Negro mechanic would apply for a job at the Southern Welding and Machine Company, the largest machine shop of the area. And no Negro expects to see Mr., Mrs., or Miss used before a Negro name in the Charlottesville *Progress*.

A handful of professors and other citizens of good will belong to the private Interracial Commission, which has tried to end segregation in buses. The commission has tried also to get Negroes accepted in skilled trades. But the new Negro high school, planned by an all-white school board, is being built by all-white mechanics.

The Virginia constitution of 1902, described by one of its framers, the late Senator Carter Glass, as intended "to discriminate to the very extremity of permissible action," forbids unsegregated public education. Carter Glass cannot be resting peacefully for there is a stirring in Virginia. A special federal court ordered in September 1950 that a Negro law student be admitted to the university.

A few months before this decision I visited the campus and asked ten men and five girls — all Virginians — how they felt about admitting Negroes. Seven were opposed ("I'd leave the university," a law student said), five were in favor, and three were doubtful. Only one girl was opposed. Two students asked not to be quoted because their parents would object.

"I sat at table with Negroes in Officers Training School," said J. L. Clough of Charlottesville. "I wouldn't mind."

"I approve. I went to Ohio Wesleyan, where the Negroes were leaders in our class," said Marea Jo Wiard of Keswick.

On the way back to the hotel I asked the cab driver if Charlottesville had any traces of Thomas Jefferson. "Never heard of any," he said. It seemed to me that Marea Jo Wiard and J. L. Clough were two who could be counted as "not afraid to follow the truth wherever it may lead."

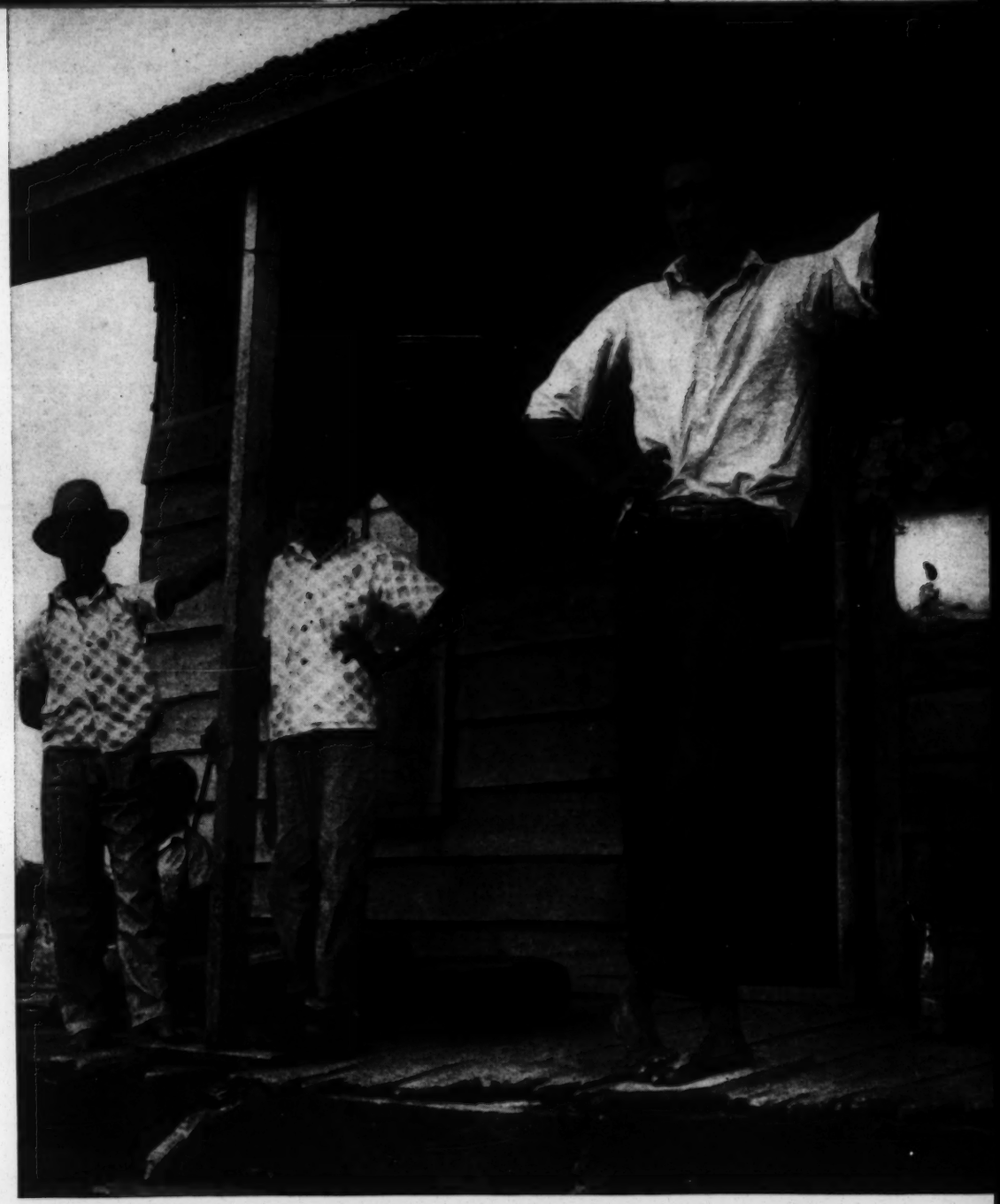
SLEDGE

SOUTH from Memphis the concrete highway into Mississippi runs through rolling country where fat cattle graze. The cuts have been planted with Kudzu vines to check erosion. We turned off to a dusty, graveled road, bordered with thick hedgerows which yielded the music of the cardinal, the catbird, and the mockingbird.

After a dozen miles we dropped to the flat, black lands of the Mississippi Valley. The hedgerows disappeared. In place of them were broad, shallow ditches, bridged every few hundred yards or so with rough planks leading to the cabins of the sharecroppers. The cabins are monotonously alike in age, architecture, and ugliness. Weeds grow in the front yards except where they have been trampled to death. Cotton grows everywhere.

Sledge, Mississippi, is a village of several hundred. It was chosen for this pamphlet because it is a typical farm community of the deep south and because of an Associated Press story from Memphis on May 22, 1950, which made three inches of type. The story told how the life of Bennie Lee Bradley, a 7-year-old Negro girl who had been badly burned when her dress caught fire, was being saved through skin donated by whites. It seemed worth while to find out for what kind of life Bennie Lee was being saved.

Bennie Lee's father, L. Q. Bradley, is a sharecropper in the Sledge district where he has lived all of his 30 years. A friendly, direct man, he told about working in cotton since he was seven, with only two years of school. (Mississippi's 1948 investment in school property was $217 for each white pupil, $41 for each Negro.) The Bradleys have 10 children, ranging in age from 11 to 1: William, Frank, L. Q. Jr. (nobody knows what L. Q. stands for), Douglas, Bennie Lee, Charles Henry,



L. Q. Bradley, Mississippi sharecropper, with three of his ten children.

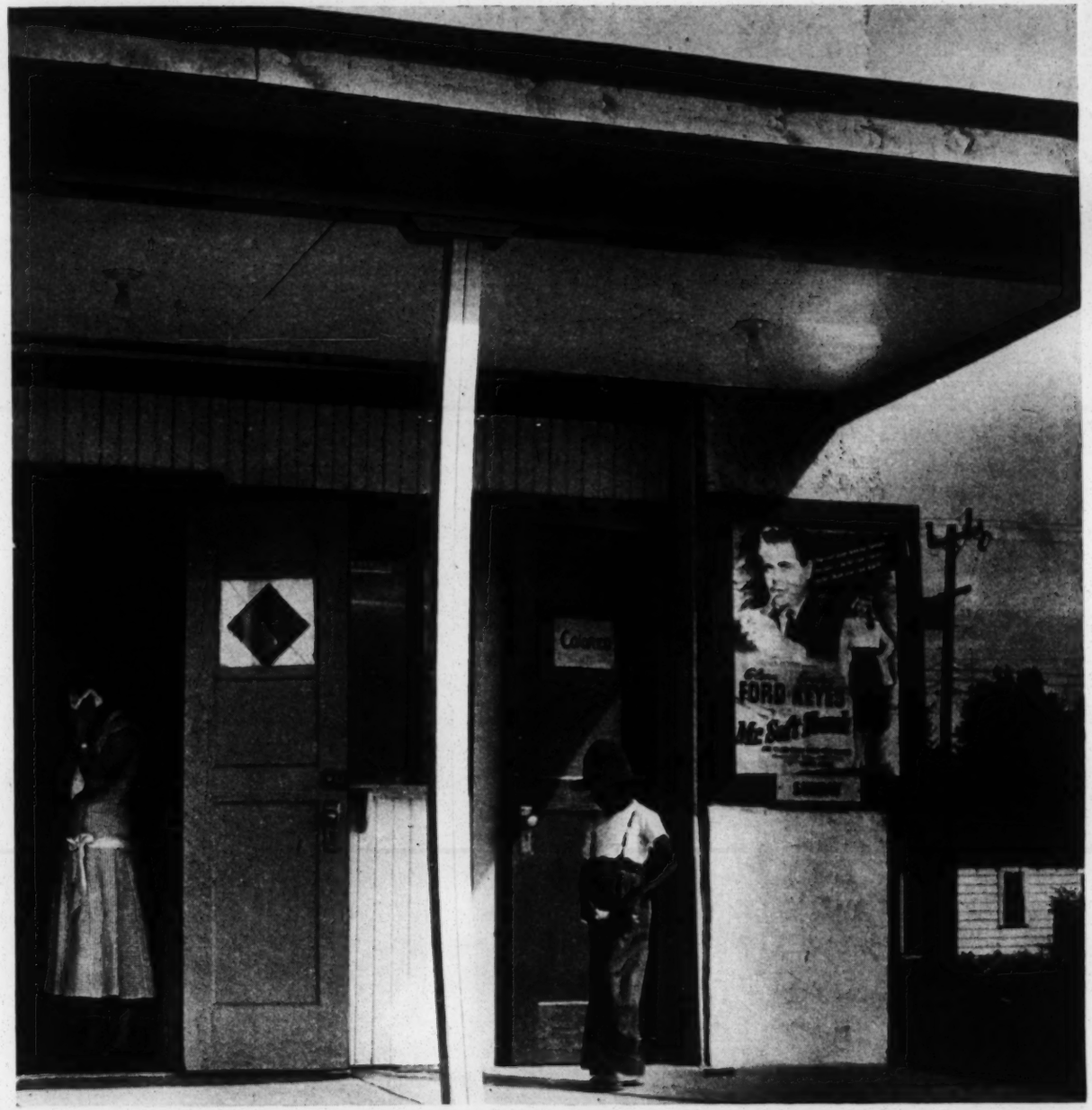
Liston, Bobbie Jean, Etheline, and Paul Edward. All 12 sleep in two rooms. "I just kind of guess at how they sleep," said Mr. Bradley. "Sometimes it's four or five with me, sometimes it's five or six with their mother."

Mrs. Bradley and the three oldest children help chop cotton and pick. When the boll weevil permits, the family makes $500 or $600 a year after a series of deductions for tractor, fertilizer, and other expenses.

Segregation in Sledge is a paradox. On the one hand, white and Negro sharecroppers often live side by side; the luxury of segregated housing is prohibited by cotton's need for manpower. Yet the very poverty of the Mississippi culture makes the poor whites seek some distinction from the Negroes who live in identical squalor. Thus the miserable little store across the road from the Bradley cabin is divided by a beaverboard partition so that black hands may never touch the counter where white ones reach for a coke.

In the village of Sledge the main street has a dingy row of stores on one side, the railroad track on the other. Negroes may sit in the balcony of the movie house and they may occupy benches on the sidewalk. Oddly, they are no longer allowed to play "the Seeburg" (jukebox) on Sundays, although whites may.

Sledge is now a dry town. "The time when we had whisky, that was the greatest pleasure there was," a young white sharecropper told me. "Now there's nothing to do except work and then sit around and look."

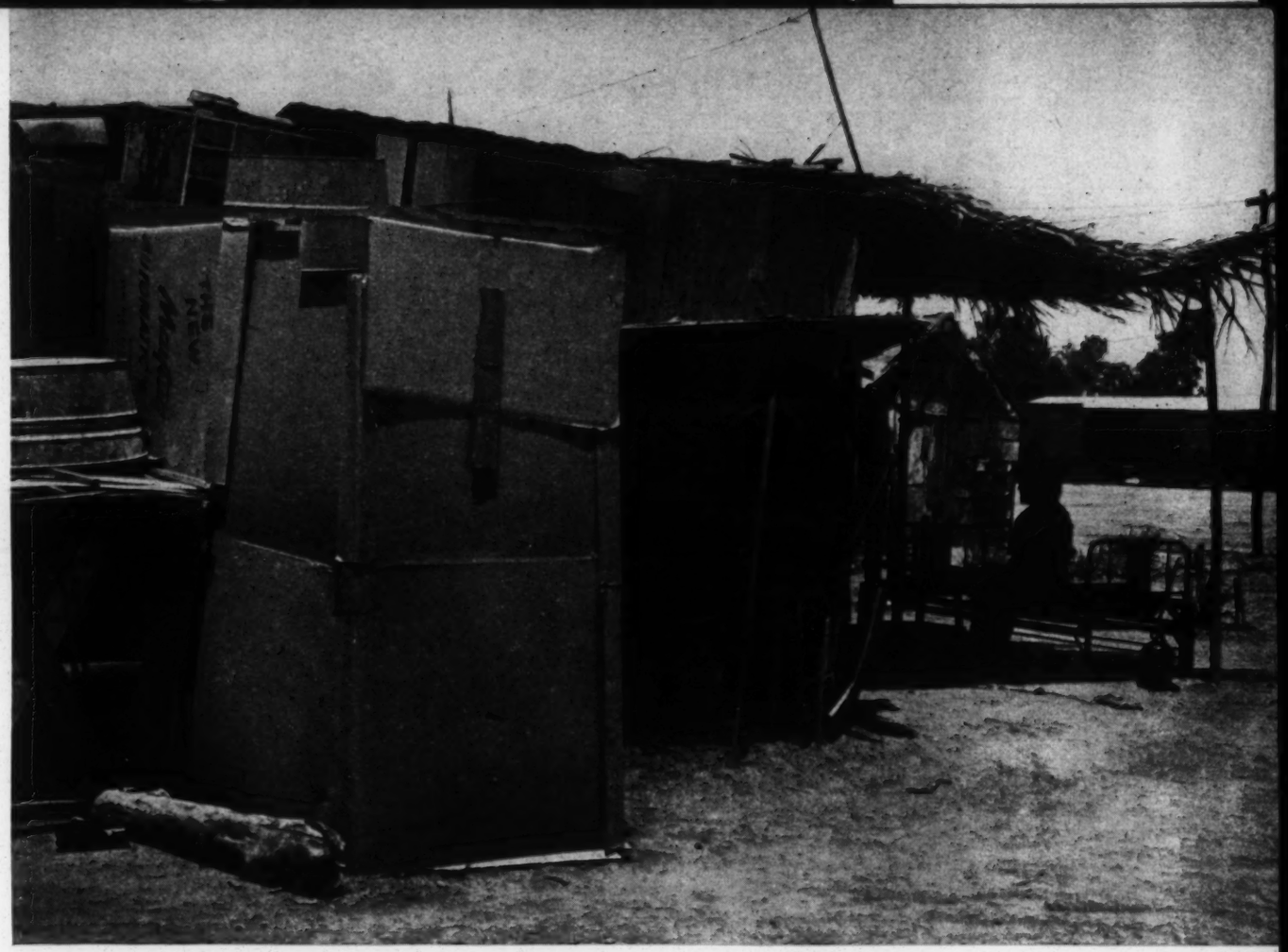


A citizen of Sledge at the movie theater's door for "Colored."

PHOENIX

PHOENIX, a desert city on a broad plateau, is mostly horizontal. There are few tall buildings to block the view of the serrate mountains that ring the plateau. The city is divided roughly by the railroad tracks into a good residential section with paved streets, green lawns, palm trees, oleanders, and flowers, and the slum section, where the unkillable tamarisks are bathed in clouds of yellow dust from the streets and dirt yards. Here the Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and poor whites live in houses of old brick, adobe, frame and packing boxes. Few cities can boast of more wretched slums.

On several acres of bare dirt behind a warehouse there is a colony of migrant farm workers who pay $4 a month and up for 35 shacks built literally from the junkpile. Pedro Tellez rented a one-room hut for his wife and their three children: Ramona, 12, Manuela, 10, and Bobbie, 3. The rent is $6 a month with electricity; water is available two blocks away. Mr. Tellez collected enough packing boxes to add two rooms, one with a corrugated paper floor, so Ramona could have her own bedroom. Since he earns only $1.50 or $2 a day (when he can get work), Mr. Tellez could not afford lumber. Mrs. Tellez keeps the house immaculate. Ramona hauls water for her little patch of onions and her yucca plant.



The home of Mr. and Mrs. Pedro Tellez and their three children.

One of the most profitable residential properties in Phoenix is a row of flimsy frame stables on an alley. A structure that once housed 20 horses has been converted into miniature two-room apartments for 20 families, without water or toilets, renting for $20 a month.

Except that Negroes may sit anywhere in buses, Phoenix is as stanchly jim crow as the average southern city. Roadside restaurants have signs reading "Colored trade not solicited." Negroes go to separate schools, eat in separate restaurants. Few Negroes are permitted to buy property in the better districts.

The Mexican-Americans, who are legally whites, fare a little better. They can usually get restaurant service and their children are not segregated in school. But the Mexican-Americans also find it hard to buy in good

neighborhoods and the better jobs are not open to them.

The population of Phoenix has doubled within a decade to reach about 100,000, of which some 10 percent is Negro. Many of the Negroes came to Phoenix without meaning to—the city was just a temporary stop on the road to fabulous California. Poorly organized and poorly educated, the Negroes have made little headway against the city's southern white majority.

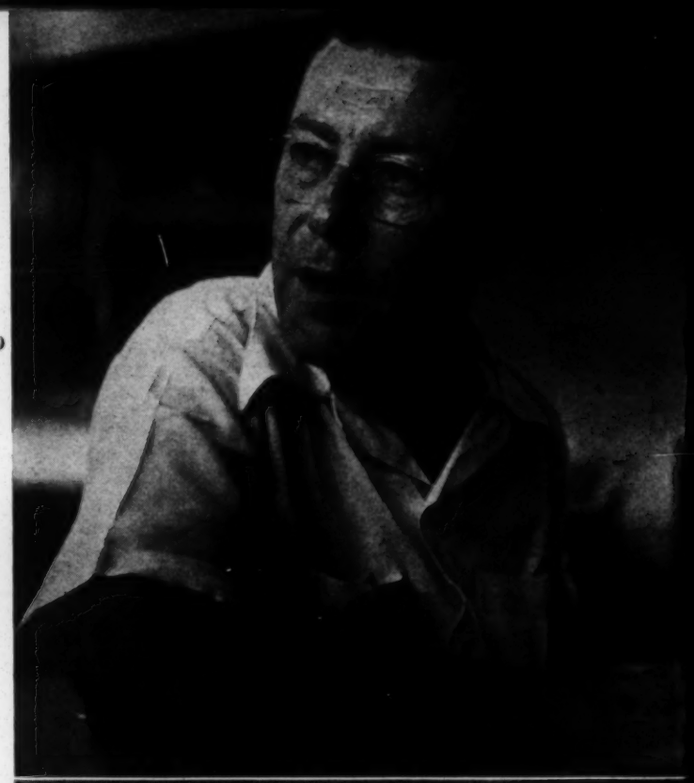
Little help has come from the city administration, except for an independent park commission which had the nerve to build a first-class recreation center and swimming pool—unsegregated—in the heart of the slum district.

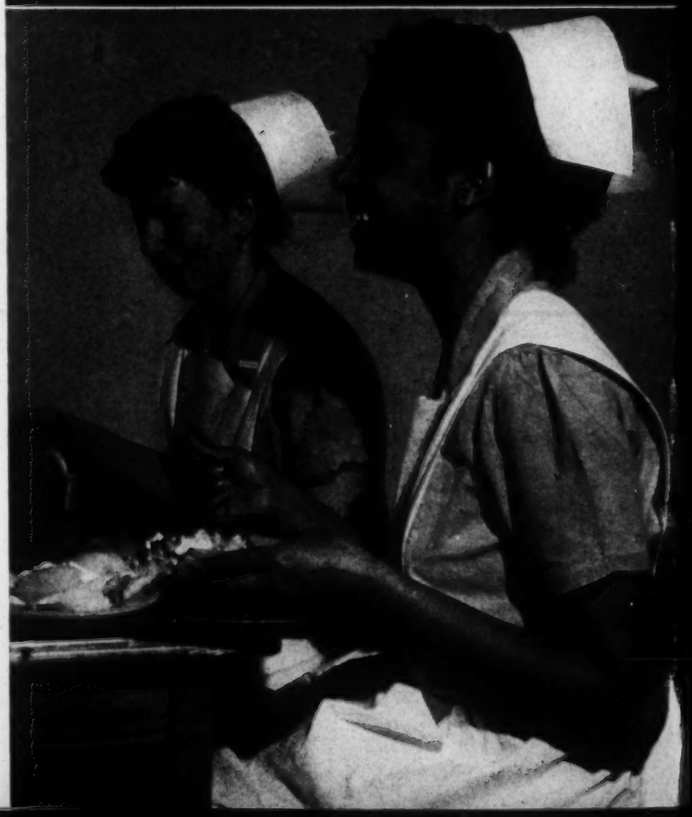
A Monument to Decency

Across the street from the swimming pool is Arizona's foremost monument to racial justice: St. Monica's Hospital, built in 1944 by the Federal Works Agency as the successor to a tiny frame institution founded by Emmett McLoughlin, a young man with a dynamic conscience. In 1948 Mr. McLoughlin became full-time superintendent of the 230-bed institution.

St. Monica's was the first American hospital founded with a definite interracial policy. Of the 68 student nurses, 40 percent are Negro (mostly from cities all over the United States). The hospital cafeteria, open to the public, is one of the few places where Negroes can eat.

Top: Emmett McLoughlin, founder of St. Monica's. Below: Two nurses in the hospital cafeteria.



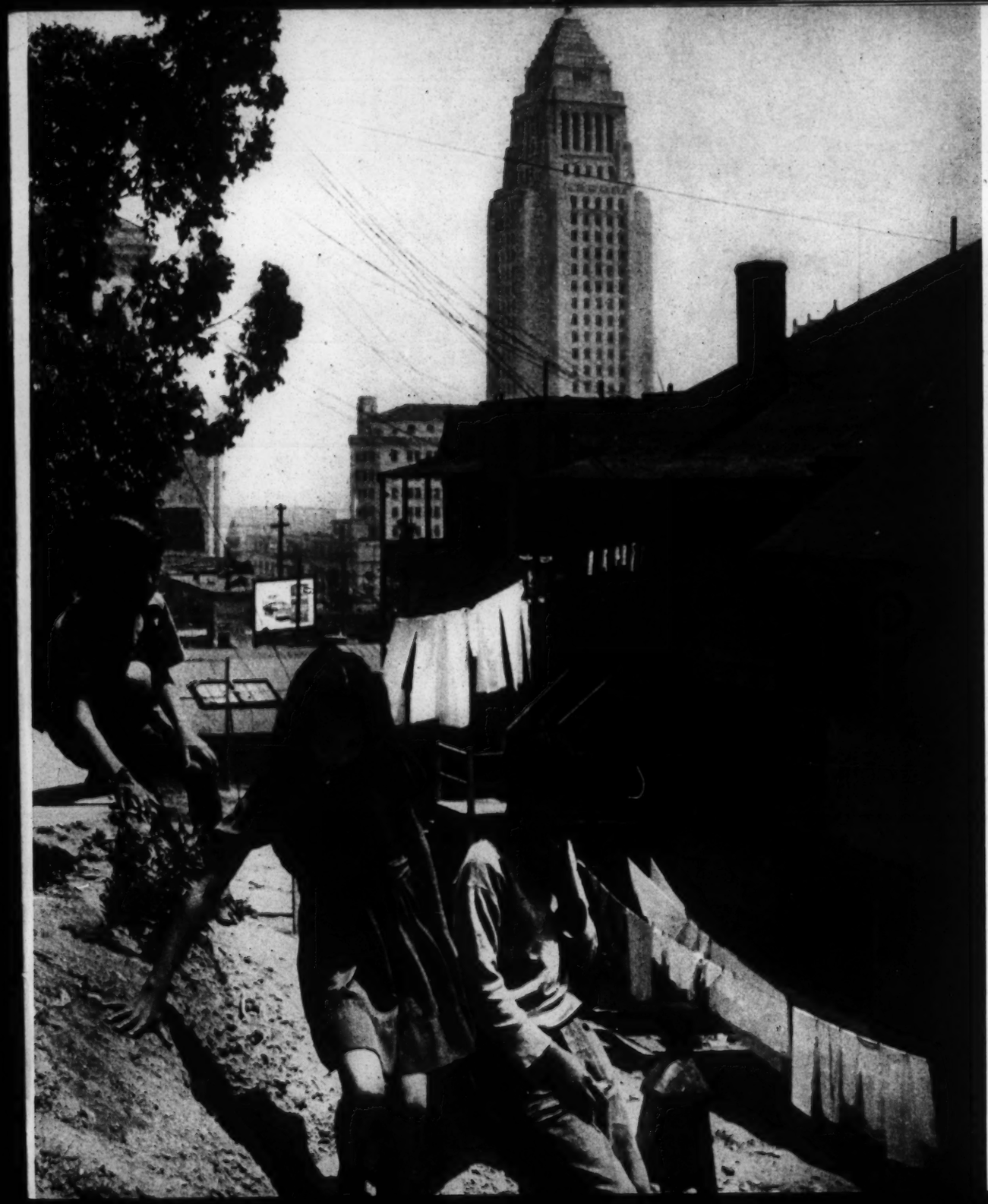


Despite modest prices, the cafeteria's $56,000 net income in 1949 almost covered the hospital deficit.

The American College of Surgeons rated St. Monica's in 1948 as "a good hospital . . . exceedingly important in the medical service of the area." Local doctors say it has the best equipment in the city. More and more paying patients are choosing St. Monica's, which needs them to balance its losses in serving the poor.

The three public housing projects of Phoenix were built under Mr. McLoughlin's direction as chairman of the housing authority. They are segregated projects because it seemed a decade ago to be a choice between segregation or no housing at all. Mr. McLoughlin and two other members of the five-man authority decided in 1949 that the scheduled 1,000 new dwellings should be wholly interracial. That was one reason why Mr. McLoughlin was dropped when his term expired in 1950. The city administration replaced him with a man who provided a 3 to 2 majority in favor of segregation.

"The purpose of public housing should be to make better citizens," Mr. McLoughlin says. "Segregation does just the opposite. We have proved at St. Monica's that an interracial policy is sound."



LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES is undergoing two kinds of surgery. Freeways fit for Buck Rogers are being carved through hills, the downtown business section, and old residential areas so the hordes of motorists can get to work in a city of 1,954,000 without subways.

The second operation is less conspicuous. It can be recognized by a Negro child playing on a street that was solid white a year ago. Many "For Sale" signs on new bungalows mean that whites have been frightened into selling by the arrival of Negroes in better neighborhoods.

"The Negroes are gradually breaking out of the ghetto," one housing expert told me. "The Klan often used to burn crosses in front of houses that were sold to Negroes. Now the Negroes are slowly moving west, sometimes at the rate of one or two blocks a week, and there has been little violence."

Negroes report that many of the fleeing whites showed no prejudice. "The family next door treated us fine," said one Negro. "They had my son over to spend the night in their youngster's tent. All the kids play together. But these people are afraid that property values will go down so a lot of them are pulling out. Those who stay make good neighbors."

The fact, as Dr. Robert C. Weaver has

← *Los Angeles scene, with the city hall.*

ably explained in *The Negro Ghetto,* is that both whites and Negroes are being taken for a ride by real estate speculators. The broker encourages the white owner to sell, often at a loss. The panic causes a temporary drop in values. Speculators buy at this point and then sell to the Negro at 30 to 100 percent above normal value. Ultimately prices become stabilized at or above the original level.

Occasionally there is an organized protest when Negroes buy in the more exclusive neighborhoods. Oscar Reichow, a sports announcer, sold his $25,000 house in Leimert Park to a Negro family. Indignant residents formed the Neighborly Endeavor Inc. and raised about $3,000 to sue Mr. Reichow for fancied damage to their property values. They also got him fired from his radio job. But Mrs. Daniel Marshall, president of the Catholic Women's Club and the wife of a distinguished liberal attorney, arranged a large Sunday tea to welcome the new family to Leimert Park.

Mexican-Americans Gain

The 200,000 Negroes of Los Angeles have won more freedom of residence than Negroes in other large cities. The pioneer spirit still survives west of the Rockies and the Negroes have done some pioneering for themselves. The Mexican-Americans are also fighting for a place in the community. For the first time in sixty years a Mexican-American, Edward R. Roybal, is serving on the city council — and he is making a brilliant record. More persons of Mexican stock (about 300,000) live in Los Angeles than in any city except Mexico City. Increasing numbers of Mexican-Americans are enrolled in the colleges and universities, and more are getting responsible jobs in government and industry.

The Japanese-Americans, who numbered 38,000 in 1940 before they were uprooted, are making real headway in regaining their economic position. They are working with Negroes and Mexican-Americans to get recognition as full-fledged citizens.

Stumbling Blocks

Urban redevelopment has not gone beyond the planning stage, despite a state enabling act of 1945. Administrative delays and cost problems have been the chief handicaps. Many of the most logical sites are those occupied by Mexican-Americans and other minorities. These isolated groups are bitter and vocal about the prospect of being thrown out of their shacks. Early in 1951, however, the city council adopted an ordinance opposing any discrimination in redevelopment projects, and the redevelopment commission said it would comply with the new policy.

Whether enough low-rent housing could be provided for displaced families is doubtful. The real estate lobby won a major victory in California in November 1950 when the voters approved a law requiring a local referendum on any proposed new public housing. Los Angeles supplied the decisive majority for the new law. Thus the realtors who want the chance to make a pretty penny out of redevelopment for upper income families may have picked their own pockets by making it impossible to rehouse displaced families.

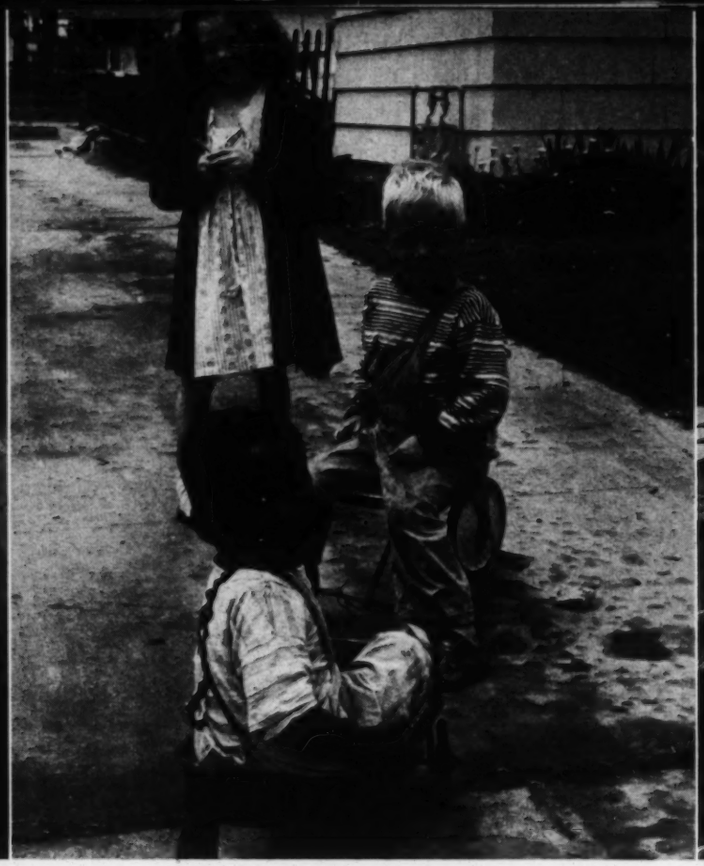
Interracial Policy Works

The brightest official record in race relations has been made by the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (not to be confused with the county housing authority). Until recently, a few of its 24 projects were segregated. Without fanfare the authority has converted all of them to interracial occupancy. The 11,061 families in public housing are 45 percent white, 33 percent Negro, 20 percent Mexican-American and 2 percent Oriental.

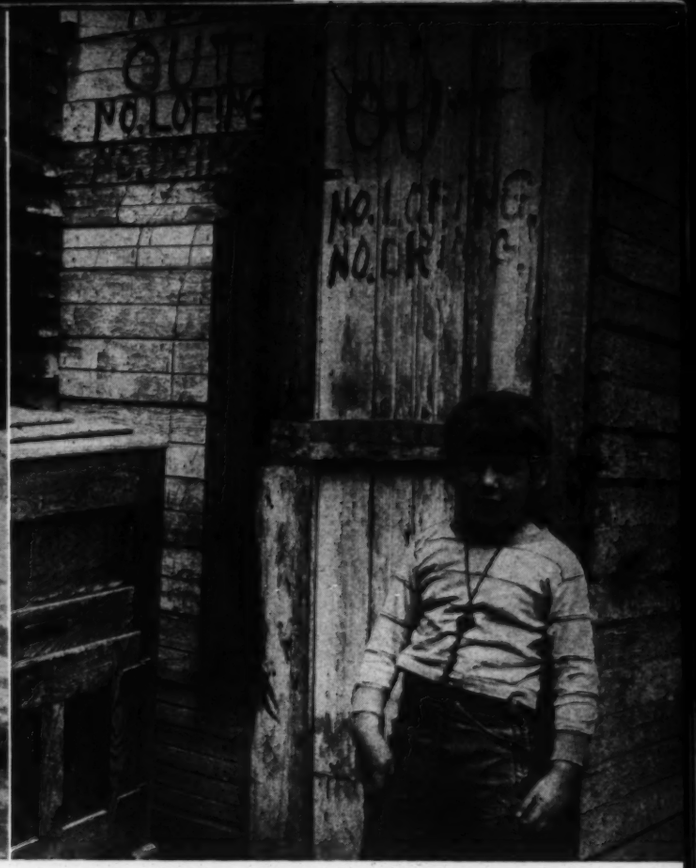
Placing Negroes in formerly all-white projects has been accomplished without trouble or protests. Two reasons for this success are: first, the authority has made a reputation for honest, efficient, and humane administration. Second, and more important, the authority made up its mind to have an interracial policy and has carried out the decision firmly and intelligently. Every tenant receives upon admission a short letter from Chairman Nicola Giuli, which includes this paragraph:

> You will find among your neighbors Americans of various races and creeds. Our facilities are open to all persons without discrimination. The policy of the authority is to permit no intolerance of any kind and it will terminate the lease of any persons who disturb the peace with intolerant activity.

Nisei mother and her two children.



A new arrival in a once solidly white district.



The alleys are playgrounds in the slums.

This warning is reinforced by an unusual paragraph in the lease: "It is expressly agreed that this lease shall be subject to immediate termination for any disturbance caused, aided or abetted by occupant, including disturbances based on racial intolerance."

The slums of Los Angeles have been less publicized than its bougainvillaeas, blondes, and brave new freeways. A few blocks from city hall are 19th century frame dwellings, about 85 percent occupied by minorities, which are in much worse shape now than in 1906 when they shocked a distinguished visitor, Jacob Riis.

Five blocks from the Biltmore Hotel the housing authority relocated families from Bunker Hill to clear the way for new civic buildings. A derelict had holed up in a condemned dwelling and died. When wreckers found his body, it was half-eaten by rats.

Steel corsets around the trunks of the Pershing Square palm trees, to keep rodents from nesting in the tops, are reminders that rats infest the heart of the city. The health department knows that the highest disease rate is within a five-mile radius of city hall, where slums are concentrated. Los Angeles needs a large dose of urban redevelopment, with complete freedom of residence for all minorities, to become a healthy place. The right example has been set by the city housing authority, which was commended by the Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations for establishing "the most enlightening, liberal and complete interracial policy to be effected anywhere in public housing."

DENVER

MOST cities show an ugly face to the traveler. Not Denver. The airport taxi runs through a handsome residential section, thick with trees, and passes an immaculate park where the sweep of the lawns is unmarred by warnings to keep off the grass. To the west and northwest are the snow-capped Rockies. You look twice to make sure you aren't seeing white clouds close to the horizon.

At first glance the city has no slums. Except for bad spots in the bottom lands of the South Platte River, Denver has nothing to compare outwardly with the miserable shacks of Los Angeles and Phoenix.

Until 1947, Denver was ruled by Mayor Benjamin Franklin Stapleton, who also ran most of the state. The aging mayor had reigned for 25 years and his administration had failed to grow with the city. The voters dismissed him by electing Quigg Newton, then 36, a lawyer and war veteran from a distinguished Colorado family.

Making his first campaign for public office, Quigg Newton had promised to act against discrimination in Denver. To the surprise of many citizens the mayor proceeded to carry out his campaign pledge. One week after taking office he abolished segregation in public swimming pools. Next he created a permanent Mayor's Committee on Human Rela-

Patrolman Spidahl and Mrs. Helen Peterson visit some minority citizens.

tions, one of 35 similar official agencies throughout the nation. As chairman he named William Grant Jr., his campaign manager, also a lawyer and a member of a leading family. Mr. Grant admits with a grin that his grandfather was a founder of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama.

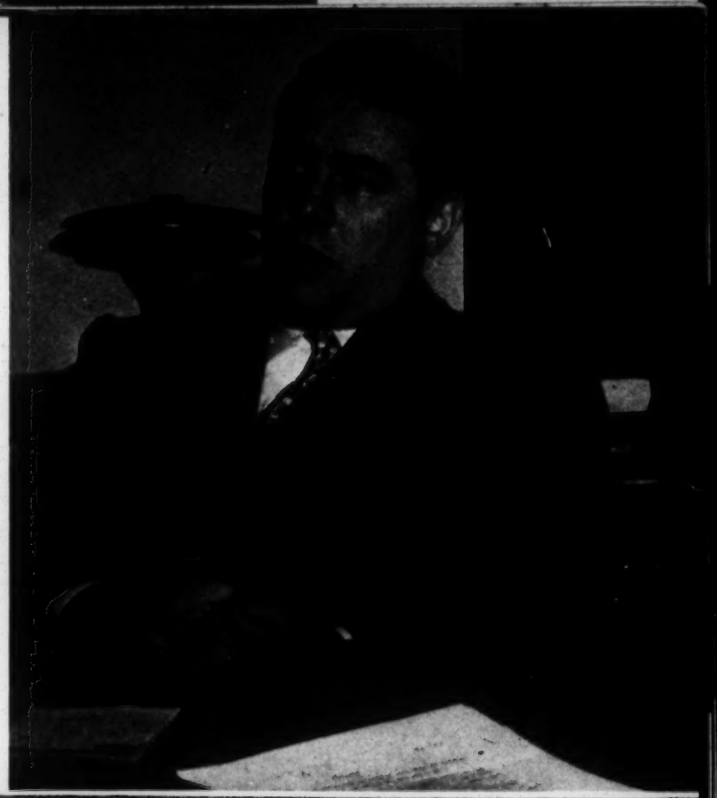
The committee's director is Mrs. Helen L. Peterson, 32, dynamic, experienced, and sensitive from the memory of a childhood on an Indian reservation where she was treated as the Spanish-speaking people of Denver have been treated. One-quarter Sioux, Mrs. Peterson was named Wacin Yanpe Wi by Chiefs Henry Standing Bear and Hollow Horn Bear. The name means "One woman to trust."

The Human Relations Committee faces tremendous problems. Of the city's 400,000 population, about 40,000 are Spanish-Americans and Mexican-Americans. There are about 15,000 Negroes, 2,500 Japanese-Americans and 16,000 Jews.

The Nisei are respected for honesty and industry. But they are discriminated against in housing, employment, and some public places. The Negro population, which includes many long established and well educated families, is better accepted in Denver than in most cities. Whites are alarmed, however, when an occasional Negro family enters their neighborhood, and private employers rarely hire Negroes for any but menial jobs. Anti-semitism is common in housing, employment and resorts.

The biggest problem is that of the Spanish-speaking people. Most of them were imported during the past forty years for farm labor, principally in the sugar beet fields. Their pay is poor, their education meager, their leadership inadequate. Their housing is the worst in the city. Each year a new wave of importees complicates the old problems.

The single-family dwellings that are characteristic of the city often conceal shoddy and overcrowded interiors. For example, in one house 20 persons share three beds in shifts.



Top: Mayor Quigg Newton. Below: Chairman William Grant Jr. of the Human Relations Committee, his son, and Urban League Secretary W. Miller Barbour.

Only a fraction of the housing need has been met by the Denver Housing Authority, which built 770 low-rent dwellings in 1941. The authority's policy of segregation served to heighten racial tensions. Recently, however, the authority has cautiously begun to mix racial groups in some of these dwellings.

One aspect of the Denver housing problem.

Under the Newton administration, construction of 4,000 low-rent dwellings is planned (the federal government has already approved 2,500). In pleasant contrast to the story in Chicago and Detroit, the new projects will be built on relatively vacant sites in areas where minorities have not lived. There will be no segregation.

"Our objective," the mayor told me, "is to improve every phase of Denver's life—everything from street cleaning to human relations."

In tackling human relations the Mayor's Committee works with everybody else instead of trying to carry the ball alone. "It's the city departments and the citizens generally who can and do change the pattern of human relations," said Mrs. Peterson. "Invaluable contributions are being made by the Urban League, the Japanese-American Citizens League, the Anti-Defamation League, the Latin-American Council and the Unity Council. One of the Committee's main jobs is to make the city government an example of fair practices."

An example is being set. The General Hospital, once notorious for discrimination, is becoming a model of fair treatment. The recreation department has established a complete policy of non-segregation without the riots that have occurred in other cities. The police department, which used to be feared and hated by the Spanish-speaking citizens, is seeking recruits from the Spanish and Negro population. The soft-spoken and intelligent chief, Herbert Forsyth, is accompanying Mrs. Peterson on visits to police districts where they help to iron out minority problems. Many teen-age boys who used to be thrown into jail are now taken to the Juvenile Bureau and turned over to social workers.

The city's employment policies have been changed. Negroes, Spanish-Americans, Jews, and Nisei hold jobs all through the city government—some of them in top spots. "I work in the motor vehicle bureau," said Ben Kamada, a Nisei I met in a drugstore. "We have Spanish and colored working there, too. This administration is it." Kamada's father came to the United States in 1896. The son was held in a relocation camp during the war.

A Negro has been appointed to the library board, the most exclusive board in the city. A Spanish-American is serving his second term as president of the city council. Harvey V. McDaniel, a Negro and director of one of the city's popular recreation centers, has been elected president of the Community Center Council, composed of the staffs of all public and private centers.

"We are getting a real response from the citizens," Mrs. Peterson said. "If white people object when a Negro family moves into their neighborhood, friends of ours will call us right away. We can generally stop any trouble before it starts."

Denver has made an honest start. If it keeps moving, it will become an outstanding example for the nation.

SPRINGFIELD

SPRINGFIELD, the capital of Illinois, is known for Lincoln's house and Lincoln's tomb. The sidewalks are empty early in the evening. People work and go home.

The only house that Lincoln ever owned, the place where he lived from 1844 to 1861, is kept painted a fresh white by the State of Illinois. About 350,000 people visit the house every year. The site is a few blocks from the center of town, in a deteriorating middle-class neighborhood, across the street from a Piggly Wiggly grocery and two blocks from the Wabash tracks. Towering elms and maples shaded the house and garden in June when I was there. Along a white board fence in the rear were coreopsis, day lilies, roses, iris, sweet william, and, in a secluded corner, 12 tomato plants.

On a brick retaining wall in front of the house, a bronze tablet bears these words from "Lincoln Walks at Midnight," written by a later resident of Springfield, Vachel Lindsay:

> By his homestead, or in shadowed yards
> He lingers where his children used to play,
> Or through the market, on the well worn stones
> He stalks until the dawn stars burn away.

In Springfield today (population 75,505, fifth largest city of Illinois) there is only the faintest echo of Lincoln's footfalls. The tourist house next door to the Lincoln house has no rooms for Negroes. Neither does the principal

Lincoln's house is two blocks from the boundary line between the white and Negro sections.

hotel, the Abraham Lincoln. The Lincoln Cafe, two blocks from the Lincoln house, has a portrait of the Civil War president flanked by two silk flags. The Lincoln Cafe also has a sign reading, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone."

Two of the three business schools do not accept Negro students. There are no Negro teachers in the city schools. The fire department has a Negro company, which is segregated. The Methodist, Episcopal, and Lutheran churches have separate churches for Negroes. The Catholic church and the YMCA do not segregate.

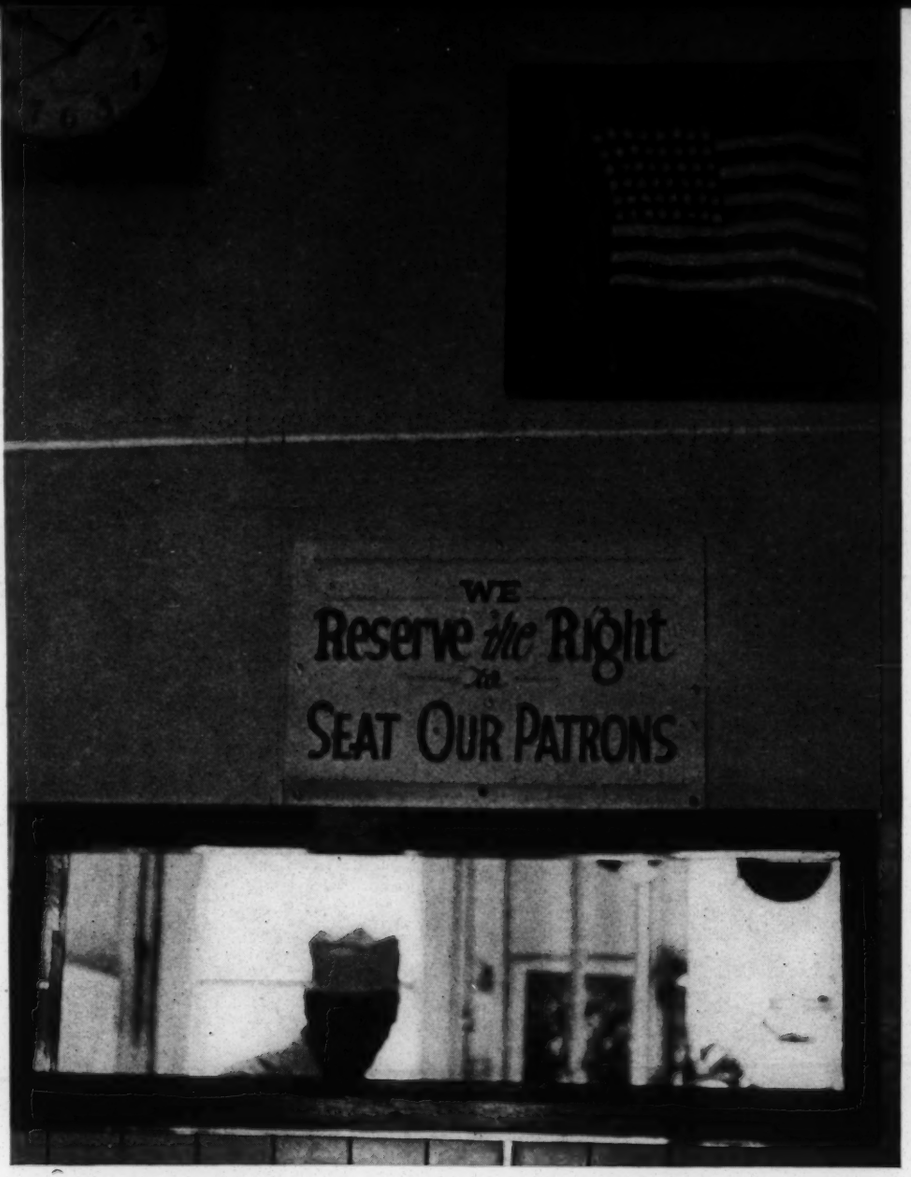
Although the public schools are interracial, Negro children must use separate wading pools and segregation is enforced on the public beaches at Lake Springfield. No city official will accept responsibility for this practice. The playground and recreation department says the park board and the Red Cross have authority; the park board refers inquiries to the water and light department; the water and light department says the playground and recreation department should be consulted. "It's a kind of an underground policy," one official admitted.

Nearly all of the city's 6,000 Negroes live east of the Wabash tracks, which became the color line after the race riot of 1908. Public housing has changed the picture somewhat. Although there are separate buildings for Negroes and whites, both races share a single project (John Hay Homes) with many common facilities.

In November 1949 the city established a Mayor's Committee on Human Relations. Seven months later it had accomplished nothing because the chairmanship was unfilled. "There is a fear here to experiment in democracy," said E. B. Winston, executive secretary of the Springfield Urban League.

The place where Lincoln's children used to play is the site of the present Lincoln school, a few blocks from the house, where an earlier school once stood. About 25 percent of the children in the big brick building east of the Wabash tracks are Negroes.

A fourth grade teacher, Miss Martha Miller, was supervising a ball game when the photographer and I walked by. "Color doesn't make any difference to these children," Miss Miller said. "I have children who suck off the same sucker, eat off the same apple, and go home and sleep together." When the children grow older, color makes a big difference in Lincoln's home town.



Freely translated, the sign means: "No Negroes served."

CHICAGO

CHICAGO is getting ready to build new ghettos under the 1949 Housing Act. No large city is doing more than Chicago to keep the Negro in segregated neighborhoods.

The citizen of Chicago is probably no more prejudiced than the citizen of Minneapolis or Muscatine. But his city is run by forces which seek to preserve their power by preserving the status quo.

The housing shortage is disgraceful and so is much of the housing. The Chicago Housing Authority says 292,000 dwellings should be added to the present 1,050,000 to ease the shortage. One-sixth of the city's dwellings have no toilet or no running water — an increase of 20 percent over 1940.

Negro housing is concentrated more rigidly than in southern cities. In the past decade the Negro population has soared past 400,000, an increase of close to 45 percent as against 6 percent for whites. The new arrivals have been wedged into the old slums. A survey by the Real Estate Research Corporation in 1949 showed 3,580 families and 646 roomers in dwellings built for 1,127 families.

Landlords have hit the jackpot by carving up old tenements into one-room kitchenettes renting at around $80. Firemen carried the bodies of five children from one building in

A resident of the Chicago ghetto. ⟶

which 67 families, separated by celotex partitions, had occupied space designed for six families.

The federal Housing Act of 1949 gave Chicago two big opportunities to enlarge its housing supply. Low-rent public housing would help many families (especially Negroes, whose plight is worst). The urban redevelopment section of the law could serve thousands of middle-income families.

The race issue has been a main factor in blocking both opportunities.

When there is practically no vacant housing, common sense requires that new housing be built on vacant land. It's great to tear down slums but unless new shelter is provided first for the displaced families, the effect is like that from bombing.

The only good vacant sites are in the outlying white neighborhoods. Low-rent and middle-income housing should be built there so the central slums can be gradually emptied, razed and redeveloped. But politicians, real estate men and residents of outlying areas have successfully resisted the entry of Negroes or other minorities from the slums.

In 1950 the housing authority planned to build 12,000 low-rent dwellings as its first postwar program. Eight thousand were to go on vacant land in white neighborhoods, the rest on slum sites in Negro areas. The housing authority's fine policy of interracial occupancy was to have been maintained outside the boundaries of the ghettos.

The most revealing picture of Chicago's slums is one obtained from the rear.

This program was spurned by Mayor Martin H. Kennelly and the city council. The aldermen toured the city by bus to choose politically acceptable sites. Upshot was a plan to build only 2,100 dwellings on vacant land (a figure later reduced to 1,300). About 9,000 more would be on congested and expensive slum sites.

Clearing these slums would displace 6,000 Negro families whose incomes are too high for low-rent housing. Most of them would be thrown to the mercies of landlords elsewhere in the overcrowded ghetto.

The major forces in the Chicago drama are:

Politics

Chicago's government is antiquated, cumbersome and corrupt. Citizens pay fixed prices for the privilege of erecting a sign or breaking the curb for a driveway. The city council has 50 aldermen, each representing his own little duchy. To stay in office the alderman must have a stable machine and a stable constituency. There are a few men of integrity in the council, but the majority goes along with the higher bosses and bows to the prejudices of realtors and organized property

owners. Efforts to break down the ghetto walls can be prevented by the aldermen's recently acquired and unusual power to approve sites for public housing.

An indirect role is played by the Syndicate, the spiritual and fiscal heir to the old Capone organization. Its influence reaches the state legislature and its systematic benefactions to the local police command a certain loyalty. Chicago's hoodlums are neither anti-public housing nor anti-Negro. Their attitude is that of the practical businessman: a customer is a customer. But the mutually profitable relationship between the politicians and the Syndicate creates another reason for avoiding major shifts in population. Replanning and redeveloping the West Side slums might lead to redevelopment of the city council itself, a distressing prospect for those who enjoy the Syndicate's favors.

Property

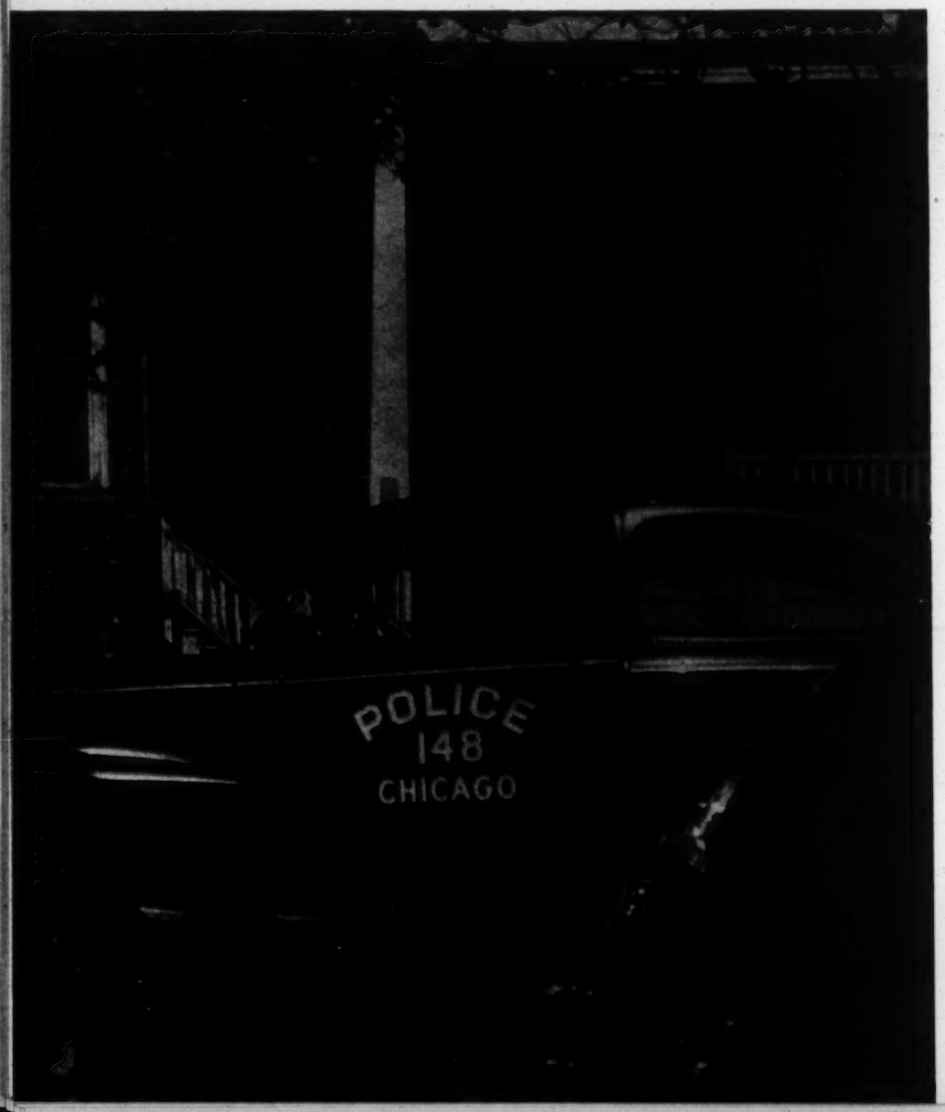
Chicago is the headquarters for three powerful real estate organizations—the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the United States Savings and Loan League, and the Mortgage Bankers Association of America. They are primarily hostile to public housing and rent control but they also dislike changes in racial patterns. Defeated in 1949 when Congress passed the Housing Act, they have schooled their local affiliates in ways to

← *This dwelling is inhabited.*

sabotage new public housing programs. The race issue makes a handy tool for their campaign against public housing.

Racial hatred has created terror where white and black neighborhoods meet. Four times since 1945 there have been riots by white mobs numbering several thousand.

Police guard daily a white home, once attacked when Negroes visited it.



Bigotry in Action

Although thousands of Negroes have escaped from the ghetto to nearby neighborhoods since the U. S. Supreme Court ruled against racial restrictive covenants in 1948, pioneers in most white districts face the possibilities of insults, threats, broken windows, clubbings, arson or shootings. Mrs. Roscoe Johnson, a Negro social worker who moved with her husband into a newly purchased house on South St. Lawrence Avenue in July 1949, told what happened:

> We didn't put the lights on in the house. We stayed downstairs in the room next to the kitchen. We barricaded the doors with the furniture and put a mattress behind it. We crawled on our hands and knees when the missiles started coming in through the windows. Then they started to throw gasoline-soaked rags stuck in pop bottles. They also threw flares and torches. As fast as they came in, either the firemen or the policemen would step in and put them out. The police did not try to push the crowd away from the house until we heard a riot car screaming.

Police have often winked at rock-throwing hoodlums and houses have been attacked while police were on 24-hour daily guard. The Chicago Human Relations Commission reports two "major anti-racial disturbances" since the July 1949 riot, one in August 1950. But instead of lasting for days this outbreak was stopped by wholesale arrests, thanks to a new in-service training program for police. If this policy is continued there will be less risk of a city-wide riot.

The White Circle League of Joseph Beauharnais has urged "self-respecting white people" to oppose "mongrelizing the white race." Fortunately the League has lost most of its influence along with its state charter.

The Real Opposition

Most self-respecting whites squirm at mention of the League but several thousands are enrolled in 70 or more neighborhood improvement associations. With two or three outstanding exceptions, these organizations of realtors and property owners use every pretext to keep Negroes out of white areas. Their leaders' influence has multiplied since a city-wide federation was created and their lobbyist has been admitted to city council sessions from which even the press was barred.

Chicago's Negroes need more leadership in the fight against segregation. Negro political power is concentrated in the pockets of Representative William L. Dawson, a vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee,

who prefers to keep his constituents where they now vote. Dawson failed to buck the city hall housing program. Robert R. Taylor quietly resigned as chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority and gave his support to the Kennelly plan. Many influential Negroes are themselves owners of the notorious kitchenette apartments and their views are no more enlightened than their slums. Thousands of Negro slum dwellers fear—with reason—that slum clearance will make them homeless.

U. S. Can Decide

The housing authority, with Commissioner Claude A. Benjamin dissenting, acquiesced in the city hall program. What happens next is up to the federal Public Housing Administration, which has power to approve or veto the city administration's plan. Under its own administrative rules the PHA could reject the slum clearance program by citing the need for building on vacant land and the dislocation of the 6,000 Negro families ineligible for public housing. The housing authority could still go ahead with the 1,300 dwellings on vacant sites and later move into the second phase of its program, which calls for construction on vacant land only.

A veto of the slum projects by PHA would prevent the building of a new central ghetto and would strengthen the campaign of decent civic organizations for use of vacant land.

There are some bright spots in Chicago. The Public Housing Association, a private citizens' agency, is fighting for a sound program. The Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, representing more than 100 religious, labor and civic organizations, has undertaken public education. Michael Reese Hospital, the Illinois Institute of Technology and the South Side Planning Board have a long-term plan for developing seven square miles of South Side slums. This project could become the nation's most dramatic example of replanning for interracial living. Again, however, the great need is to solve the problem of relocating displaced families.

In contrast to these private efforts, the city itself has made no real plans. The Chicago Plan Commission has failed to give the leadership needed for slum clearance, rehousing and general development.

A veteran's wife and another veteran's child in a Housing Authority project.

The stumbling block in Chicago is the aldermen and their unsavory bosses. Mayor Kennelly once used his influence in the city council to defeat an ordinance that would have extended the housing authority's interracial policy to private housing that enjoys government aid. Kennelly has wronged more than the Negroes. He has wronged his city. There can be no sound redevelopment so long as racism rules. A central ghetto means a sick and stagnant town, no better than its venal government.

DETROIT

AT THE Capitol Coffee Shop, around the corner from the Statler Hotel, I asked the pretty waitress with light brown hair and a browning gardenia where the nearest Negro district was.

"They live all over," she said. "We've had to move three times to get away from them."

Detroit's Negro population (about 300,000, which is double the 1940 figure) does not live all over. It is concentrated in about eight districts. More and more Negroes are leaving the ghettos, however, and the once exclusively white Northwest section is not so exclusive today.

Like the Negroes of Chicago, those in Detroit are buying houses to escape the squalor and exorbitant rents of kitchenette apartments. "A friend of mine is paying $97.50 a month for a living room with a studio couch, a kitchen the size of a bathroom, and a toilet in the hall that he has to share with two other families," a steel worker told me. "I guess I'm lucky. I'm only paying $80 for the same setup."

Race Issue in Open

In Detroit the race question is an acknowledged political issue, more so than in any large northern city. The nation's fifth largest city (1,837,613 population) is an adolescent, physically and sociologically. Southern whites and southern Negroes have migrated to jobs in the automobile factories, bringing prejudice and tension with them. In neighboring Dearborn prejudice is so entrenched that Mayor Orville L. Hubbard was able in 1948 to defeat a much-needed housing project planned by a life insurance company. He circulated the printed slogan, "Keep Negroes Out of Dearborn."

Twice within a decade Detroit has been seared by race riots. Angry whites in 1942 attacked Negroes moving into the Sojourner Truth public housing project which the whites had hoped to occupy. Tensions boiled over a year later when 25 Negroes and 9 whites were killed in a general riot.

How Cobo Was Elected

Preserving the sanctity of white neighborhoods was a main issue in the last mayoralty campaign. Candidate George Edwards wanted to use vacant land for the first 10,000 new units of public housing. That is the only sane course since vacant land in the Negro sections is barely 3 percent as against 22 percent for the city as a whole. Edwards would have broken the boundaries of the ghettos. Supporters of Albert E. Cobo spread the word, "You wouldn't want niggers living across the street, would you?" Cobo won.

Mayor Cobo's plan is to tear down some 8,550 Negro dwellings in the central slum area and replace them with 8,900 dwellings, mostly for Negro occupancy. There would be no building on vacant land. Nobody has explained how Negro families flushed out of the clearance area could be decently housed elsewhere. Cobo would simply replace an old ghetto with a new one.

Advocates of the Ghetto

The mayor's plan of containment is supported by the three daily newspapers, the realty interests and the neighborhood improvement associations. It is condemned by the Detroit Council for Better Housing, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League of Detroit, and other civic organizations.

The neighborhood improvement associations represent the attitude and often the personnel of the old Ku Klux Klan and Black Legion. One builder who had announced a policy of no discrimination was told by a delegation from the Seven Mile-Fenelon Improvement Association, "Those houses will be burned down as fast as you can build them." Since arson has not been uncommon, the developer decided to sell to whites only.

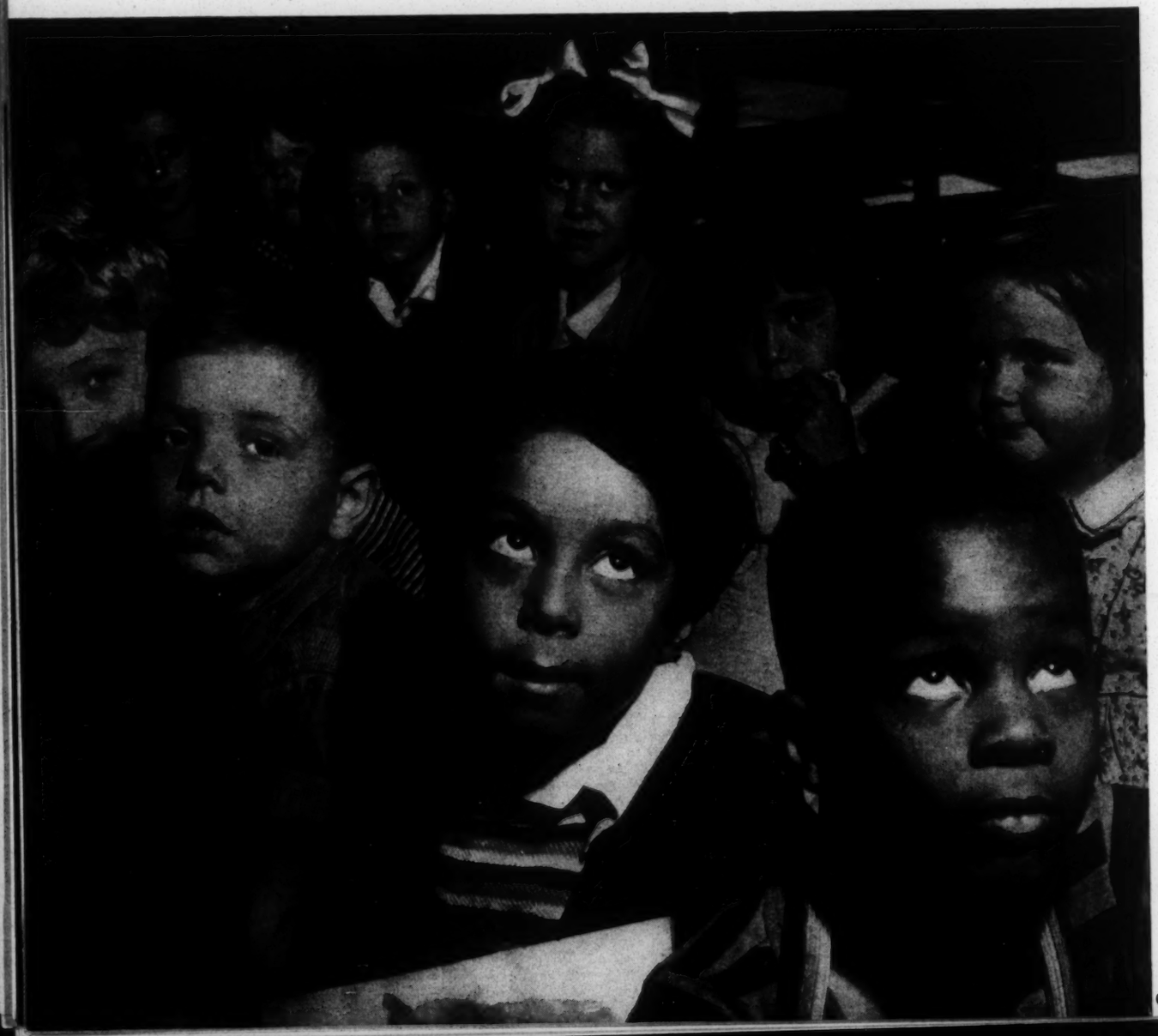
Public housing, which should express the civic conscience, is solidly jim crow in Detroit. Negroes, whose housing need is most acute, have been allotted a smaller proportion of dwellings than in many southern cities. The executive secretary of the Detroit Housing

UAW-CIO members at River Rouge. ⟶

Commission is Harry J. Durbin, a founder of the National Association of Home Builders and the principal developer of the white West Side.

The housing commission says its projects simply conform to "the neighborhood pattern." The Detroit branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has retorted that all-Negro projects do not conform to the pattern of neighborhoods where a white minority once lived, and has filed suit in federal court to abolish segregation in public housing.

When white and Negro children go to the same school, they get along fine.



The public schools do not segregate in theory but geography does the job. The few Negro teachers are almost invariably assigned to Negro schools. Only 1.5 percent of the high school teachers and ½ of 1 percent of the administrative personnel are Negroes.

Records of the NAACP show countless examples of police violence against Negroes. One man had been beaten up three times (as of June 1950) for walking on the sidewalk with a white woman, his wife.

Police Methods Changed

There are a few heartening contrasts. One is the Mayor's Interracial Committee, directed by quiet, hard-working George Schermer. The committee hasn't been able to remold the police force but it is making headway. A few years ago the policeman sent to investigate an attack on a Negro family would say, "Why don't you move back where you were?" He would then make routine inquiries of the white neighbors and sympathize with those who condemned the Negroes. Now there is a special investigation squad trained for interracial problems. It reports directly to the police commissioner.

The Interracial Committee's two field men try to spot symptoms of tension before serious trouble starts. They specialize in neighborhood educational work. Thanks to the committee,

some of the local improvement associations have accepted Negro members. The YMCA, completely segregated until 1950, now admits Negroes to five of its seven branches.

Under NAACP leadership, Wayne University students and other citizens sat down during the noon rush for prolonged 10¢ orders in dozens of restaurants that were refusing to serve Negroes. The restaurants capitulated.

A hundred committees sponsored by the Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department of the 1,000,000-member United Automobile Workers (CIO) have launched a campaign against third-rate lunchrooms that won't sell a bowl of soup to Negro auto workers. Proprietors are changing their policy. The UAW-CIO also broke the solid white front of the Detroit bowling alleys with its tournaments for mixed teams of union members.

Some observers think Cobo may reverse himself on the vacant land issue. One citizen remarked, "The mayor wants to leave a few monuments around town, and Cobo's Ghetto would be a hell of a memorial."

Detroit is a powder keg. A trifling spark could touch off wholesale murder. Paradoxically the hopeful aspect is that the race issue is naked. It's in the open. It can be talked about, fought about. In Chicago racism is just as much a political issue but a concealed one.

Detroit can ride the crisis if the housing problem is solved. There is no solution to housing until the ghetto walls go down.

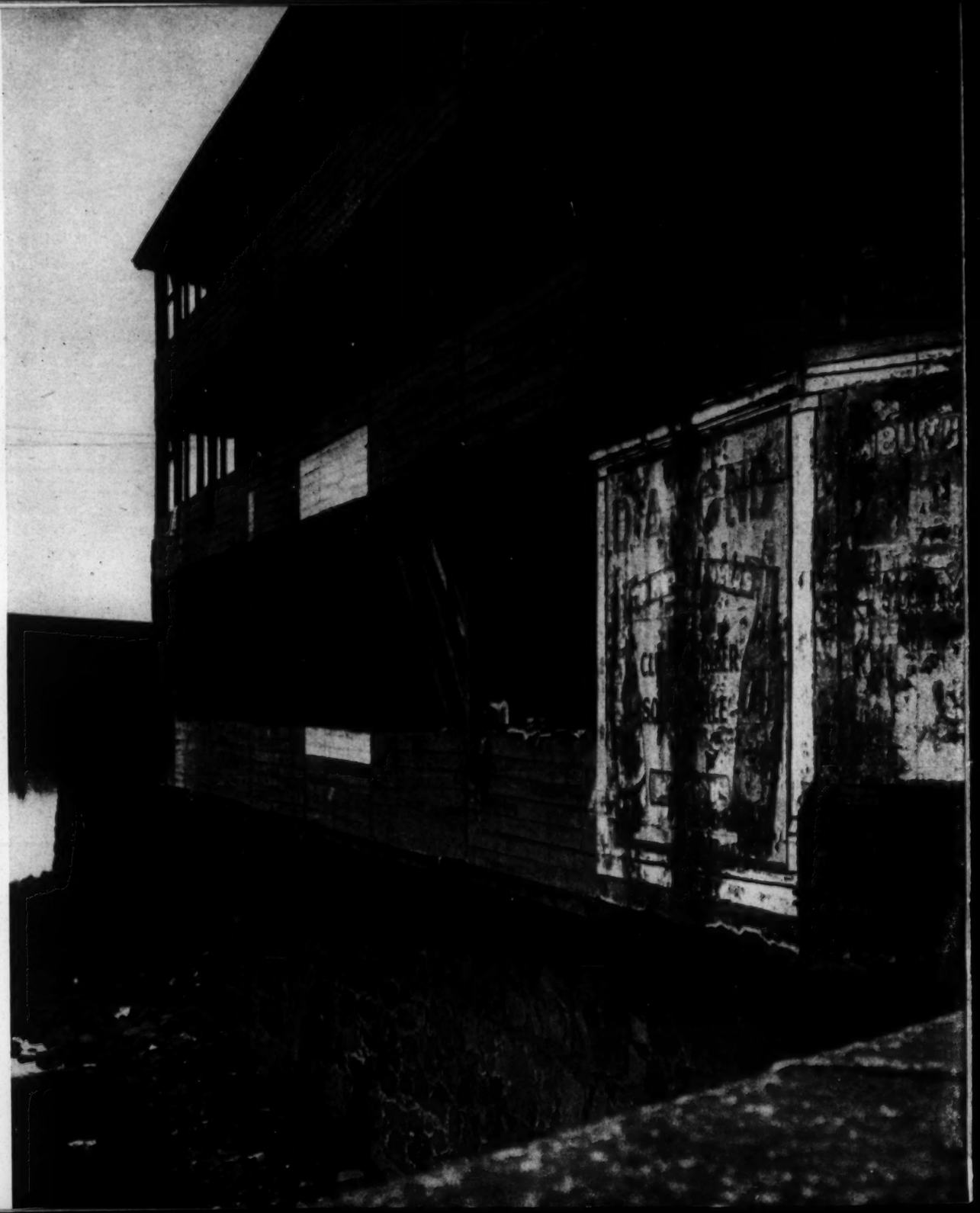
Although whites and Negroes work and study together in Detroit, most Negroes live in ghettos.

WATERBURY

THE train from Bridgeport, Connecticut, runs north through the green-walled Housatonic Valley, continuing up the narrower valley of the Naugatuck, crossing and recrossing the stream until the rails reach Waterbury. On May 9, 1800, the day that John Brown of Osawatomie was born at Torrington, 18 miles upstream from Waterbury, the river ran clear between gravelly banks. Now it is brown and oily with the waste of factories, disfigured with old tires and refuse, hemmed by masonry.

Waterbury lies in a bowl where the Mad River, Turkey Hill Brook, Hancock Brook, and Steel Brook join the Naugatuck. The brass mills (Waterbury is called the brass capital of the world) are in the bottom, close by the business district and the village green. Most of the houses are on the hill slopes. From the center of the bowl, a 240-foot brick tower rises above the railroad station, outreaching factory smokestacks and church spires. This landmark, a copy of the Torre del Mangia in Siena, Italy, was the cultural inspiration of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad.

The founding Yankees of Waterbury have long since been outnumbered by the Irish, the Italians and the Slavs. The Negroes, about 4,500 of the city's 104,000 population, are



Slum on the Naugatuck River. ⟶

at the bottom of the scale. Jews cannot easily buy houses in the best districts.

The big three in brass are American Brass Company (an Anaconda subsidiary), Chase Copper and Brass Company (a Kennecott subsidiary) and Scovill Manufacturing Company (independent). The social and economic destiny of the city is controlled by the five families who manage the brass mills.

What Waterbury Found

In 1946 a committee of the Community Council (the welfare federation) took a careful look at race relations in Waterbury. William W. Vosburgh Jr., editorial director of the Waterbury *Republican* and *American*, was chairman. "I have some prejudices myself," Mr. Vosburgh told me. "But I want to see everybody get a fair shake."

The committee reported that the churches often exchange ministers to present the viewpoints of other races and faiths. Public accommodations were found open to all races.

On the debit side, the report said: "We have restricted most of our Negro population to what amounts to a ghetto. . . . We have no colored teachers in our schools and no colored girls training to be nurses in either of our hospitals. . . . Local factory training schools are closed to Negro high school graduates."

The committee recommended that the mayor appoint an official committee to work for better group relations "in a wise, quiet and steady way to give the people of Waterbury a sense of moving towards solution of this problem."

The mayor did not act. But it was not long before several Negroes called on Mr. Vosburgh and two of his associates. They pointed out that the newspapers' policy of identifying Negroes in every petty crime story was hurtful to good race relations. From that day the papers have minimized references to race.

Other things have happened. In the fall of 1950 the city's first two Negro teachers went to work, most of their students being white. Waterbury Hospital has taken Negro girls in training. St. Mary's Hospital, a Catholic institution, had pioneered with Negro nurses and an intern. The State Interracial Commission sponsored a 6-week lecture course on the roots of prejudice and what can be done by good citizens. Those who attended the institute have organized formally and plan to establish an interracial day nursery on the pattern used successfully in New Haven.

As yet there has been little progress in opening jobs as skilled mechanics to qualified Negroes. In the brass mills the white man is the caster, the Negro is the caster's helper.

Public housing was segregated until a year ago. Pressure from the State Interracial Commission was one factor in bringing about a cautious change in policy. The 400 scheduled new low-rent dwellings are to be interracial.

Several years ago Dr. James Lee, a prominent Negro dentist, bought a house that was more than a mile from the nearest Negro family. His white lawyer warned Mrs. Lee that the children would be stoned. "I want that house," said Mrs. Lee. An officer of the East End Community Club urged the bank not to give a mortgage. But the deal went through.

Dr. James Lee and one of his patients.

"We have no more trouble with our neighbors than the whites have with theirs," Dr. Lee said. "Our children are accepted in school. I took my boy to see the Yankees play Cleveland and I took a Lithuanian boy and an Italian boy with us. My white neighbors have become my patients."

Waterbury is just about what Mr. Vosburgh's committee called it: "No horrible example, nor yet a model." It could move higher in the scale if that 1946 report by seven good citizens were taken seriously.

NEW YORK

THE teeming, low-lying blocks of Harlem are separated from Morningside Heights and Columbia University by Morningside Park, a narrow belt of green covering the shoulder of the heights. Along the bottom edge of the park is Morningside Avenue. At 119th Street and Morningside Avenue is an old apartment house of gray brick, heavy with cornices. On the fifth floor, in five small rooms, live Mr. and Mrs. Madison T. Jones, their 17-year-old son Madison Jr., and Mr. Jones's parents.

The Jones's living room is comfortable and attractive, although there is hardly enough space for the piano, radio-phonograph, television set, table, sofa, upholstered chair, two straight chairs and three small tables. Two walls are largely covered with books. A copy of *Kingsblood Royal* is inscribed "To my only rival in chess, Madison Jones — Sinclair Lewis." On a hassock is a fat file of *The New Yorker* and the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

Flanking the fireplace are five more shelves solidly filled with record albums. Mr. Jones prefers Bach, but he has not neglected Mozart, Brahms, Beethoven, and such off-trail compositions as Cimarosa's Concerto in C for oboe and strings.

The photographer and I spent a July evening with the Joneses and their friends, Mr. and Mrs. Joe Gayles. Mr. Jones, a graduate of St. John's College, Brooklyn, is administrative assistant with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. His attractive wife is a physician's daughter.

Mr. and Mrs. Madison T. Jones in the living room of their Harlem apartment.

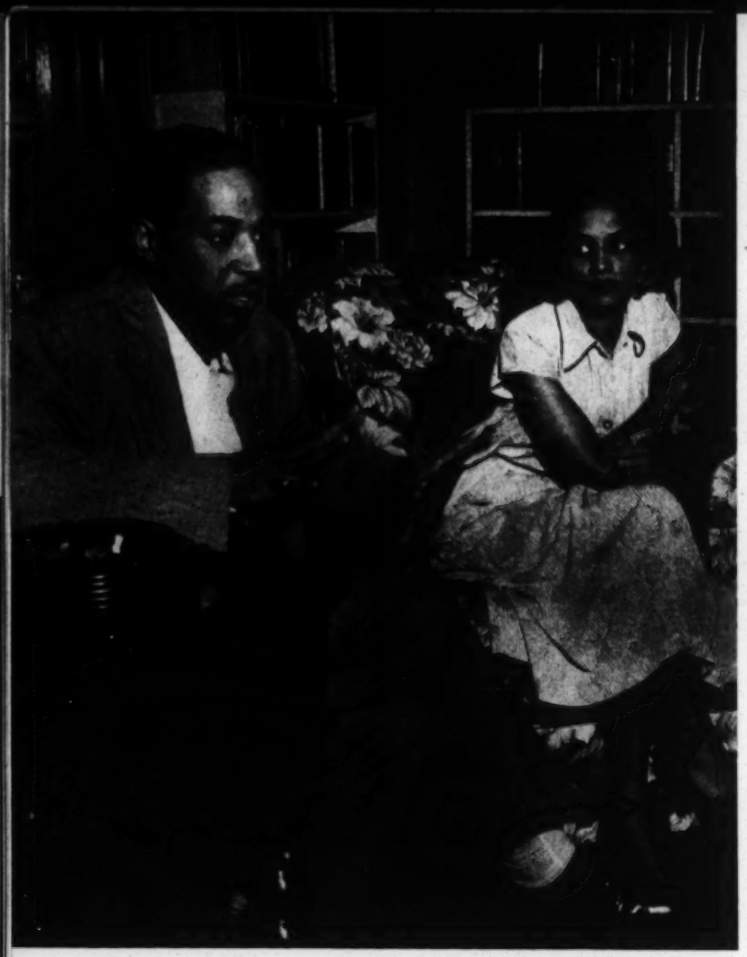
Mr. Gayles is a native of Denver. After the war he picked New York for a career in music and played the saxophone four years in Dizzy Gillespie's band. In 1949 he married Miss Anna Keller, a secretary at the NAACP.

The fundamental need of both families is a decent place to live. "We want to get out of Harlem," said Mrs. Jones. "The public schools are poor and we don't want our son to grow up just with Negro children—that doesn't make him a real American."

"The trouble is," Mr. Jones explained, "we are not eligible for low-rent public housing and there isn't any good private housing for Negroes. We saw one advertisement for an

Looking toward Morningside Heights from 119th Street. The Joneses live on the corner. →

FRANKFURTERS
AND ROLLS
SODA
10¢



Mr. and Mrs. Joe Gayles — they need a house.

uptown apartment at $55. The girl at the real estate office didn't look up when I asked if the apartment was still available. She just said 'Yes' and then she saw us. 'Oh—it's not for colored,' she said."

"We had to hand over $300 to get a small furnished sublet in Harlem a year ago," Mrs. Gayles put in. "Now the tenant wants it back. We may have to go to a furnished room."

I asked about Levittown, the vast development of small houses on Long Island. "No use applying," said Mrs. Gayles. "They don't sell to Negroes."

"Sometimes I get mad," Mr. Jones said. "As a youngster I went to work for a large company. I stayed with them ten years, all through college. When a clerk finally died they promoted me. But they kept me on a messenger's pay. I asked for a raise. They said I had gone as far as a Negro could, so I quit."

"There was a redheaded teacher at P.S. 81," Mrs. Gayles recalled. "She always used a piece of paper when she opened the door so she wouldn't touch the knob we'd touched."

"I used to hate that part in history about the happy slaves singing in the cotton fields," Mrs. Jones said. "I was so ashamed of the Negroes because they submitted to slavery. Then I read in one of my father's books about the slaves' insurrections and the next day I tried to tell about them in school. 'They fought!' I told the teacher. 'They really fought!' She just said, 'Sit down, Muriel.' She didn't understand. Nobody tells our children what they have to be proud of."

I asked Mr. Gayles how it was, traveling around the country with the band.

"Bad. When we played for mixed dances in the south, there would be a rope down the middle of the floor to keep the Negroes separate.

"In Europe it is different. We played in Denmark, Sweden, France, Germany and Italy. Mexico, too. They treat you like a man. Any time you leave the U.S. you are free."

"We've got to remember that the Negroes are not alone," Mrs. Jones said. "In New York the Spanish people are discriminated against and the Jewish people worry about their children being hurt when they go to college. There really isn't much difference if you belong to a minority."

A Good Example

New York State set an example for the nation in 1950 with the Wicks-Austin law which prohibits discrimination or segregation in any new publicly assisted housing projects. The New York City Council had enacted a similar law in 1949.

These laws were a heartening contrast to the record of the Mortgage Conference of Greater New York, formed by banks and insurance companies controlling the bulk of the mortgage money. Until federal action under the anti-trust laws led in 1948 to dissolution of the Mortgage Conference, its members conspired to prevent Negroes and Spanish-speaking people from buying outside the segregated districts. Negroes and Puerto Ricans still find it hard to buy or rent in white neighborhoods although violence is rare.

Many apartment houses on Park, Madison and Fifth Avenues will not take any of the city's more than 2,000,000 Jews as tenants.

For several years the most imposing symbol of discrimination has been Stuyvesant Town,

the big development of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The project got a $75,000,000 tax subsidy from the city with the right to bar Negroes. Under heavy pressure from civic organizations the insurance company in September 1950 assigned a few of its 8,755 dwellings to Negro tenants.

The low-rent projects of the New York City Housing Authority, wholly interracial, have accomplished most for the city's 500,000 Negroes. The authority's vast postwar program comprises 125,000 dwellings, half of them completed or under construction. An important part of the program is self-supporting projects at moderate rents, providing 22,000 dwellings on an interracial basis for families with incomes of less than $4,900.

But the Joneses and the Gayleses do not qualify. What they need is non-segregated private construction on vacant sites under the urban redevelopment law. The Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York has pointed out that unless redevelopment is wisely executed, Harlem will remain a ghetto: "an uncoordinated collection of community facilities and of public housing projects tenanted by low-income Negroes and Puerto Ricans."

East Harlem, for example, is an area designated by the City Planning Commission for redevelopment. Thus far the housing authority has built or scheduled seven low-rent projects in East Harlem, several of them separated only by a street. But private enterprise hasn't stirred (except for Metropolitan's Riverton project). The city has made no plans for badly needed parks and playgrounds, for coordination of community facilities.

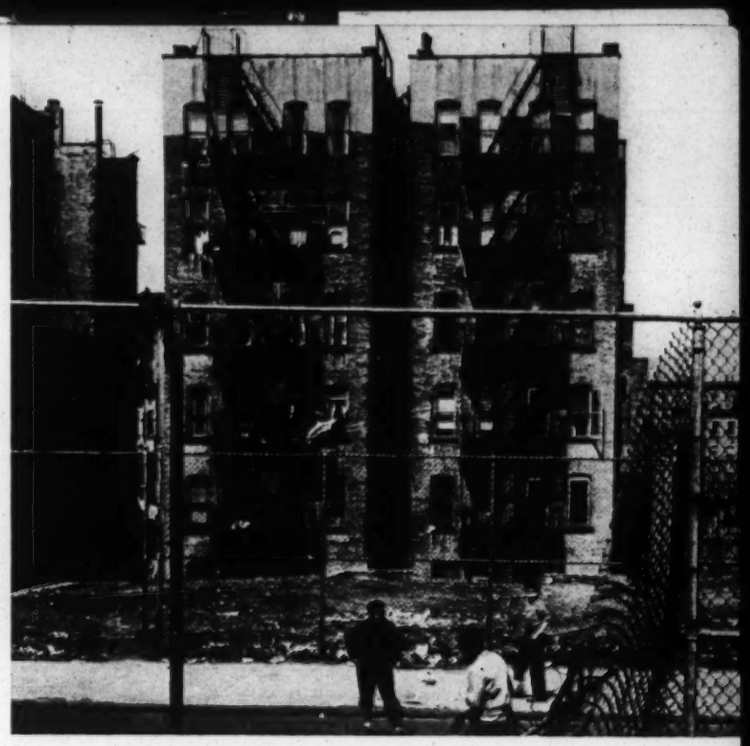
Citizens have got to make planning their own political business. What citizens can do is being shown in Morningside Heights and Manhattanville, two adjoining communities on the western edge of Harlem. The Heights has Columbia University, Barnard College, Teachers College, Union Theological Seminary, Jewish Theological Seminary, Juilliard School, International House, and other well-known institutions. Manhattanville, in the Harlem valley, has some of the city's worst housing and a record for harmonious interracial living.

Under the leadership of the institutions, a program for redeveloping the entire area has been drafted. New private housing is planned for middle-income families, more public housing for low-income people.

The Need in Every City

Planning in every city must be extended from city hall to the neighborhood level if racial tensions and urban blight are to be eradicated. Planning commissions must be given two things that most of them lack: money and power. With those tools they can produce sensible master plans.

Cities that do not have redevelopment agencies should hasten to establish them—and the citizens must see to it that redevelopment is planned on a democratic, non-political basis. Finally, the local and federal governments must accept full responsibility for relocating all displaced families without segregation.



Rear view of typical Harlem tenements.

It makes no sense to argue, as some will, that action against segregation should be postponed until peace is restored. We cannot postpone the need for a united nation.

To replan our cities for democratic living there must be joint action by PTAs, church groups, labor unions, business associations and every organization that wants a healthy community. When citizens of good will match their strength against that of a few bigots and unenlightened leaders of realty and finance, the ghetto will disappear from the map of the United States.

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IN THESE TEN CITIES is published by the Public Affairs Committee, a nonprofit, educational organization, at 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. The purpose of the Committee is to bring readable facts on economic, social, health and family problems to American readers at minimum cost. Issuing a new pamphlet about every month, the Committee has distributed more than 16,000,000 pamphlets. *In These Ten Cities* is the second in a new series of picture pamphlets.

The Committee's officers are Mark Starr, chairman; F. Ernest Johnson, vice-chairman; Erling M. Hunt, secretary, and Miss Beulah Amidon, treasurer. Maxwell S. Stewart is editor of the pamphlet series, Miss Mabel C. Mount is associate editor and Mrs. Dallas Johnson is educational director.

In These Ten Cities was prepared by the New York State Committe on Discrimination in Housing, organized in 1949 by representatives of racial, religious, housing, labor and other groups. Citizens and public officials in other states got interested in the new organization. Result was that conferences called by the Committee attracted delegates from Boston to San Francisco.

Naturally enough, all this commotion led to action. The most important achievement of the Committee was the Wicks-Austin law of 1950, through which the New York legislature prohibited discrimination in publicly assisted housing. Algernon D. Black is chairman of the Committee, Mrs. Hortense W. Gabel is executive director and Miss Katherine Morton is administrative secretary.

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to establish justice

to insure domestic tranquility

Introduction and Summary of Recommendations

from the Final Report of

THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE

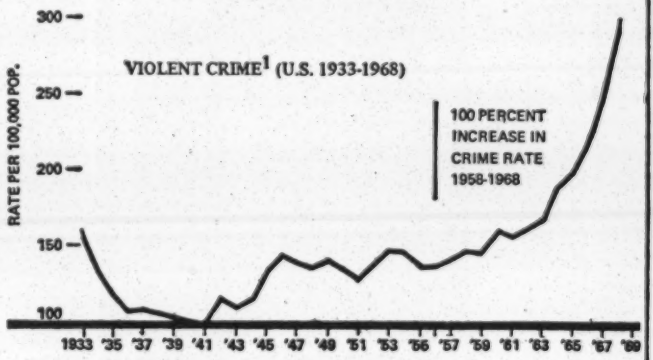
Introduction

This Commission was created by the President in June, 1968, to determine the causes of violence in the United States and to recommend methods of prevention.

Last January we issued a Progress Report, stressing the enormous complexities involved in understanding this vexing and multi-faceted problem. We noted that to understand violence, we had to study American society itself, past and present, and the traditions and institutions which accept or condemn, generate or reduce the various forms of violence in our society. We indicated, too, that rather than depending solely on our own knowledge and preconceptions, we had found it necessary to enlist the assistance of more than two hundred of the nation's leading scholars in criminology, psychology, history, political science, sociology, and law.

We have now completed our study. We present the results in this Report. The full scope of our endeavor will be apparent to those who study not only what we say here but also the work of our seven research task forces and five investigatory study teams. Their reports to us fill fifteen volumes. We also held a series of hearings and conferences, receiving the views of more than 150 public officials, scholars, educators, religious leaders, and private citizens from media executives to young students. We are publish-

VIOLENT CRIME

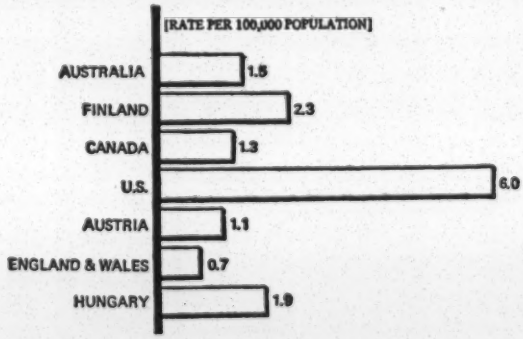


[1] Homicide, Forcible Rape, Robbery, Aggravated Assault

VIOLENT CRIME (U.S. 1968)

	NO. REPORTED CRIMES	RATE PER 100,000 POP.
HOMICIDE	13,650	6.8
FORCIBLE RAPE	31,060	15.5
ROBBERY	261,730	131.0
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	282,400	141.3
TOTAL	588,840	294.6
TOTAL REPORTED SERIOUS PROPERTY CRIME U.S. 1968 (Burglary, Larceny Over $50, Auto Theft)	3,877,700	1940.0

COMPARISON OF U.S. HOMICIDE RATES WITH THOSE OF OTHER NATIONS, 1966



Source: Task Force Report, *Crimes of Violence* (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, to be published.)

ing the transcript of six days of hearings on the mass media; transcripts of the other hearings will be available for study in the National Archives.

Extensive as our study was, it could not embrace every aspect of such a complex problem. Others must build on our work, just as we have built on work that preceded ours. But within the confines of the time and resources available to us, we believe we have gained some valuable insights. We believe we have identified the causes of much of the violence that plagues contemporary America. We are convinced that most of this violence can be prevented, for our work has illuminated for us the strengths of this great nation, as well as its shortcomings. Our institutions and the spirit of our people are equal to this challenge, no less than to the challenges we have met in the past.

* * * * *

Violence in the United States has risen to alarmingly high levels. Whether one considers assassination, group violence, or individual acts of violence, the decade of the 1960s was considerably more violent than the several decades preceding it and ranks among the most violent in our history. The United States is the clear leader among modern, stable democratic nations in its rates of homicide, assault, rape, and robbery, and it is at least among the highest in incidence of group violence and assassination.

This high level of violence is dangerous to our society. It is disfiguring our society—making fortresses of portions of our cities and dividing our people into armed camps. It is jeopardizing some of our most precious institutions, among them our schools and universities—poisoning the spirit of trust and cooperation that is essential to their proper functioning. It is corroding the central political processes of our democratic society—substituting force and fear for argument and accommodation.

We have endured and survived other cycles of violence in our history. Today, however, we are more vulnerable to violence than ever before. Two-thirds of our people live in urban areas, where violence especially thrives. Individual and group specializations have intensified our dependence on one another. Men are no longer capable of solitary living and individual self-defense; men must live together and depend upon one another to observe the laws and keep the peace.

The American people know the threat. They demand that violence be brought to a halt. Violence must be brought under control—to safeguard life and property, and to make possible the creation of the understanding and cooperation needed to remedy underlying causes. No society can remain free, much less deal effectively with its fundamental problems, if its people live in fear of their fellow citizens; it is ancient wisdom that a house divided against itself cannot stand.

In this Report we suggest a number of specific measures for the better control of violence. We urge, for example, that the nation should double its investment in the prevention of crime and the administration of justice, as rapidly as that investment can be wisely planned and utilized. We recommend that central offices of criminal justice be created at the metropolitan level to make all parts of the criminal justice process—police, courts, corrections—function more effectively, and that private citizens' organizations be formed to work as counterparts of these offices in every major city in the nation. We urge that public officials, including law enforcement officers, intensify their efforts to develop more effective tactics in handling both peaceful demonstrations and violent disturbances. As we show by comparing successful and unsuccessful strategies of control of major mass demonstrations of the past few years, official behavior may determine whether protest remains peaceful or erupts into serious violence.

Further, we recommend the adoption of a national fire-

VIOLENT CRIME IN THE CITY

VIOLENT CRIME BY CITY SIZE (U.S. 1960 and 1968)

CITIES:	[RATES PER 100,000 POP.] 1960	1968
OVER 250,000	293.7	773.2
100,000–250,000	154.0	325.3
50,000–100,000	104.3	220.5
25,000–50,000	70.1	150.8
10,000–25,000	57.3	126.6
UNDER 10,000	47.7	111.4
SUBURBAN	N.A.	145.5
RURAL	N.A.	96.5

REPORTED URBAN ARREST RATES FOR VIOLENT CRIMES BY AGE

RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION U.S. 1967	AGE	INCREASE IN RATE 1968 TO 1967
123.0	10-14	222.0%
408.2	15-17	102.5%
222.1	10-17	138.8%
436.1	18-24	45.5%
127.3	25+	41.1%
189.1	ALL AGES (10+)	65.7%

- Violent crime in the city is overwhelmingly committed by males.
- Violent crime in the city is concentrated especially among youths between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four.
- Violent crime in the city is committed primarily by individuals at the lower end of the occupational scale.
- Violent crime in the cities stems disproportionately from the ghetto slum where most Negroes live.
- The victims of assaultive violence in the cities generally have the same characteristics as the offenders: victimization rates are generally highest for males, youths, poor persons, and blacks. Robbery victims, however, are very often older whites.

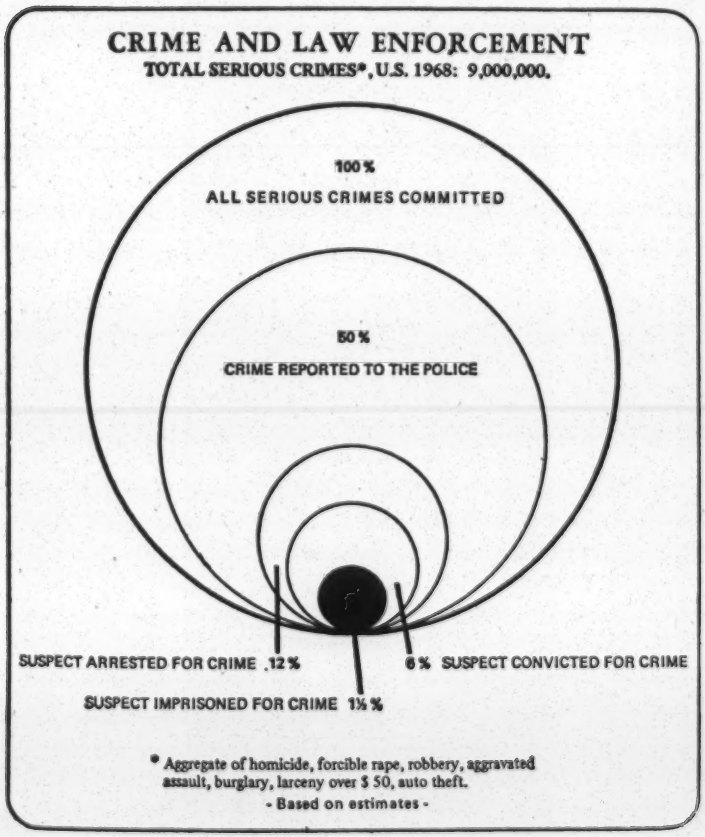
SOURCE: Task Force Report, *Crimes of Violence* (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, to be published.)

arms policy that will limit the general availability of handguns.

* * * * *

Necessary as measures of control are, they are only a part of the answer. They do not cure the basic causes of violence. Violence is like a fever in the body politic: it is but the symptom of some more basic pathology which must be cured before the fever will disappear.

* * * * * *



Indeed, if measures of control were this society's only response to violence, they would in the long run exacerbate the problem. The pyramiding of control measures could turn us into a repressive society, where the peace is kept primarily through official coercion rather than through willing obedience to law. That kind of society, where law is more feared than respected, where individual expression and movement are curtailed, is violent too—and it nurtures within itself the seeds of its own violent destruction.

In this Report, we analyze basic causes which underlie the chief varieties of contemporary violence. We make a number of recommendations directed to removing these causes. They cannot be eliminated entirely; even in a perfectly just society in which all have a fair and nondiscriminatory stake, there will always be some violent individual, in rural as well as in urban areas, and measures of control will always be required to restrain them. But we can improve the conditions and opportunities of life for all citizens and thus reduce sharply the number who will commit violent acts.

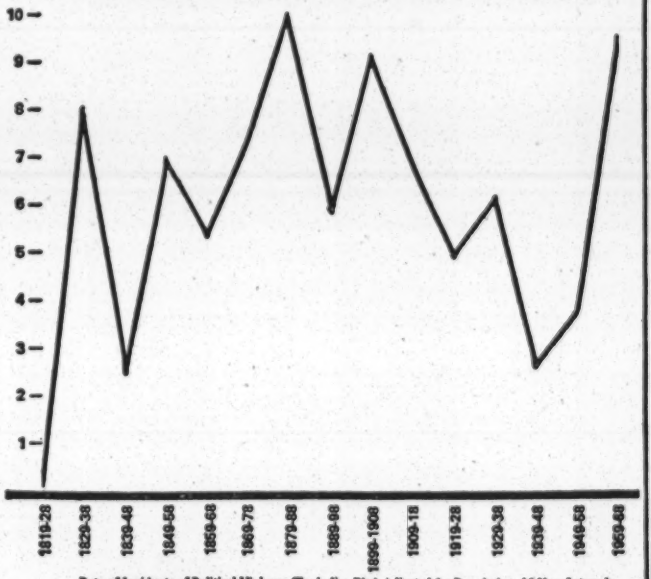
Thus, we urge that young people must be given a greater role in determining their own destiny and in shaping the future course of our society. Responsible participation in decision-making may, for many, be a substitute for the violence that is born in frustration. We propose lowering the voting age, reforming the draft, and providing a massive expansion in opportunities for youth to engage in public service activities whose goals young people wholeheartedly embrace.

While we categorically condemn all illegal violence, including group violence,* as incompatible with the survival of a just, democratic, and humane society, we state emphatically that aggrieved groups must be permitted to ex-

* In this Report we define group violence as unlawful threat or use of force by any group that results or is intended to result in the injury or forcible restraints or intimidation of persons, or the destruction or forcible seizure of property.

GROUP VIOLENCE

COMPARATIVE LEVELS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE (U.S. 1819-1968)



Rate of Incidents of Political Violence (Excluding War) Adjusted for Population, 10-Year Intervals
[Based on Sampling of Newspapers]

Source: Task Force Report, *Assassination and Political Violence* (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Nov. 1969).

DEMONSTRATIONS, RIOTS AND INDIVIDUAL VIOLENT CRIMES (U.S. JUNE 1963–MAY 1968)

	POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTESTS INVOLVING MORE THAN 100 PERSONS[1]	URBAN RIOTS[2]	INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF VIOLENT CRIME[3] HOMICIDE	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
POPULATION	2,000,000 PARTICIPANTS	200,000 PARTICIPANTS	195,000,000 CITIZENS	195,000,000 CITIZENS
INJURIES	1,100	8,000	———	1,124,200
DEATHS	NONE	190	53,200	———
ARRESTS	21,000	50,000	39,000	457,500

[1] Civil Rights Demonstrations, Antiwar Demonstrations, Student Protests on Campus Issues, School Anti-Integration Demonstrations, Segregationist Clashes and Counter-Demonstrations. 642 Events Identified.

[2] 239 Events Identified.

[3] Based on *Uniform Crime Reports*, FBI, Adjusted for Mid-1963 to Mid-1968.

Source: Task Force Report, *Violence in America* (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, June 1969)

ercise their constitutional rights of protest and public presentation of grievances. Accordingly, we believe the President should seek legislation that would confer jurisdiction upon the United States District Courts to grant injunctions, upon the request of the Attorney General or private persons, against the threatened or actual interference by any person, whether or not under color of state or federal law, with the rights of individuals or groups to freedom of speech, freedom of the press, peaceful assembly, and petition for redress of grievances.

We must have the perception to recognize injustices when they are called to our attention, and we must have the institutional flexibility to correct those injustices promptly. To enable the less affluent to obtain effective and peaceful redress of grievances, we recommend that additional steps should be taken to meet their needs for lawyers, and that state and local jurisdictions should be encouraged to experiment with the establishment of grievance agencies to serve all citizens.

The way in which we can make the greatest progress toward reducing violence in America is by taking the actions necessary to improve the conditions of family and community life for all who live in our cities, and especially for the poor who are concentrated in the ghetto slums. It is the ghetto slum that is disproportionately responsible for violent crime, by far the most acute aspect of the problem of violence in the United States today.

To be a young, poor male; to be undereducated and without means of escape from an oppressive urban environment; to want what the society claims is available (but mostly to others); to see around oneself illegitimate and often violent methods being used to achieve material gain; and to observe others using these means with impunity—all this is to be burdened with an enormous set of influences that pull many toward crime and delinquency. To be also a Negro, Puerto Rican or Mexican-American and subject to discrimination and segregation adds considerably to the pull of these other criminogenic forces.

Safety in our cities requires nothing less than progress in reconstructing urban life. We must meet the 1968 Housing Act's goal of a decent home for every American within a decade. We must take more effective steps to realize the goal, first set in the Employment Act of 1946, of a useful job at a reasonable wage for all who are able to work. We must provide better educational opportunities for all our children. We must act on current recommendations that those American families who cannot care for themselves receive a basic annual income. We must restructure our local governments, restore their fiscal vitality and accomplish a host of other major tasks of the kind discussed in this Report.

* * * * *

As these brief introductory comments indicate, we believe that the twin objectives of the social order must be to make violence both unnecessary and unrewarding. To make violence unnecessary, our institutions must be capable of providing justice for all who live under them—of giving all a satisfactory stake in the normal life of the community and the nation. To make violence unrewarding, our institutions must be able to control violence when it occurs, and to do so firmly, fairly, and within the law.

The Preamble of our Constitution does not speak merely of justice or merely of order; it embraces both. Two of the six purposes set forth in the Preamble are to "establish justice" and to "insure domestic tranquility." If we are to succeed in preventing and controlling violence, we must achieve both of these goals.

We are well aware that our recommendations for attaining these objectives—and the recommendations of other national commissions before us—will require far-reaching improvements in our institutions and unprecedented levels of public funding. We adopt as our own the verdict which the Kerner Commission pronounced upon the scope and costs of its recommendations:

> [T]hey neither probe deeper nor demand more

ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS AGAINST PRESIDENTS & PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Year	Victim	Assailant and professed or alleged reason	Method of attack and result	Location	Activity of victim at time of attack
1835	Andrew Jackson	Richard Lawrence; declared insane, said Jackson was preventing him from obtaining large sums of money.	pistol, misfired	Washington, D.C.	Attending funeral service in Capitol rotunda
1865	Abraham Lincoln	John W. Booth; loyalty to the Confederacy, revenge for defeat, slavery issue.	pistol, killed	Washington, D.C.	Attending theatrical performance in Ford Theatre
1881	James Garfield	Charles Guiteau; disgruntled office-seeker, supporter of opposite faction of Republican Party.	pistol, killed	Washington, D.C.	Passing through train station to go on vacation
1901	William McKinley	Leon F. Czolgosz; anarchist ideology	pistol, killed	Buffalo, N.Y.	Standing in reception line at Pan-American Exposition
1912	Theodore Roosevelt (Candidate)	John Schrank; declared insane, had vision that McKinley wanted him to avenge his death.	pistol, wounded	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Leaving hotel to deliver a campaign speech
1933	Franklin D. Roosevelt (President-Elect)	Guiseppe Zangara; hated rulers and capitalists.	pistol, bullets missed the President	Miami, Fla.	Leaving after delivering speech in Bayside Park
1950	Harry S. Truman	Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola; Puerto Rican independence.	automatic weapon, prevented from shooting at President	Washington, D.C.	Inside Blair House as assassins attempted to break in
1963	John F. Kennedy	Lee H. Oswald; motive unknown.	rifle, killed	Dallas, Tex.	Taking part in motorcade through Dallas streets
1968	Robert F. Kennedy (Candidate)	Sirhan Sirhan; opposition to U.S. mid-East policy.	pistol, killed	Los Angeles, Calif.	Leaving primary campaign headquarters through hotel kitchen after delivering speech

Source: Task Force Report, *Assassination and Political Violence* (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, October, 1969)

than the problems which called them forth. There can be no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the nation's conscience.

For the past three decades, the primary concerns of the federal government have been the national defense, the conduct of wars and foreign affairs, the growth of the economy, and, more recently, the conquest of space. These problems have consumed the major part of the public attention. They currently devour more than two-thirds of federal expenditures and approximately 50 percent of federal, state, and local expenditures combined.

Traditionally we have left the problems of social justice, provision of essential community services, and law enforcement primarily to the states and cities. In recent years, the federal government has made some major efforts in diverse fields such as rural development, civil rights, medical care, housing, employment, and education, but these efforts have been subordinated to the claims of the "national security."

Yet the federal government still collects the lion's share (about 65 percent) of all tax receipts. Tax revenue available to the states and cities falls woefully below what is needed to discharge their responsibilities. Each one percent rise in the Gross National Product increases the income of the federal government by one and one-half percent, while the normal income of state and city governments increases by less than half that percentage. Concentrating on "national" and international problems at the expense of "local" and domestic concerns has left us with an enormous deficit of unmet social needs and deeply-felt social injustices.

Ironically, this gap has appeared despite rapidly accelerating technological, economic and social gains. For the first time in man's history, this nation is nearing the capability of releasing all citizens from the poverty and social privation that hitherto have been accepted as the inevitable lot of mankind. We have also achieved an enormous capacity to communicate: the poor, the black, and

other deprived groups among us can see daily on their television sets what they are missing, and how near their release from bondage can be. But our institutions have not yet made it possible for an expectant populace to achieve what our economy and technology are becoming capable of providing.

In our judgment, the time is upon us for a reordering of national priorities and for a greater investment of resources in the fulfillment of two basic purposes of our Constitution—to "establish justice" and to "insure domestic tranquility."

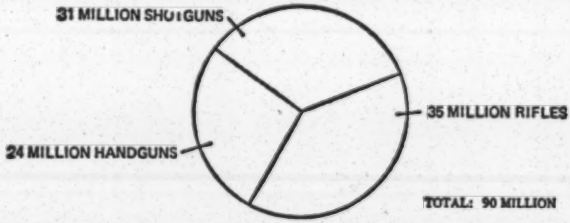
* * * * *

We solemnly declare our conviction that this nation is entering a period in which our people need to be as concerned by the internal dangers to our free society as by any probable combination of external threats. We recognize that substantial amounts of funds cannot be transferred from sterile war purposes to more productive ones until our participation in the Vietnam war is ended. We also recognize that to make our society essentially free of poverty and discrimination, and to make our sprawling urban areas fit to inhabit, will cost a great deal of money and will take a great length of time. We believe, however, that we can and should make a major decision now to reassess our national priorities by placing these objectives in the first rank of the nation's goals.

The decision that has the greatest effect on the level of our expenditures for these objectives is what we decide to spend on the national defense. For three decades, the national defense has ranked first by far in our scale of priorities, much of the time necessarily so. With occasional exceptions, whatever the Administration has requested for the Armed Forces has been readily granted. Since 1939 there have been a number of occasions when the Administration's budget requests for the Armed Forces have been exceeded by Congressional appropriations; for most other

FIREARMS

1. TOTAL NUMBER OF FIREARMS IN CIVILIAN HANDS (U.S. 1968)



2. ANNUAL INCREASE IN NUMBER OF FIREARMS IN CIVILIAN HANDS (U.S. 1962 vs. 1968)

RIFLES:	1962, 0.7 MILLION	1968, 1.4 MILLION
SHOTGUNS:	1962, 0.7 MILLION	1968, 1.4 MILLION
HANDGUNS:	1962, 0.6 MILLION	1968, 2.5 MILLION
TOTAL:	1962, 2.1 MILLION	1968, 5.3 MILLION

3. CRIMINAL USES OF FIREARMS (U.S. 1964 vs. 1967)

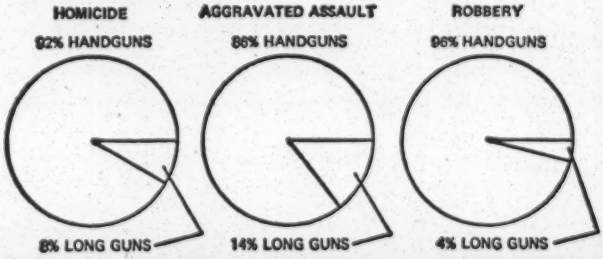
HOMICIDES:	1964, 55% WITH FIREARMS	1967, 63% WITH FIREARMS
AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS:	1964, 15% WITH FIREARMS	1967, 21% WITH FIREARMS
ROBBERIES:	1964, NOT AVAILABLE	1967, 37% WITH FIREARMS

4. DEADLINESS OF FIREARMS ATTACK VS. KNIFE ATTACKS (U.S. 1967)

FIREARMS ATTACKS RESULTING IN DEATH: 12.8%
KNIFE ATTACKS RESULTING IN DEATH: 2.9%

FIREARMS ATTACKS ARE THUS 4.4 TIMES AS DEADLY AS KNIFE ATTACKS.

5. TYPE OF GUN USED IN CRIMES COMMITTED WITH FIREARMS (LARGE U.S. CITIES 1967)



Source: Task Force Report, *Firearms and Violence in American Life* (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, July, 1969).

federal programs the opposite is true. For example, actual appropriations for the general welfare (health, labor, education, housing, pollution, and law enforcement) are currently running more than five billion dollars annually below the amounts previously authorized by the Congress.

Our Commission is not competent to recommend a specific level of national defense expenditures. We recognize that without the deterrent capability essential for security against external attack, internal freedom and security would not be possible. It is to be expected that our military leaders will, like other government officials, stress the extreme urgency of the programs under their charge. But we believe the time has come to question whether expenditures for the general welfare should continue to be subordinated to those for national defense.

Defense expenditures, stated in 1968 prices, fell from about 78 billion dollars in 1953 (at the end of the Korean War) to about 60 billion dollars in 1954 and remained at that level for the decade 1955 to 1964. But by 1968 they had risen again to the present 81 billion dollar level as the result of our major commitment of troops to Vietnam.*

Federal expenditures for the general welfare, while they have increased substantially over the past several years, are now approximately 60 billion dollars, of which $25 billion represents social security payments.

As a first step, we should try to reverse this relationship. When our participation in the Vietnam War is concluded, we recommend increasing annual general welfare expenditures by about 20 billion dollars (stated in 1968 dollars), partly by reducing military expenditures and partly by use of increased tax revenues resulting from the growth of the Gross National Product. We suggest this only as an initial goal; as the Gross National Product and tax revenues continue to rise, we should strive to keep military expenditures level (in constant dollars), while general welfare expendi-

* For fiscal 1970, the budgeted figure is $77 billion.

tures should continue to increase until essential social goals are achieved.*

Based on estimates of the Council of Economic Advisers,** the funds needed to achieve this goal without inflationary consequences could be obtained from two sources:

(1) The end of the Vietnam war should reduce defense expenditures by 19 billion dollars annually. The Council anticipates that this reduction will be offset in part by war-end program adjustments and deferred weapons programs. Hence, defense expenditures should go down to about 65 billion dollars (at 1968 prices).†

(2) The Gross National Product is expected to increase over the next decade (in constant dollars) at the rate of about four percent a year. The same should be true of federal tax revenues, which should grow in

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* Some experts believe that since military expenditures were successfully held to an annual level of 60 billion dollars (in 1968 prices) for the decade from 1955 to 1964, a comparable plateau can and should be maintained for the decade of the seventies. Indeed, it has been urged that, assuming the success of strategic arms limitation talks and a reevaluation of our foreign commitments, it would be feasible to hold the military budget for the early 1970s to 50 billion dollars (at 1969 prices). See Kaysen. "Military Strategy, Military Forces and Arms Control," in *Agenda for the Nation* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1969), p. 549.

** Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, January, 1969, pp. 199-200.

† At estimated 1972 prices, for example, actual outlays would be 73 billion. At this point, defense expenditures would be at seven percent of forecast GNP, as compared to perhaps eight percent at present. In other industrially advanced democratic countries, according to the Institute for Strategic Studies, defense expenditures (in 1966) were 6.4 percent of GNP for the United Kingdom, 4.4 percent in France, 3.6 percent in West Germany, 3.3 percent in Italy, 2.2 percent in Canada and 1.1 percent in Japan. For Soviet Russia, the estimated figure is 8.9 percent, but this represents a total 1966 defense outlay of less than 30 billion dollars as compared to about 68 billion dollars for the United States.

real terms at an annual increment of approximately 15 billion dollars.* Of this amount, approximately half will be required to meet expected annual increases for "baseline" federal non-defense expenditures other than general welfare programs. Hence, about seven or eight billion dollars more each year than the preceding year should be available for new and expanded programs in the general welfare field.

Whether somewhat more or less than the amounts we have indicated should be provided to overcome social ills is not the important point.** What is important is that the people of this nation recognize both the possibilities and the need for choice. For an entire generation, we have necessarily been more aware of and responsive to the external dangers to our society than to the internal dangers. In this Commission's opinion, the internal dangers now demand a greater awareness and a more substantial response—one that can only be made if we face the need to reorder our priorities. It is time to balance the risks and precautions we take abroad against those we take here at home.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has made a suggestion which merits careful consideration as a potentially valuable supplemental step toward reordering national priorities, namely, the preparation of an "Annual Social Report."† The Annual Social Report, comparable

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* This estimate assumes that the present 10 percent surcharge will have been repealed, but that other tax reform measures will be neutral in their effect on aggregate revenues. Any substantial reduction in federal tax revenues incidental to tax reform will make it more difficult to reorder our priorities as we have proposed.

** We further note that the same point can be strongly made for other non-military categories of expenditure that have been built into the federal budget, including agricultural and maritime subsidies, the postal service as presently structured, and space exploration. See Schultze, "Budget Alternatives After Vietnam" in *Agenda for the Nation* (Brookings, 1969), p. 44.

† *Toward a Social Report,* Government Printing Office, 1969.

to the present Annual Economic Report, would provide us with a set of measurements—of "social indicators"—on how well we have done in providing housing, education, health care, public safety, and opportunities for the upward advancement of all sectors of our population. It would tell us whether the disadvantaged groups among us have been advancing at a rate sufficient to foster hope and to quiet the desperation that drives men to violence. It would significantly aid the nation and its leaders in establishing national priorities.

The Social Report would be prepared by social scientists recruited for stated periods of public service from among the nation's best scholars, just as the members and staff of the Council of Economic Advisers are today. They could be organized as a Council of Social Advisers, as are the Economic Advisers, or in some other visible and independent form. A major function of the social science staff would be to develop tools for measuring the comparative effectiveness of social programs. While we have learned a good deal about social stresses and the gross causative factors that require correction, we still know very little about whether particular remedial programs work at all, which ones work better than others, and why. We lack practicable means for measuring cost-benefit ratios, for establishing and observing parallel programs with significant variables, and for putting an end to programs which have failed to justify their continuance.* A central staff charged with this responsibility could do much to improve the accuracy of our social planning and the efficacy of ongoing programs.

Two decades ago, the Council of Economic Advisers was created by the Full Employment Act of 1946, amid much skepticism about the "science" of economics and particularly about the wisdom and effect of governmental efforts to stimulate or restrain economic activity. Today we

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* Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* (New York: MacMillan, 1968), pp. 190-203.

recognize the importance of the government's economic role and of national economic measurements, imprecise and imperfect as the economist's tools still are. The other social sciences may now have as much potential for informing wise government policy as economics had twenty years ago.

* * * * *

In a democratic society, the citizens possess the basic social power, and national priorities reflect the value judgments of the majority. Skeptics may thus take a pessimistic view of this Commission's recommendation that our national priorities be reordered. They will point, for example, to the reluctance of the public, despite the penetrating reports and the excellent recommendations of previous presidential commissions, to take the comprehensive actions needed to curb crime, eliminate racial discrimination, and alleviate the problems of the ghetto poor. They will point especially to middle-class America—to the "forgotten American"—and his concern over some consequences of racial integration, his rebellion against rising taxes, his distrust of dissent on the campus and protest movements in the capital. How realistic is it, they will ask, to think that the majority of Americans will support a reallocation of our national resources to deal with social problems?

Skepticism is understandable. But the majority of Americans have always responded constructively to national crises when they have been fully informed and responsibly led. The "silent majority," like most other Americans, do not wish to surrender any of the most important freedoms of our open society—freedom of movement, freedom from harm, freedom from fear. They stand to benefit from the programs necessary to retain these freedoms just as much as any disadvantaged minority. All Americans—the majority and our various minorities—must come to grips with the basic causes of violence in our society and do what must be done to achieve liberty and justice for all.

Some, with little faith in our nation, predict that majority indifference will result in a violent revolution of some kind.

Indeed, nihilists and anarchists openly espouse this course. We see signs, however, that a peaceful revolution is already under way: a spirit of needed reform is rising steadily among the people and in the ranks of local and national leaders. We see a growing readiness to formulate new values, to set new priorities, and to make firm commitments now, to be honored as soon as resources are available.

Some ordinary citizens feel they can do nothing to influence the direction and the destiny of their nation. But more and more Americans are proving this to be a myth. A growing number of our citizens have found they need not stand idle while our cities rot, people live in fear, householders build individual fortresses, and human and financial resources flow to less urgent endeavors. A new generation of Americans is emerging, with the energy and the talent and the determination to fulfill the promise of the nation. As it ever was, the young—idealistic but earnest, inexperienced but dedicated—are the spearheads of the drive toward change, and increasing numbers of adult Americans are joining their ranks.

When in man's long history other great civilizations fell, it was less often from external assault than from internal decay. Our own civilization has shown a remarkable capacity for responding to crises and for emerging to higher pinnacles of power and achievement. But our most serious challenges to date have been external—the kind this strong and resourceful country could unite against. While serious external dangers remain, the graver threats today are internal: haphazard urbanization, racial discrimination, disfiguring of the environment, unprecedented interdependence, the dislocation of human identity and motivation created by an affluent society—all resulting in a rising tide of individual and group violence.

The greatness and durability of most civilizations has been finally determined by how they have responded to these challenges from within. Ours will be no exception.

Summary of Recommendations

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS—

Introduction

1. that "the time is upon us for a reordering of national priorities and for a greater investment of resources in the fulfillment of two basic purposes of our Constitution—to establish justice and to insure domestic tranquility."
2. that "when our participation in the Vietnam War is concluded, we recommend increasing annual general welfare expenditures by about 20 billion dollars (stated in 1968 dollars), partly by reducing military expenditures and partly by use of increased tax revenues resulting from the growth of the Gross National Product."
3. that "as the Gross National Product and tax revenues continue to rise, we should strive to keep military expenditures level (in constant dollars), while general welfare expenditures should continue to increase until essential social goals are achieved."
4. that, to aid in the reordering of national priorities, consideration should be given to establishing a counterpart of the Council of Economic Advisers to develop tools for measuring the comparative effectiveness of social programs, and to produce an "Annual Social Report," comparable to the present Annual Economic Report.

Chapter II.
Violent Crime

5. that "we double our national investment in the criminal justice process, that central offices of criminal justice be created at the metropolitan level, and that complementary private citizen groups be formed." (See Chaper 6 for detail.)
6. that cities provide "increased day and night foot-patrols of slum ghetto areas by interracial police teams, in order to discourage street crime against both blacks and whites;

improved street lighting to deprive criminals of hiding places from which to ambush victims; increase in numbers and use of community neighborhood centers that provide activity so that city streets are not deserted in early evening hours."

7. that cities undertake "increased police-community relations activity in slum ghetto areas in order to secure greater understanding of ghetto residents by police, and of police by ghetto residents."
8. that there be "further experimentation with carefully controlled programs that provide low cost drugs such as methadone to addicts who register, so that addicts are not compelled to resort to robbery and burglary in order to meet the needs of their addiction; increased education about the dangers of addictives and other drugs in order to reduce their use."
9. that we devise means of "identification of specific violence-prone individuals for analysis and treatment in order to reduce the likelihood of repetition; provision of special schools for education of young people with violence-prone histories, special psychiatric services and employment programs for parolees and released offenders with a history of violent criminal acts."
10. that "concealable handguns, a common weapon used in violent crimes, must be brought under a system of restrictive licensing." (See Chaper 7 for detail.)
11. that we "meet the 1968 Housing Act's goal of a decent home for every American within a decade."
12. that we "take more effective steps to realize the goal, first set in the Employment Act of 1946, of a useful job for all who are able to work."
13. that the Congress "act on current proposals that the federal government pay a basic income to those American families who cannot care for themselves."
14. that "a more sophisticated understanding and appreciation of the complexity of the urban social system is required—and this will in turn require the development of new, dependable and lasting partnerships between government, private industry, social and cultural associations and organized groups of affected citizens."
15. that "the President might profitably convene an Urban Convention of delegates from all the states and major cities, as well as the national government, to advise the nation on the steps that should be taken to increase urban efficiency and accountability through structural changes in local government."

16. that "a primary object of federal urban policy must be to restore the fiscal vitality of urban government, with the particular object of ensuring that local governments normally have enough resources on hand or available to make local initiative in public affairs a reality."
17. that "federal urban policy should seek to equalize the provision of public services as among different jurisdictions in metropolitan areas."
18. that the federal government "assert a specific interest in the movement of people, displaced by technology or driven by poverty, from rural to urban areas, and also in the movement from densely populated central cities to suburban areas."
19. that the federal government must work with state governments to encourage a more progressive, responsible exercise of the state role in the management of urban affairs.
20. that the federal government should "sponsor and subsequently evaluate alternative—in a sense 'competing'—approaches to problems whose methods of solution are imperfectly understood, as is increasingly being done in the areas of medical and legal services for the poor and educational assistance for disadvantaged children."
21. that the federal government should "provide more and better information concerning urban affairs, and should sponsor extensive and sustained research into urban problems."
22. that the federal government discourage further "unrestrained technological exploitation of the resources of land, air and water" and take the lead in encouraging and acting consistently with "a new conservation ethic more appropriate to a crowded urban society."

Chapter III.
Group Violence

23. that "those of us who find authoritarianism repugnant have a duty to speak out against all who destroy civil order. The time has come when the full weight of community opinion should be felt by those who break the peace or coerce through mob action."
24. that "when group violence occurs, it must be put down by lawful means, including the use of whatever force may be required. But when it occurs—better still, before it occurs—we must permit aggrieved groups to exercise their rights of protest and public presentation of grievances; we must have the perception to recognize injustices when they are called to our attention, and we must have the institutional

flexibility to correct those injustices promptly."

25. that police departments throughout the nation "improve their preparations for anticipating, preventing and controlling group disorders, and to that end to study the approaches that have been employed successfully on the three most recent occasions in Washington and Chicago."
26. that "the President seek legislation that would confer jurisdiction upon the United States District Courts to grant injunctions, upon the request of the Attorney General or private persons, against the threatened or actual interference by any person, whether or not under color of state or federal law, with the rights of individuals or groups to freedom of speech, freedom of the press, peaceful assembly and petition for redress of grievances."
27. that "private and governmental institutions encourage the development of competing news media and discourage increased concentration of control over existing media."
28. that "the members of the journalism profession continue to improve and re-evaluate their standards and practices, and to strengthen their capacity for creative self-criticism, along the lines suggested in the staff report of our Media Task Force."

Chapter V.
Assassination

29. that there be a "selective expansion of the functions of the Secret Service to include protection of any federal officeholder or candidate who is deemed a temporary but serious assassination risk."
30. that state and local governments provide "improved protection of state and local officeholders and candidates, and strengthened ties between those holding this responsibility and the appropriate federal agencies."
31. that Congress enact legislation requiring the restrictive licensing of handguns. (See Chapter 7 for detail.)
32. that the federal government encourage the "development and implementation of devices to detect concealed weapons and ammunition on persons entering public meeting places."
33. that the President (and presidential candidates) minimize the risk of assassination "by carefully choosing speaking opportunities, public appearances, his means of travel to engagements, and the extent to which he gives advance notice of his movements."
34. that the Congress enact "a law that would grant free television time to presidential candidates during the final

weeks preceding the national election" in the interest of the safety of Presidents and presidential candidates.

35. that the news media clearly present the complexities of the institutions of government, fully and fairly report the issues these institutions face, and delve into the issues deserving governmental attention.
36. that the news media lessen the attention given to the personal lives of the President and his family and give greater attention to the working nature and limitations of the presidency.
37. that the nation's schools emphasize in American history and social studies the complexities and subtleties of the democratic process; shun the myths by which we have traditionally made supermen of Presidents, "founding fathers," and other prominent persons; and restore to history books a full and frank picture of violence and unrest in America's past, in the hope that children can be educated to repudiate violence and recognize its futility.

Chapter VI.
Violence and Law Enforcement

38. that "the Legal Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which already has won the strong support of the organized Bar and the enthusiasm of graduating law students across the country, should be continued and expanded."
39. that all states "should provide compensation to attorneys appointed to represent indigent criminal defendants in the state and local courts."
40. that the federal government and the states "should provide adequate compensation for lawyers who act in behalf of the poor in civil cases."
41. that the federal government "allocate seed money to a limited number of state and local jurisdictions demonstrating an interest in establishing citizens' grievance agencies."
42. that there should be "extension and vigorous enforcement of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and intensified efforts to persuade all qualified citizens to vote."
43. that "we should give concrete expression to our concern about crime by a solemn national commitment to double our investment in the administration of justice and the prevention of crime, as rapidly as such an investment can be wisely planned and utilized."
44. that "the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the state planning agencies created pursuant to the

Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act take the lead in initiating plans for the creation and staffing of offices of criminal justice in the nation's major metropolitan areas."

45. that we should create and support, with private and public funding, "private citizens' organizations to work as counterparts of the proposed offices of criminal justice in every major city in the nation."
46. that "the President call upon leading private citizens to create a National Citizens Justice Center."

Chapter VII.
Firearms and Violence

47. that the National Rifle Association and other private organizations devoted to hunting and sport shooting aid in undertaking a public education campaign to "stress the duties and responsibilities of firearms ownership so that a new awareness of the proper role of firearms in American life can prevail in the more than 30 million homes which possess firearms."
48. that because of the risks of firearms accidents, individual citizens "reflect carefully before deciding that loaded firearms are necessary or desirable for self-defense in their homes."
49. that "further research be undertaken on the relationships between firearms and violence and on the measures that can reduce firearms violence."
50. that "research should be intensified on devices to assist law enforcement personnel in detecting the presence of concealed firearms on the person."
51. that "the federal government should join with private industry to speed the development of an effective nonlethal weapon."
52. that federal legislation be enacted "to encourage the establishment of state licensing systems for handguns. The federal legislation would introduce a federal system of handgun licensing, applicable only to those states which within a four-year period fail to enact a state law that (1) establishes a standard for determining an individual's need for a handgun and for the licensing of an individual who shows such a need and (2) prohibits all others from possessing handguns or buying handgun ammunition."
53. that "a system of federal administrative or judicial review be established to assure that each state system is administered fairly and does not discriminate on the basis of

race, religion, national origin, or other unconstitutional grounds."

54. that federal legislation be enacted "to establish minimum standards for state regulation of long guns under which (1) an identification card would be required for long gun owners and purchasers of long gun ammunition (a system similar to that recommended by gun manufacturers) and (2) any person 18 and over would be entitled to such a card, except certain classes of criminals and adjudicated incompetents."
55. that "persons who transfer long guns be required to fill out a single card giving the serial number, type, make, and model of the weapon, the transferee's social security and firearms identification card numbers, the transferor's name and social security number, and the date of the transaction."
56. that "the Gun Control Act of 1968, which is intended to curtail the import of firearms unsuitable for sporting use, should be extended to prohibit domestic production and sale of 'junk guns.' "
57. that "a federal firearms information center should be established to accumulate and store information on firearms and owners received from state agencies; this information would be available to state and federal law enforcement agencies."
58. that "licensed gun dealers should be required by federal statute to adopt and maintain security procedures to minimize theft of firearms."

Chapter VIII.
Violence in Television Entertainment Programs

59. that "the broadcasting of children's cartoons containing serious, non-comic violence should be abandoned."
60. that "the amount of time devoted to the broadcast of crime, western and action-adventure programs containing violent episodes should be reduced."
61. that "more effective efforts should be made to alter the basic context in which violence is presented in television dramas."
62. that "the members of the television industry should become more actively and seriously involved in research on the effects of violent television programs, and their future policies, standards and practices with regard to entertainment programs should be more responsive to the best evidence provided by social scientists, psychologists, and communications researchers."

63. that "adequate and permanent financing, in the form of a dedicated tax, should be provided for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting so that it may develop the kind of educational, cultural, and dramatic programming not presently provided in sufficient measure by commercial broadcasting."
64. that "parents should make every effort to supervise their children's television viewing and to assert their basic responsibility for the moral development of their children."
65. that parents "should express to the networks and to the local stations both their disapproval of programs which they find objectionable and their support for programs they like. We believe that most families do not want large doses of violence on television, and thus we urge them to make the weight of their opinion felt."
66. that there be "an evaluation of the effectiveness of the new movie-rating system with an emphasis on the question of the validity of the ratings as they relate to violence and the enforcement of the admission standards regarding minors."

Chapter IX.
Campus Disorder

67. that in "the university community a consensus should be achieved among students, faculty and administration, and embodied in a code of conduct, concerning both the permissible methods of presenting ideas, proposals and grievances and the responses to be made to deviations from the agreed-upon standards."
68. that "universities should prepare and currently review contingency plans for dealing with campus disorders."
69. that procedures for campus governance and constructive reform should be developed especially by the faculties, to permit more rapid and effective decision-making.
70. that "faculty leaders and administrative officers need to make greater efforts to improve communications both on the campus and with alumni and the general public."
71. that the American people do not let their understandable resentment for the few students who foment and engage in campus disorders lead them to support legislation or executive action which would withhold financial aid from students or universities.
72. that the American people recognize that the campus is a mirror of the "yearnings and weaknesses of the wider society" and that their focus ought to be on "the unfin-

ished task of striving toward the goals of human life that all of us share and that young people admire and respect."

Chapter X.
Challenging Our Youth

73. that "the Constitution of the United States be amended to lower the voting age for all state and federal elections to eighteen."
74. that there be implementation of all of "President Nixon's proposals for reform of the draft system, which are similar to those recommended in 1967 by the Marshall Commission and by the Clark Panel."
75. that "renewed attention be given to the recommendations of the Marshall Commission for building a greater measure of due process into the exercise of draft board discretion."
76. that "in exercising his power to appoint the members of local draft boards, the President name at least one person under 30 years of age to each local board."
77. that the President "seek legislation to expand the opportunities for youth to engage in both full-time and part-time public service, by providing federal financial support to young people who wish to engage in voluntary, non-military service to their communities and to the nation."
78. that "the President, the Congress, and the federal agencies that normally provide funding for youth programs—notably the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—take the risks involved in support of additional innovative programs of opportunity for inner-city youth."
79. that "the National Institutes of Health, working with selected universities, greatly expand research on the physical and psychological effects of marijuana use."
80. that "federal and state laws make use and incidental possession of marijuana no more than a misdemeanor until more definitive information about marijuana is at hand and the Congress and state legislatures have had the opportunity to revise the permanent laws in light of this information."
81. that all our citizens, young and old, try to bridge the "generation gap" by observing the guidelines for understanding and communicating with one another as set forth in Chapter 10.

(listing continued from reverse side)

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1307 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60605

National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 West 57 Street, New York, N.Y. 10019

National Council of Catholic Women
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005

National Council of Jewish Women
1 West 47 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

National Council of Negro Women
1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

National Council on Crime & Delinquency
44 East 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

National Urban League, Inc.
55 East 52 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc.
164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW, Atlanta, Ga. 30303

United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America
8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich. 48214

United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action and Commission for Racial Justice
289 Park Avenue S., New York, N.Y. 10010

United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
300 Park Avenue S., New York, N.Y. 10010

United Methodist Church, Board of Christian Social Concerns
100 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

United Methodist Church, Women's Division, Board of Missions
475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

U.S. Conference of Mayors
1612 K Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20006

United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222

United Synagogue of America
3080 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10027

The Urban Coalition
2100 M Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037

YMCA, National Board, Urban Action Commission
291 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10007

YWCA, National Board, Bureau of Communications
600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

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A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125 Street, New York, N.Y. 10027

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO
15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003

American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
1155 15 Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO District Council 37
71 Worth Street, New York, N.Y. 10013

American Federation of Teachers
1012 14 Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005

American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

American Jewish Congress
15 East 84 Street, New York, N.Y. 10028

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Apostolate of Human Relations, Archdiocese of New York
487 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

Brotherhood in Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL-CIO
1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019

International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO
1126 16 Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019

(listing continued on reverse side)

Additional copies of this Summary may be obtained from any of the organizations above at 25¢ each and $15 per hundred.

*Reprinted from Award Books edition of *To Establish Justice, To Insure Domestic Tranquility*, available at $1.25. For quantity prices write Award Books, 235 E. 45 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10017.

PRESS COVERAGE
of
THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights was released to the press January 30, 1961, after having been previously submitted to President Kennedy and members of his administration.

The press coverage has been heartening, and it seemed to the staff that members of the Council would wish to know about it. Consequently, this summary, with exhibits, has been prepared.

The New York Times gave the report front page treatment, in an article under the by-line of Claude Sitton. Several Southern papers used the Times story; these included: Chattanooga Times, Houston Chronicle, and Corpus Christi Caller. The Chattanooga Times ran the story on page one, and even added to it.

PRESIDENT PUSHED ON DESEGREGATION BY SOUTHERN BODY

Chattanooga Times

1-30-61

Regional Council Proposes Major Program in Field of Civil Rights

TO AID NEGRO STATUS

Report Touches on Jobs, Education, Voting and Armed Services

By CLAUDE SITTON
© New York Times News Service

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council has urged President Kennedy to adopt a sweeping program of executive action in the civil rights field.

In a 48-page report to the President, the council makes 18 proposals for strengthening the rights of Negroes. It is thought to be the most far-reaching blueprint of its kind yet received by the new administration.

"The presidency is the center of American energy," the council noted. "What the President says and does will mark the direction and the speed with which the country moves to perfect its racial relations."

The council also urged that President Kennedy move swiftly to give a public statement on the national goals his administration will set in the civil rights field. In contrast to past performances, the council suggested, the White House should frequently issue guiding statements "genuinely helpful to public understanding" in this area since "the nation as a whole needs to feel the impulse of presidential concern and activity."

Areas Covered

The report's proposals cover executive leadership, federal employment, education, personal and property rights, voting, the armed services, propaganda, health and recreation, transportation, government contracts and housing.

"The President holds power under the constitution and existing statutes which, diligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable," the council argued.

The council called on President Kennedy to make it unmistakably clear to the South where he stands on matters of racial discrimination and to underscore specific policy statements that his administration is prepared to enforce.

It also urged the President to give consideration to holding frequent consultations, private or public, with Southern economic and political leaders to the end of wooing regional support for equal opportunities for all citizens and the abatement of sectionalism.

There are millions of Southerners, white and Negro, who want to "break loose from enfeebling customs and who would respond with gratitude to presidential leadership," the council declared. In consequence, it said, "an earnest, informed and tactful effort should be made to reduce antagonisms and enlist Southern good will and cooperation."

Ideas Transmitted

The proposals, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," were transmitted to President Kennedy, his Cabinet and chief advisers before the inauguration. They were released Sunday by the Atlanta headquarters of the council, an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Harold C. Fleming, executive director, noted that there had been indications that President Kennedy would approach civil rights "with somewhat more vigor" than previous administrations. "As a Southern organization that had worked with the problem of race relations, we felt we had a re-

See Page Seven, Column Six

KENNEDY PUSHED ON RACE ISSUES

Regional Council Proposes Major Program in Field of Civil Rights

From Page One

sponsibility to give our thinking on the question to the new administration."

The council advocated clarity of policy, "inward commitment," imaginative action and sustained effort to achieve definite civil rights goals. "A new administration cannot give itself a civil rights policy, tie it together, and expect its unwinding over the years to satisfy the problems that will arise," it asserted.

Not Minimized

Discussion of personal as opposed to official presidential activities was omitted. But the council said "their importance is in no degree minimized." It continued:

"Since the presidency is a focal point of American interest, all of the acts of an occupant of that office receive national attention and thus set an example for millions of Americans."

Appointment of a staff adviser on race relations was recommended. He would assist the President in interpreting developments to the nation, in framing and supervising executive orders and providing "intimate coordination" between the federal Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department.

The council criticized as inadequate the present executive committees on government employment and contracts. These should be replaced with a single agency, it said. That agency would serve as a watchdog "to review the execution of all governmental programs and expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of nondiscrimination."

The importance of outspoken presidential leadership was emphasized. "Controversy and conflict are only worsened when there is any arguable doubt of the belief and intentions of the chief executive," said the document.

Frankness Urged

The United States Information Agency should be candid in explaining our racial difficulties, it said. "We should relate them frankly, as a people mindful of its troubles and working, as are the former colonial nations themselves, to remove them."

The council charged that Civil Service prohibitions against discrimination were being flouted. It proposed "prompt suppression of segregation wherever it may be practiced in federal offices."

The President was asked to choose deliberately competent Negroes for appointive positions. Moreover, the organization said some should be placed in the South, "which needs to get used to the idea of Negro competence and recognition."

The most compelling unfinished business, asserted the council, is school integration. "The basic problem is two-fold: to reestablish a climate of respect for law, and to move quickly beyond the pitiful beginnings and steadily toward an end to desegregated public education."

President Kennedy was urged to affirm publicly his full support for the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision. The council also said he should direct the attorney general to study the possibility of intervening in school desegregation cases under the present laws.

Obligation Noted

While turmoil over school desegregation continues, it declared, "the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statues which protect personal security."

Stepped up enforcement of voting laws was called for along with "a national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President."

The council advocated immediate desegregation of the National Guard. Because Southern units are all white, it said, Negroes are denied the option of enlisting in the guard or being drafted.

Federal expenditures for health programs, aid to public schools and higher education and for recreation facilities such as beaches should be administered in line with a basic policy of non-discrimination, the council said.

The council proposed "a final, decisive effort" to end segregation on common carriers. It said large contractors on government projects should be required to recruit Negro employes.

An end to cooperation with discrimination in federal-state ap-

The New York Times also carried a profile of Harold Fleming as its "Man in the News" for the day; this was used in the Chattanooga Times as well.

The Washington Post and Times-Herald ran a front page story (by-line Elsie Carper) and an inside page analysis by James Clayton.

Race Study Urges Use Of Executive's Power

By Elsie Carper
Staff Reporter

An independent survey suggests that existing presidential powers, "dilligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable."

The study, prepared by the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit organization seeking ways to improve race relations in the South, was published yesterday. The Council has offices in Atlanta.

The 48-page report was issued at a time when President Kennedy's Administration is formulating policies and programs. Broad recommendations on ways the President may use his powers to combat discrimination are outlined in the report.

One of the major recommendations is a presidential staff adviser to keep the President informed on racial matters and to coordinate activities of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

Long-range view considered best for suggested program of Executive action on civil rights.
Page A6.

The report states that consideration be given to setting up an office, with adequate staff, to serve as a watchdog over Federal programs for compliance with a policy of nondiscrimination.

The Federal Government's own operations, the report declares, need to be a model of just race relations. The Government must hire, fire and promote with obvious regard for racial equality and eradicate segregation in its offices.

While the survey is limited to official activities of the President, the report makes it clear that the President's personal attitudes and actions also are important.

"A President of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial," the report states, "to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality. Such demonstration may be worth fully as much as executive orders and formal pronouncements."

Presidential leadership is defined in the report as "a showing of concern, in all the countless acts of the office, that America be a place where men live with each other in confidence, and society cooperates with each of its members in the fulfilment of his search for a good life."

"There would be inestimable value if the President gave, simply and clearly, a declaration of national intent to move vigorously to end all discrimination and disadvantage of race, and pledge that the Federal Government in the conduct of its own affairs would show the way," the report declares.

The Council points out that race relations is "America's oldest unsolved problem," once again at a stage of crisis. In

See RIGHTS, A7, Col. 1

RIGHTS—From Page A1

Race Unit Asks President's Aid

the past the crises were resolved by compromise, war and from 1877 to 1933 "by national avoidance of responsibility."

"This ancient and always divisive issue has a claim on us not only for settlement, but for decisive resolution," the report states. "It is a burden which national self-respect demands that we finally lay down."

Honest dealing by the Government and the public toward non-white citizens, the report declares, would strengthen the prestige of the United States abroad while continuing discrimination will weaken it.

The report states that "Negroes are a disadvantaged tenth of Americans from, literally, the cradle to the grave." America has no undeveloped resource comparable to the reservoir of human talent, which, in the Negro population, is going to waste.

Negroes are not the only minority at a disadvantage and discrimination exists elsewhere than in the South but the racial problems of the South are the acute test of the American ideal of liberty and equality."

The Council finds little in the record to encourage the belief that the situation in the South will improve "unless recognized as the Nation's failure, and properly subject . . . to national policy."

National unity, the report states, will be served best if the President speaks forthrightly about racial problems in the South and if statements are confined to what he and the Administration are prepared to enforce.

In an obvious reference to the recent riots in New Orleans that followed desegregation of two schools, the report makes this veiled criticism of the Eisenhower Administration:

"That a state of near anarchy could exist for weeks in one of our largest cities without any public remark by the Chief Executive is well nigh incredible."

The report declares that within the South there are numerous whites who will give practical, effective support for reform if there is national leadership. Frequent conferences and consultations by the President with Southern economic and political leaders would broaden this base of support.

"Pre-eminently the most compelling unfinished business is school integration," the report states. "Respect for law and Federal authority requires a prompt resolution."

The Council urges the President to "publically reconfirm his full support" of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision and his intention to employ his executive powers to insure compliance.

Throughout the South the burden of desegregating schools has fallen upon Negroes. The Council urges the President to direct the Attorney General to look closely into authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases.

It also urges the President to direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to provide information and counsel to school administrations and schools engaged in desegregation of schools.

The report states that in the field of housing the policies of the Federal Government, through its mortgage credit aids, public housing and slum clearance programs, "has been a principal architect of housing segregation."

The President should issue an executive order stating that the national policy is to encourage integration in housing, the report states. It recommends that the Administration study proposals to reduce the size and increase the number of public housing projects and scatter them in bi-racial and all-white neighborhoods rather than place them in Negro and transition neighborhoods.

The Administration also should consider a system of "benign quotas" in public housing projects to keep them from becoming all Negro or all white.

The Council recognizes that a strict non-discriminatory order for FHA and PHA housing will reduce the number of starts in the South and hamper or halt urban renewal but believes that Southern opposition should not be a deterrent. Benefits of participation in Federal programs have such a powerful attraction that there is every reason to believe that the slowdown will not last long, the Council states.

Other recommendations by the Council:

- Federal employment practices should be reviewed with the aim of immediate compliance with nondiscrimination. Special effort should be made to recruit qualified Negroes for offices concerned with race relations such as United States Attorneys, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Marshals, Civil Rights Division, Commission on Civil Rights and housing agencies.
- Negroes should be appointed to the Foreign Service but not restricted to positions in African countries.
- Federal grants in aid for vocational education and research funds should be withheld from schools and colleges which restrict admissions because of race. The Federal Government should insist that public schools attended by children of military personnel be non-segregated.
- Discrimination in the National Guard and in ROTC units in universities should be ended. The President in making appointments to the service academies should give special attention to Negro candidates who are at a disadvantage in receiving Congressional appointments.
- The Department of Justice should "enforce vigilantly" existing statutes and precedents to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly. Action could prevent violence, reprisal and intimidation surrounding school desegregation, sit-in controversies and Negro voting.
- The Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department should be staffed with an adequate number of attorneys. Working relationships with United States District Attorneys should be so defined to permit widespread enforcement of voting provisions of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts.
- The Federal Government should undertake a national registration drive, under sponsorship of the President. A side result would be an upsurge in Negro registration in the South.
- The "separate but equal" clause in Hill-Burton Act funds for Federal aid for hospital construction should be reexamined.
- The Department of Justice should study ways to end discrimination in interstate travel now clearly established as unconstitutional.
- The Federal Government should insist that its contractors follow practices of nondiscriminatory employment. Federal cooperation with discrimination should be ended at once in programs of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and the U. S. Employment Service.

Washington Post and Times Herald 1-30-61

Difficulties Are Many

Long-Range View Held Best For Rights Executive Action

By James E. Clayton
Staff Reporter

The program of Executive action on civil rights suggested by the Southern Regional Council is best thought of as a long-range goal rather than something President John F. Kennedy is likely to put into effect immediately.

Clayton

Although many of its suggestions coincide with campaign promises made by President Kennedy, the political and social difficulties involved in putting even some of those into effect are likely to be deterring factors to the President's program.

The two political factors involved are the strength of the Southern bloc in Congress and importance of the Southern electoral vote to the Democratic Party.

Any proposals which require new civil rights legislation require a weighing of the need for that as against the effect of such a legislative push on other parts of the President's program. Any proposals which rely exclusively on executive action require a weighing of what Southern Congressmen might do in reprisals.

Some of the ideas put forward by the Southern Regional Council would make deep inroads quickly into segregation practices. Action cutting off universities from Federal funds if they segregate would drive some Southern universities to the wall. Action to require desegregated conditions in Federal-supported housing programs would certainly upset some urban renewal programs and many housing developments.

How strong and how deep the political repercussions of such moves would be are certain to be carefully studied before the President takes such steps. It is quite clear that he knows there is no turning back once the step is taken.

It is interesting, however, to note how many of the Southern Regional Council's proposals overlap with President Kennedy's campaign promises. During the campaign, he made these pledges:

- To provide "moral and persuasive leadership . . . to create the conditions in which compliance with the constitutional requirements of school desegregation takes place."
- To make a major effort in 1961 to be sure "that everyone has the right to vote."
- To be prepared "to put an end to racial and religious discrimination in every field of Federal authority. . ."
- To establish a "Federal Bureau on Intergroup Relations to help solve such problems of discrimination.
- To find for the Attorney General "power to enforce all constitutional rights—not just the right to vote."

It can be expected that he will follow through, more or less immediately, on some of these.

One area where such action could come quickly is in housing. An executive order requiring no segregation in federally supported housing programs is all that is required, many legal experts believe, to initiate the program. But the political repercussions of such an order would be legion.

Another area is voting where the next year is likely to see a great increase in the attacks on discrimination at the polls. All the necessary power is already in the hands of the Attorney General

A third area likely to see immediate action is inside the Federal Government. There, the Vice President's Committee on Governmental Contracts is likely to step up its drive to keep contractors who deal with the Government from discriminating in their hiring policies.

With a push from the President, this committee could become far more effective. With the same kind of push, the use of more Negroes in Government jobs would come quickly.

These, then, are the areas in which something is likely to happen in the months ahead. But as to the suggestion which is the key to the Council's report, there may be no action soon.

That is the suggestion calling for an office in the White House to coordinate civil rights activities throughout the Government. This idea was pushed at President Kennedy by many of his advisers last spring.

The closest he came to publicly accepting it was to promise a Bureau of Intergroup Relations. But such a Bureau might require legislation and might be set up away from the White House.

The President's objection, apparently, to a White House office for civil rights is his desire to keep his staff there as small as possible. There has been no clear indication yet as to whether this desire will outweigh the urgings of those near him who want to see such an office created.

On civil rights, as in other fields, the men around President Kennedy have been remarkably reluctant to talk since the election about what will be done in the next few months.

The AP did a straightforward and long account, which cited all 18 of our proposals. Southern newspapers which have carried it in whole or in part include: Birmingham Post-Herald, Mobile Press, Mobile Register, (Ala.); Athens Banner-Herald, Augusta Chronicle, Columbus Ledger, Macon Telegraph, Macon News, Savannah News, Thomasville Times-Enterprise, Valdosta Times (Ga.); New Orleans Times-Picayune, Baton Rouge Advocate, Shreveport Times, Lake Charles American Press (La.); Tampa Times (Fla.); Charlotte News (N.C.); Louisville Courier Journal (Ky.); Oklahoma City Times (Okla.); Dallas Times-Herald, Fort Worth Star-Telegram (Texas); Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, Gulfport Biloxi Herald, McComb Enterprise-Journal, Jackson Clarion Ledger, Starkville News, Vicksburg Post (Miss.).

Atlanta Journal 1-30-61 p. I

Regional Council Urges Kennedy to Fight Race Bias

By DOUGLAS KIKER

The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council submitted a long report to President John F. Kennedy Monday, urging him to take decisive, far-reaching executive action to end racial segregation and discrimination in nearly all phases of national life.

The report, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," proposed that the President "affirm his support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his opposition to segregated schools."

It strongly suggested, additionally, that he act immediately to end segregation in federal housing, the National Guard, and in college-based Reserve Officer Training Corps units.

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IT RECOMMENDED that federal funds for research be cut off to colleges and universities operated on a segregated basis.

It said that the Justice Department should be "vigilant in the prevention or control of violence and intimidation connected with sit-in demonstrations.

And it recommended that the President appoint more qualified Negroes to high level government posts "here and abroad."

The council — a biracial organization whose purpose is to "advance equal opportunity for all the South's people" — said that President Kennedy holds the power to "carry the country far toward good race relations."

"A president of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial, to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality," the report stated.

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THE LISTING of areas in which the council said the President could act was a long one. In all, it made 18 different specific proposals for executive actions aimed toward ending discrimination.

"The President speaks the moral tone of America," the council said. "He has an incomparable position from which to define the problems of our policy and to indicate by word and example what needs to be done."

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IN OTHER proposals included in the report the council also said that:

1. The Department of Justice

Turn to Page 20, Column 1

COUNCIL

Continued From Page 1

should test in court its existing authority to intervene in or initiate school desegregation suits.

2. A presidential staff adviser on race relations should be appointed and a single office created to replace the current Committee on Government Employment and the Government Contract Committee. This new office would review all federal programs to see that no discrimination is practiced in governmental operations.

3. The "separate but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton hospital construction law should be examined for unconstitutionality.

4. A final, decisive effort should be made to end segregation on both interstate and intrastate trains and buses.

5. Large government contractors should be required to recruit Negro employes as a condition for contract award.

6. Special attention to racial equality should be given in federal aid for vocational training and education of children of military personnel.

7. The Civil Rights division of the Justice Department should be "adequately staffed."

8. The President should sponsor a national voter registration drive, supported by a wide distribution of information on voter qualifications and procedures in every state.

9. The U.S. overseas information programs should interpret the country's racial troubles "truthfully and candidly."

10. There should be a continual review of federal employment to insure nondiscrimination, rather than reliance on the processing of complaints.

The report was prepared by the Southern Regional Council staff and reviewed and approved by its officers.

The Atlanta Constitution had an inside page account. The early edition of the Atlanta Journal carried a front page article by Douglas Kiker, which was moved inside in later editions.

The Nashville Tennessean had a top of the page two-column spread on page 2.

The Christian Science Monitor carried a long and comprehensive article under the byline of Joseph Baird.

Senators Hart (Dem., Mich.) and Javitts (Rep., N. Y.) have each read parts of the report into the Congressional Record (January 30 and 31).

Atlanta Dateline N.Y.Times 2-5-61

The latest argument for civil rights comes from the Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial group, with headquarters in Atlanta. Those responsible for this report include the council's director, Harold Curtis Fleming, who was born in Georgia of Georgian parents. The report is in the hands of the Kennedy Administration and covers such subjects as equal rights in employment, voting and schools, the desegregation of public conveyances, equal opportunities in housing, the desegregation of all Federal services and offices and the abolition of segregation in the National Guard.

These are not radical doctrines. Substantially the same things were pledged in the Democratic platform adopted at Los Angeles and the Republican platform adopted at Chicago, last July. The Republicans, who can get along without Southern votes when they absolutely have to, took a firm position, for example, in favor of integration in the schools and against discrimination in housing and in public vehicles. The Democrats, who can't get along without some Southern votes, nevertheless stated definitely that the time had come "to assure equal access for all Americans to all areas of community life, including voting booths, schoolrooms, jobs, housing and public facilities."

Not all the recommendations in both platforms are likely to get through this year's Congress. In our elections both sides always promise more than they can do or even wish to do.

But the Southern Regional Council is on the right track and neither the Governor of Louisiana nor the Governor of Georgia, nor any less respectable force, can permanently prevent the carrying out of the program the council proposes.

The UPI's story has been used in the South by the Augusta Herald, Cordele Dispatch (Ga.); Jacksonville Times-Union, Miami Herald, Miami Beach Sun (Fla.); Raleigh Times, Wilmington News, Wilmington Star (N.C.); Tulsa World (Okla.); Columbia Herald, Kingsport News, Memphis Commercial Appeal, Memphis Press-Scimitar, Nashville Banner (Tenn.); Shreveport Journal (La.); Tupelo Journal, Natchez Times (Miss.); Harlingen Valley Star (Texas).

The Negro press has given wide coverage to the report, some using the wire service story of ANP, and others writing their own. Papers covering the report include: Atlanta World, St. Paul Recorder, Oklahoma City Black Dispatch, Minneapolis Spokesman, Washington Afro-American, Knoxville Independent Call, Philadelphia Afro-American, Memphis World, Chicago Daily Defender.

Roy Harris's Augusta Courier printed all the proposals, under the headline "Ralph McGill's SRC Urges 18 Point Reign of Terror on the South."

To date, we have seen nine editorials: laudatory ones in the New York Times, Washington Post and Times-Herald, Cleveland Call and Post, Atlanta Daily World, Memphis World, and Chattanooga Observer; uncomplimentary ones in the Orangeburg (S.C.) Time and Democrat, Wheeling (W.Va.) Intelligencer, and Danville (Va.) Bee.

Rights and Leadership

Washington Post 2-2-61

Executive initiative and leadership can do much to promote sane and healthy racial relations in the United States. This appears to be the principal thesis of a study prepared for submission to the new President by the Southern Regional Council, an organization singularly qualified to proffer advice in this field. The study calls for a vigorous assault against the evils of segregation and racial discrimination on a variety of fronts and by diverse techniques.

Despite the importance of legislation in outlawing practices which run counter to public policy and in giving the sanction of law to moral principles, presidential power and influence have a place of their own. By simple executive order, the President can do much to eliminate discrimination in Government contracts, in Federally financed housing projects, in Federal employment, in allocation of Federal funds to universities. The Federal Government's own operations, the report stresses, need to be a model of just race relations.

But of even greater impact than the exercise of presidential power, the Southern Regional Council suggests, is the impact of presidential influence through attitude and example. This was a thought often expressed by President Eisenhower during his occupancy of the White House. At a news conference in 1956, for example, he said in response to a question about school desegregation:

> Well, I can say what I have said so often: it is difficult through law and through force to change a man's heart. It seems to me that all of us who are so interested in this question of equality of rights regardless of religion and of race and color should do more about it. I try to miss no opportunity to urge people—I have done it; I have asked the clergy in, and I have asked them to help. I have asked educators in, I have asked them to help. Whenever I see a Governor I ask him to help.

The indubitable difficulty of changing men's hearts through force adds importance to presidential precept and example. In his casual remarks even more perhaps than in his formal utterances, in his social relations even more than in his official appointments, the President sets the tone for his countrymen. If he loses no opportunity to preach and practice democracy, he can do much to mold men's thinking. If he moves imaginatively to dramatize the issue, he can touch men's consciences. Among free men, this is the essence of leadership.

FEDERAL RIGHTS UNDER SCHOOL DESEGREGATION LAW

STAFF PAPER PREPARED FOR THE

LOUISIANA STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

to the

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

March 1966

Free choice plans for desegregating schools under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 tend to place the burden of desegregation on Negro students and their parents.[1/]

The vast majority of plans submitted by school authorities in Deep South States have been free choice plans. All five of the plans accepted by the Office of Education from Louisiana employ the free choice method exclusively. There are other school districts which are operating under court orders. According to estimates made by the Southern Education Reporting Service in December 1965, the number of Negroes attending school with white students in Louisiana was 2,187 or less than one per cent of the State's Negro school population.

At the request of the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Commission staff prepared this paper to assist Negro pupils and their parents in understanding their rights under current Federal school desegregation law.

1/ U.S. Office of Education (Dept. H.E.W.) Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, March 1966.

1. DESEGREGATION PLANS

Q. HOW CAN I FIND OUT IF MY SCHOOL DISTRICT RECEIVES FEDERAL MONEY?

A. Most school districts receive Federal assistance. You can find out about your school district by writing to the U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Q. IF IT DOES RECEIVE FEDERAL MONEY WHAT REQUIREMENTS MUST IT MEET?

A. If a school district is not under court order to desegregate, it must either be desegregated or follow a plan for desegregation of students, teachers, facilities, transportation, services, etc. If it is under court order, it must obey the court order. If it does not meet any of these three requirements, the Office of Education may refuse to give Federal money to that district. In addition, a suit can be brought by a parent or organization.

Q. WHAT KINDS OF DESEGREGATION PLANS ARE ACCEPTABLE?

A. There are several kinds of desegregation plans acceptable to the Federal government. Most of the communities in the South use a "Freedom of Choice" plan. Others divide the community into attendance areas and assign each child to the school for his area. Some districts close small Negro schools and assign the Negro children and teachers to white schools. Still others put only a few grades in each school and assign children by grade regardless of race.

Q. HOW LONG WILL THE PLANS TAKE TO ACHIEVE DESEGREGATION OF ALL GRADES?

A. Most of the plans called for desegregation of all 12 grades for the 1965-66 school year. All plans must provide for desegregating 12 grades by 1967-68.

Q. WHAT IF MY CHILD'S GRADE IS NOT YET COVERED BY THE DESEGREGATION PLAN?

A. The child can transfer to a white school under any of the following conditions: (1) his present school does not offer the course of study he desires, (2) he wants to attend a desegregated school already attended by a brother, sister or any relative living in his household, (3) he meets all the requirements for transfer under ordinary circumstances, (4) he would otherwise have to attend school outside of the school district.

Q. WHAT IF MY CHILD IS ENTERING THE SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A GRADE THAT IS NOT COVERED BY THE CURRENT "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" PLAN?

A. He may attend the school of his choice.

Q. HOW WILL I KNOW IF MY SCHOOL DISTRICT HAS A "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" PLAN?

A. Most school districts in the South use "Freedom of Choice" plans. If the district is under this plan, each pupil and his parents will receive a letter in the spring explaining their rights under the plan along with a Choice of School Form and a notice explaining the plan.

Q. WHAT WILL THE "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" LETTER SAY?

A. The letter will come from your school superintendent in the spring. It will ask parents and pupils to choose a school within 30 days. The choice form will list all schools that you may choose from (both white and Negro) and their grades and locations. The notice will explain the plan in detail.

Q. WILL STUDENTS WHO RETURN THEIR FORMS EARLY HAVE A BETTER CHANCE OF GETTING INTO THE SCHOOL OF THEIR CHOICE?

A. No. All letters must be mailed to parents on the first day of the choice period. There can be no preference given to those who return their forms early in the 30-day period.

Q. CAN THE CHILD CHOOSE HIS OWN SCHOOL?

A. Yes, if he is over 15 years old or will enter grade 9, 10, 11 or 12 next year.

Q. WHAT IF I DON'T RETURN THE CHOICE FORM DURING THE 30-DAY CHOICE PERIOD?

A. You may return it at any time before the child begins school next year. If the form is not filled out by the end of the first week of school, the child will be assigned to the school nearest his home where space is available, without regard to race.

Q. CAN A TEACHER OR PRINCIPAL TELL ME WHICH SCHOOL TO CHOOSE?

A. No. You and your child decide which school he will choose. Teachers, principals and other school officials may not tell you which school to choose or to influence your choice in any way.

Q. CAN MY CHILD'S NAME BE PRINTED IN THE NEWSPAPER OR PUBLICIZED IF I CHOOSE A WHITE SCHOOL?

A. No. It is a violation of Federal regulations to publicize information about choices made by individual students or about the schools to which they are assigned.

Q. WHAT IF ONLY A FEW NEGRO CHILDREN ENTER WHITE SCHOOLS IN MY SCHOOL DISTRICT UNDER A "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" PLAN?

A. If your school district has a sizable percentage of Negro children and most of them are still in Negro schools, the Federal government can require the school district to take additional actions to desegregate, such as holding a new choice period, increasing teacher desegregation, or putting into effect some other kind of plan.

2. COURT ORDERS

Q. WHAT IS A SCHOOL DESEGREGATION COURT ORDER?

A. A School Desegregation Court Order is the instruction given by the court after a school district has been sued and found to have been maintaining segregated schools. It tells the school district what it must do to achieve desegregation.

Q. WHAT IF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT DECIDES TO DO WITHOUT FEDERAL MONEY - AND CONTINUES TO HAVE SEGREGATED SCHOOLS?

A. The law requires a school district to desegregate whether or not it receives Federal money. If a school district has been sued and ordered to desegregate it must obey the court's order. If it has not been sued, one or more parents or an organization can sue a school district to force it to desegregate. If a parent can't afford to sue, cannot get a lawyer, or is otherwise unable to sue, he can make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. and ask the Federal government to sue.

Q. HOW DO I FIND OUT IF MY SCHOOL DISTRICT IS UNDER COURT ORDER?

A. To find out about your district, write to the Office of Education, Washington, D.C. or the Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Q. HOW DO I FIND OUT WHAT MY SCHOOL DISTRICT MUST DO UNDER THE COURT ORDER?

A. Since court orders are often hard to understand, you might ask a lawyer to explain it to you. He, or you, can get a copy from the Clerk of the Federal Court for a fee.

Q. HOW CAN A COURT ORDER BE CHANGED TO BRING ABOUT FASTER SCHOOL DESEGREGATION?

A. One or more parents or an organization can sue a school district for a better method of school desegregation. Parents can also make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. asking the Federal government to sue.

3. VIOLATIONS AND COMPLAINTS

Q. WHAT CAN I DO IF LOCAL OFFICIALS DO NOT OBEY THE DESEGREGATION PLAN OR COURT ORDER?

A. You can make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice and to the Equal Education Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Q. HOW DO I KNOW WHETHER TO SEND MY COMPLAINT TO THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION OR THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE?

A. To be sure it gets to the right one, send the same information to both.

Q. WHAT INFORMATION SHOULD BE IN THE COMPLAINT?

A. The complaint can be a letter. It should contain the facts you are complaining about, including the name and address of the schools involved, names of people, dates of incidents, and any other details that you are able to give.

Q. DO I HAVE TO SIGN THE COMPLAINT?

A. You must sign all complaints to the Dept. of Justice, but it is not necessary to sign complaints to the Office of Education. However, it makes it easier for them to investigate if they know who complained. If you do not wish to give your name, just write out what happened and mail it without signing it.

Q. CAN I COMPLAIN TO THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION BY TELEPHONE?

A. Yes. The number in Washington, D.C. is (202) 962-0333. Ask for the Equal Educational Opportunities Office and tell them you have a complaint.

Q. WHERE ELSE MAY I SEND A COPY OF MY COMPLAINT?

A. You may send a copy of your complaint to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C. You should also keep a copy for yourself.

Q. AFTER MAKING A COMPLAINT, WHAT KIND OF RESPONSE SHOULD I EXPECT?

A. You should expect a letter acknowledging that your complaint has been received. In some cases a Federal representative may come to discuss it with you. He will have identification to show that he is a Federal official. In other cases he may telephone you.

Q. WHAT IF I RECEIVE NO ANSWER?
A. If you do not receive an answer within a reasonable period of time, you should write or call Washington again to see if your complaint has been received, and what is being done about it.

4. PROTECTION

Q. WHAT KIND OF PROTECTION SHOULD I EXPECT FOR MY FAMILY IF I AM ONE OF THE FIRST TO SEND MY CHILD TO A WHITE SCHOOL?
A. The school authorities are responsible for seeing that no student or staff member interferes with persons exercising rights under the plan or affected by it. Such protection must be given both on and off the school grounds. If they can't provide necessary protection they must seek assistance from other officials.

Q. WHAT IF WE DO NOT RECEIVE PROTECTION FROM LOCAL AUTHORITIES?
A. Notify the nearest FBI office. Also, make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. and to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

5. NEWLY DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Q. WHAT ABOUT TRANSPORTATION TO SCHOOL?
A. Whatever transportation is provided for white children must also be provided for Negro children.

Q. WHAT SHOULD I EXPECT IN THE WHITE SCHOOLS IN TERMS OF DESEGREGATION OF FACILITIES, SERVICES AND ACTIVITIES?
A. The law says that there can be no discrimination in school facilities, services and activities. This includes sports participation, social and educational activities, drinking fountains, washrooms, lunchrooms, classroom seating, auditoriums, locker rooms, use of materials, buses, etc. Also, Negro parents can attend PTA Meetings, commencement exercises and all other school events.

Q. WHAT IF MY CHILD IS TREATED BADLY AND INSULTED IN A NEWLY DESEGREGATED SCHOOL BY TEACHERS AND OTHER STUDENTS?
A. It is the responsibility of school officials to see that these things don't happen. You can make a complaint to the local school officials or to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C. and Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. or to all of these.

Q. WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO NEGRO TEACHERS AS SCHOOLS ARE DESEGREGATED?

A. It is a violation of Federal regulations for a school system to dismiss, demote or pass over teachers for retention, promotion or rehiring because of race. If a teacher must be displaced because of desegregation, no teacher from outside the system can be brought in unless the displaced teacher is not qualified to fill the vacancy. If the district is going to have fewer teachers because of desegregation it must retain those who are best qualified regardless of race. Where teachers need to upgrade their skills the Federal government finances programs to train them to be better teachers.

Q. WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR TEACHER DESEGREGATION?

A. The superintendent and school boards have the responsibility for hiring and assigning teachers. They are required to desegregate teaching staffs. A Negro teacher who wishes to be assigned to a white school can so advise the proper school officials in the district.

Q. WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT DIFFERENT SALARIES FOR WHITE AND NEGRO TEACHERS?

A. It is a violation of the Constitution for school authorities to pay different salaries to teachers based on race. A teacher or a group of teachers or a teachers organization can sue the school officials to force them to equalize pay. The Attorney General can join in the suit.

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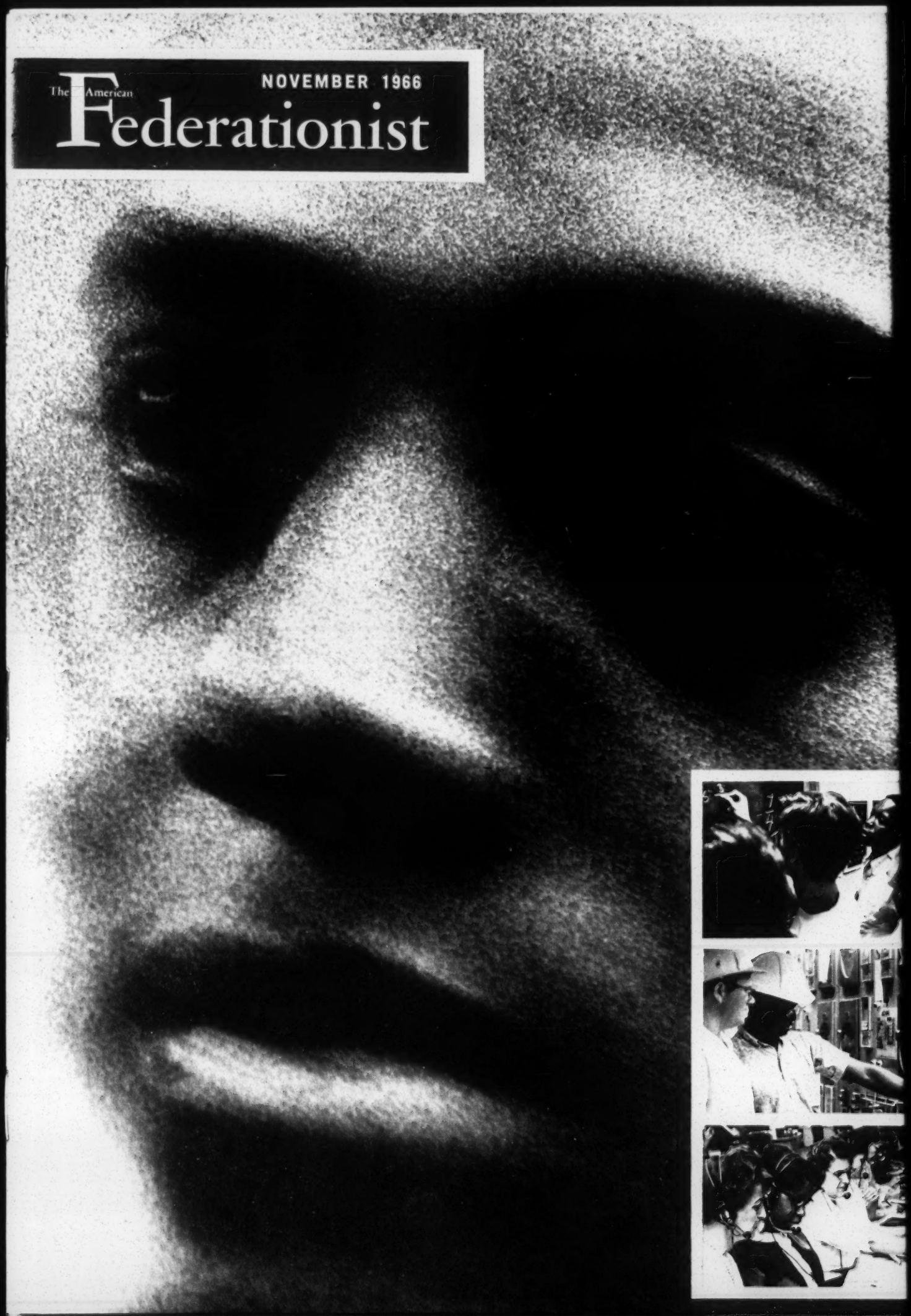
ADDRESS FURTHER QUESTIONS TO:

Equal Educational Opportunity Program
Office of Education
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Civil Rights Division
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

The American
Federationist
NOVEMBER 1966



Equal Rights: To Realize the Prom

The American Federationist

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Vol. 73 NOVEMBER 1966 No. 11

In this Issue

GEORGE MEANY
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Articles dealing with economics, research and education have been prepared in cooperation with the staffs of the Department of Research and the Department of Education.

An Editorial: Labor's Commitment 1

The Moral Basis of Civil Rights 2
All men are members of the human family and so are brothers. On this basis, all men are equal and entitled to dignity. A veteran civil rights leader says this is the foundation of the mutual interests of Negro and white workers. A. Philip Randolph

The Roots of the Negro-Union Alliance 3
United, the labor and civil rights movement can become a powerful force for achieving common objectives good for the nation. Divided, these movements will dissipate their energies and strengthen their enemies. This article examines the history and evolution of Negro-union relations. Dr. Ray Marshall

Labor's Role: Democracy on the Job 8
In the continuing process of making democracy complete, unions play a vital role. This is a record of how the AFL-CIO and its unions acted on their own and in support of civil rights laws to make equal opportunity more of a reality. Donald Slaiman

Making Apprenticeship Work 13
To help jobless youth, the Workers Defense League in New York organized both the apprenticeship information and the Negro youngsters interested in learning a trade.

The Urban League Expands Opportunities 14
The National Urban League boasts a long history of opening job frontiers and widening opportunities for minorities. This is an account of its current activities. Whitney Young

Civil Rights at the Crossroads 16
The first phase of a peaceful revolution is over. Now a crossroads. One road leads to full employment and equality in keeping with America's ideals. The other road leads to failure, frustration and strife. The argument here is for an alliance of labor-liberal-civil rights groups to fight for a better America. Bayard Rustin

Negroes and Jobs 20
Negro unemployment is double the white jobless rate; Negro teenage unemployment is explosively high. The reasons why are explained and the remedy urged is a great expansion of federal programs to create jobs, along with special training measures. Nathaniel Goldfinger

Making Equal Rights Laws Work 25
The public policy of the United States clearly aims at ending discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin. This is a description of the federal agencies and programs responsible for pursuing this objective. Walter G. Davis

The NAACP and the New Strategy 30
With many civil rights goals achieved, a new strategy is developing for cracking the complex problems of unemployment, poverty, low skills and low pay. The problem is economic and one which the nation must solve in the interest of all its citizens. Roy Wilkins

Books, Pamphlets and Films ..... **Inside Back Cover**

Cover photo by Vytas Valaitis

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Forestry and Park Notes

JUNE Published Quarterly by S. C. State Commission of Forestry 1950

FORT WATSON MEMORIAL DEDICATED

One of the most accessible and least known Revolutionary battlegrounds in South Carolina was dedicated recently as the Fort Watson Memorial. Located less than a half mile off heavily travelled U. S. 15, just north of the bridge and causeway across Lake Marion, the two-acre memorial tract is near the tip of a finger of land which protrudes into Lake Marion.

The old fort stood atop the 48-foot high Indian mound which still looms up over the adjoining countryside and is visible for miles across the waters of the lake. The mound is said to have been built by Indians bringing small sacks of soil as a gift for a chief. The soil, according to legend was dumped on one spot for many years, creating the mound.

The mound, attributed to the Siouan tribe of Santee Indians who frequented the region, made the battle of Fort Watson an unusual event in the military career of General Francis Marion, South Carolina's "Swamp Fox".

In 1781 the British maintained a fort atop the mound and garrisoned it to keep open their routes of communication not only by land, but by the Santee River, which flowed close by the mound.

On April 15, 1781 General Marion and Colonel "Lighthorse" Harry Lee disposed their combined forces of some 380 men about Fort Watson. Their particular interest in capturing the fort was to obtain the quantities of ammunition known to be there. An added incentive was the fact that part of these munitions had fallen back into British hands by treachery after General Marion had seized them earlier in the combat.

Marion and Lee looked with disgust at the low land about the fort. The British, from their stockade atop the mound were able to fire with almost complete security into the ranks of any Americans trying to storm the post.

Colonel Maham, one of Marion's officers, suggested a scheme for capturing the fort. For five days and nights the troops of "Lighthorse" Harry Lee and the "Swamp Fox" worked like beavers felling yellow pine and cypress trees and hewing them into beams. On the fifth night

(Continued on page 4)

FORMER STATE HISTORIAN A. J. SALLEY SPEAKING AT DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF FORT WATSON MEMORIAL AREA

VIEW OF INDIAN MOUND AT FORT WATSON MEMORIAL AREA

Form SP-57 5/52

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
DIVISION OF STATE PARKS

APPLICATION FOR CABIN RESERVATION

AT _____ STATE PARK

PERIOD: List preferred and alternate dates. (Cabin reservations begin and end on Monday).

(1) FROM _____ TO _____ 19 ___.

(2) FROM _____ TO _____ 19 ___.

(3) FROM _____ TO _____ 19 ___.

No. adults in party (including children 18 and older)_____. Children 18 and under _____.

NOTE: The park does not supply bed, bedding, etc. for children too small to use regular single beds. Cabin renter must supply such bed, bedding, etc.

Cabin rental payments are due thirty (30) days prior to the reservation date.

NOTE: A deposit of $5.00 in cash will be required from the cabin renter when he takes up his reservation at the park. This deposit is to cover any loss or breakage of cabin equipment and will be refunded, less any deductions for loss or breakage, when the cabin is vacated.

I hereby agree that all use made of any cabin rented to me will be in accordance with North Carolina State Park Regulations and the Conditions on the reverse side of this application.

THIS APPLICATION FORM IS REQUIRED.

Please Supply All Information Requested

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Phone No. _____ Race _____

Please fill out and mail to: Division of State Parks, Box 2719, Raleigh, North Carolina.

For 1953, reservations will be accepted on a "first come first serve" basis, except that preference will be given to residents of the State of North Carolina.

RESERVATIONS ARE NOT TRANSFERABLE EXCEPT WITH THE CONSENT OF THIS OFFICE.

CONDITIONS

1. Cabin rentals are payable in full thirty (30) days in advance of date on which reservation begins. The Division of State Parks reserves the right to cancel reservations if this advance payment is not made.

2. No refund of a paid reservation will be made unless a cancellation request is made to this office at least fifteen (15) days prior to date on which reservation begins. Money will be refunded on a notification of less than fifteen (15) days only when the cabin is re-rented.

3. From the last Monday in May to Labor Day, cabins will be rented only on a weekly basis beginning at 4:00 p. m. on Monday and ending at 10:00 a. m. the following Monday for a minimum of one week and a maximum of two weeks.

4. Reservations shall not be transferred or assigned without written consent of the Division of State Parks.

5. The Division of State Parks reserves the right to reject any request for reservation not submitted on this application blank. Application blanks may be obtained either from the Park Superintendent or the Division of State Parks, Box 2719, Raleigh, North Carolina.

6. No animals or pets, except a dog on a leash (leash not to exceed six feet in length), may be brought into any park. NO DOGS, ANIMALS OR PETS WILL BE ALLOWED IN THE CABINS, CABIN AREA OR SWIMMING AREA AT ANY TIME.

RECEIVED
DEC 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

LAWS OF THE FLORIDA PARK SERVICE

Compiled By
THE FLORIDA PARK SERVICE
Tallahassee, Florida

INFORMATION ON VACATION CABINS AT
HANGING ROCK STATE PARK AND
MORROW MOUNTAIN STATE PARK

SIZE: Two bedrooms, bathroom, living room, kitchen with dining space. Accommodates up to six persons which is the maximum number of persons who may occupy one cabin.

FURNISHINGS AND EQUIPMENT: Four single beds, one double day bed, tables, chairs and other necessary furniture; electric stove, electric refrigerator and electric hot water heater; dishes, silverware, glassware and cooking utensils for six people; blankets, sheets and pillow cases; bath towels, dish towels, dish cloths.

RENTAL RATE: $49.00 per week from the last Monday in May to Labor Day; $6.00 per day from Labor Day to about November 1 and from about March 15 to the last Monday in May. Rental covers electric current, water and free use of swimming facilities.

WHEN RENTALS PAYABLE: Cabin rentals are payable in full thirty (30) days in advance of date on which reservation begins. The Division of State Parks reserves the right to cancel reservations if this advance payment is not made.

REFUNDS: No refund of a paid reservation will be made unless a cancellation request is made to this office at least fifteen (15) days prior to date on which reservation begins. Money will be refunded on a notification of less than fifteen (15) days only when the cabin is re-rented.

RENTAL PERIODS: From the last Monday in May to Labor Day, cabins will be rented only on a weekly basis beginning at 4:00 p. m. on Monday and ending at 10:00 a. m. the following Monday for a minimum of one week and a maximum of two weeks.

From Labor Day to about November 1 and from about March 15 to last Monday in May, cabins may be rented either by the day or by the week.

DAMAGE DEPOSIT: A deposit of $5.00 in cash will be required from the cabin renter when he takes up his reservation at the park. This deposit is to cover any loss or breakage of cabin equipment and will be refunded, less any deductions for loss or breakage, when the cabin is vacated.

CHILDREN: The park does not supply bed, bedding, etc. for children too small to use regular single beds. Cabin renter must supply such bed, bedding, etc.

HOW TO MAKE RESERVATIONS: For 1953, reservations will be accepted on a "first come first serve" basis, except that preference will be given to residents of the State of North Carolina.

Reservation requests for all rental periods between the last Monday in May and Labor Day will be handled by the Division of State Parks, P. O. Box 2719, Raleigh, North Carolina.

OVER

Reservation requests for rental periods between Labor Day and about November 1 and between about March 15 and the last Monday in May will be handled for Morrow Mountain State Park by the Park Superintendent, Rt. 2, Albemarle, North Carolina; and for Hanging Rock State Park by the Park Superintendent, P. O. Box 126, Danbury, North Carolina.

PETS: No animal or pets, except a dog on a leash not exceeding six feet in length may be brought into any state park. NO DOGS, ANIMALS OR PETS WILL BE ALLOWED IN THE CABINS, CABIN AREA OR SWIMMING AREA AT ANY TIME.

GROCERIES AND SUPPLIES: At Morrow Mountain State Park, groceries and supplies may be purchased in Albemarle (7 miles from the park), or in Badin (2 miles from the park.) At Hanging Rock State Park, groceries and supplies may be purchased in Danbury (4 miles from the park), or in Walnut Cove (14 miles from the park.)

LOCATION: Morrow Mountain State Park: Stanly County, 7 miles east of Albemarle. Accessible over paved roads from North Carolina Highways 27, 73 and 740.

Hanging Rock State Park: Stokes County, 4 miles west of Danbury and 32 miles north of Winston-Salem. Reached from North Carolina Highways 89 and 66.

WILDLIFE SANCTUARY: All North Carolina State Parks are wildlife sanctuaries and hunting, trapping, or in any way molesting animals and birds, is not permitted.

Friends Committee on Legislation ☆ Northern California Office

1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco 15, Calif. Telephone WEst 1-1764

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A Regional Office of
Friends Committee on
National Legislation
104 C St. N. E.
Washington, D. C.

E. RAYMOND WILSON
Executive Secretary

July 30, 1953

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Fred Ross of the Federation for Civic Unity called me yesterday regarding a request he had from you concerning the California Un-American Activites Committee.

The Friends Committee on Legislation has worked closely with Fred on legislative matters so I am happy to ~~through~~ throw as much light on the subject as possible.

First of all, I am sending you under separate cover two committee reports: one which is the seventh report of the State Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities. The other is the eleventh report of the Senate Investigation Committee on Education. I was not sure of the source of material being circulated in your area, so hope these will be of some use to you. As we have only a few copies of these reports I would appreciate your returning them.

Both of the Committees are official ones, sanctioned by the State Legislature. Additional funds in the amount of $65,000 have just been granted to continue their investigations. Both have been in operation for a number of years. As you will note from examining the reports the yardstick used to measure "subversive activity" is quite a flexible one, very often based on the premise that those who disagree with the members of the committee are suspect. If an individual or organization makes the mistake of supporting similar measures as the Communist Party happens to be plugging at the time, (civil liberties, public housing, the U.N. etc.), the Committee takes this as evidence of an unholy alliance. Unfortunately, these committees have the stamp of officialdom, and carry a good deal of weight in California while truly objective reports are seldom attempted. If you will check the back of the Education report (page 180) you will see an example of the type of laws that California is enacting, authored by members of these committees.

If you have any specific questions I will try to answer them. I would be very interested in hearing about the type of material that is being distributed and any other details. Please excuse the typing, as my secretary is on vacation and letter writing is not one of my talents.

Sincerely,

Trevor Thomas

Trevor Thomas
Executive Secretary

100

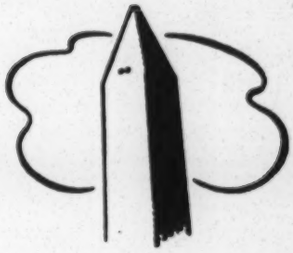
Loyalty Investigations

Washington Newsletter

of the

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION

104 C STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.



ANNUAL COST $2

Editors: E. RAYMOND WILSON, WILMER A. COOPER

WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER NO. 121 DECEMBER 7, 1953

CONGRESS, THE EXECUTIVE, AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

INTRODUCTION

Today the global struggle between the Communist and the non-Communist world overshadows the lives of all of us. This struggle is on two levels, for physical control of territory and for the capture of men's minds. In the former, the Communists have made notable gains since 1945. Understandably, fear has developed in this country – fear that is due, in part, to the knowledge of the awful destruction that would result from open warfare in the atomic age. It is also due to the shock of the discovery that many people in other countries, seeking to realize their own nationalist aspirations, are ready to accept Communist leadership, which to us seems unthinkable.

Part of the hold of the Communists in the United States has been their championing the cause of the unemployed during the depression, the removal of segregation and discrimination, and the rights of various minorities. The current fear of Communism, however, has obscured the fact that, on the whole, in this country the Communist ideology has failed miserably. At its peak in 1947, when the United States still thought of Russia as an ally, the Communist Party had only about 80,000 members. At the present time, it has less than 30,000. At no time has it been able to hold the allegiance of a large proportion of its members. Many of those who passed through the concourse of Communism, the open Party, ended it because they thought it only a short-cut to true democracy. Once they realized its antagonism to the American ideal of democracy, they left. For many of them, might it be said they were guilty of error more than of intentional disloyalty?

The greatest barrier to Communist capture of the minds of Americans has been the strength of our belief in our traditions and institutions of freedom and fair play, and the influence of those traditions and institutions in shaping the minds and characters of the American people. These are the rights that we call our civil liberties – freedom of speech, religion, and conscience; the principle that guilt is personal, not a matter of association; that accusation cannot be substituted for proof of guilt; that everyone must be given the opportunity to face his accuser; that punishment must not be extra-legal, but must be the result of due process of law, and a fair trial; and the principle that every individual should be treated equally, regardless of his race, religion, ancestry, or political beliefs.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

The 83rd Congress has already appropriated $719,000 for the use of the three major committees conducting investigations – $200,000 for the Permanent Investigations Sub-Committee of the Senate Government Operations Committee, $219,000 for the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and $300,000 for the House Un-American Activities Committee. In addition, the House has established a Select Committee to investigate tax-exempt foundations, and has appropriated $50,000 for its use. Congressman Harold H. Velde of Illinois now heads the Un-American Activities Committee of the House.[1] Senator William E. Jenner of Indiana is the Chairman of the Internal Security Sub-Committee.[2]. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin is Chairman of the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee.[3] The Democratic members of this latter Committee all resigned in protest at the appointment to its staff of J. B. Matthews, who had just written an article claiming that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus" in the United States is to be found in the ranks of the Protestant clergy. Mr. Matthews resigned shortly thereafter.

According to an article in *Look* Magazine for October 6, 1953, by Fletcher Knebel, 175 former Federal employees or members of the armed forces have refused to answer Congressional investigators who asked them about Communist affiliations. Mr. Knebel states that persons who have refused to affirm or deny membership in the Communist Party held key posts in 71 bureaus, agencies and departments of the Federal government from 1933 to 1952. Only 8 of the 175 former Government payrollers who refused to testify as to Communist membership made their first appearance before the Government Operations Subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Senator McCarthy. The FCNL *Washington Newsletter* for November reported that employment in Federal executive agencies at the end of August was 2,430,412 and that the size of the military establishment is nearly 3,500,000 now.

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[1] *Members of the House Un-American Activities Committee are: Harold Velde (Ill.), Bernard Kearney (N.Y.), Donald Jackson (Cal.), Kit Clardy (Mich.), Gordon H. Scherer (Ohio), Francis Walter (Pa.), Morgan M. Moulder (Mo.), Clyde Doyle (Cal.), James B. Frazier, Jr. (Tenn.).*

[2] *Members of the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee are: William Jenner (Ind.), Arthur Watkins (Utah), Robert Hendrickson (N.J.), Herman Welker (Idaho), John M. Butler (Md.), Pat McCarran (Nev.), James Eastland (Miss.), Olin Johnston (S.C.), John McClellan (Ark.).*

[3] *Members of the Senate Permanent Investigations Sub-Committee are: Joseph McCarthy (Wis.), Karl Mundt (S.D.), Everett Dirksen (Ill.), Charles Potter (Mich.), John McClellan (Ark.), Henry Jackson (Wash.), Stuart Symington (Mo.).*

All three of these Committees have dealt to some extent with the issue of Communism in education. Senator Jenner announced that his Committee intended to investigate the Communist conspiracy to penetrate education. Congressman Velde stated that he intended to expose individual Communists in both private and public schools. Senator McCarthy, in the course of his investigation of the Overseas Libraries maintained by the State Department, has called individual teachers before his Committee. Carrying out their announced purposes, these Committees have investigated teachers in the New York and Brooklyn public school systems, in the Philadelphia school system, in Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Columbia University, and other private institutions of higher learning. Many of the persons called before them were known to be former, not present, members of the Communist Party. There is evidence that some few others, who have refused to testify, may actually be Communist Party members. Leading educators have pointed out, however, that these investigations pose a threat to freedom of thought which may outweigh any gain. Former President Conant of Harvard, who is opposed to the employment of Communists on university faculties, was nonetheless very specific on this point, saying, "...the damage that would be done to the spirit of this academic community by an investigation by the University, aimed at finding a crypto-Communist would be far greater than any conceivable harm such a person might do."

Activities and Methods of Investigators

The House Un-American Activities Committee has continued its investigations of Communists in Hollywood, and announced its intention to investigate Communism in the Churches. This Committee announced that Agnes E. Meyer, wife of the Chairman of the Board of *The Washington Post,* and an outspoken critic of the Committee, had written a pro-Soviet letter which was quoted in the Communist daily, *Pravda.* Only after Mrs. Meyer publicly denied the charge was it discovered that it was based on a mistake in identity, which could easily have been checked. In competition with the Internal Security Sub-Committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee issued a subpoena to President Truman for investigation of Attorney-General Brownell's charges that President Truman promoted a man about whom he had substantial information indicating that he was a Communist.

The Internal Security Sub-Committee has been continuing its investigation of Communists in Government, and is now investigating the charges against President Truman mentioned above.

The Permanent Investigating Sub-Committee of the Senate has investigated both the Overseas Libraries of the State Department, and the Department's employees who are charged with the conduct of overseas information and education. The Chairman has repeatedly implied that books in our Overseas Libraries should be selected on the basis of the "patriotism" of the author rather than on the basis of the book's contents, and that only the Committee's conception of orthodoxy should be presented. This Committee has also investigated alleged Communism in government employment at home, and claims to have information indicating that there may have been Communists working in the Government Printing Office. It has also called before it a few government employees who had been investigated and cleared by the Executive Branch. Their resignations followed. The Chairman announced that he would follow this procedure in any case in which he was not satisfied by the judgment reached by the Executive Branch. In a later investigation the Committee called before it a former Loyalty Board Member who had voted, after hearings, to clear an employee, as to whose own loyalty the Committee was not satisfied.

This Committee has also concerned itself with Communism in unions in plants that have government contracts, and it is presently investigating charges of espionage at the Army Signal Corps center in Fort Monmouth, a subject of previous investigations. At the same time, the Army had been conducting its own investigation of alleged espionage there, and had suspended 33 scientists, engineers, and technicians. On November 13, the Secretary of the Army announced that no evidence of current espionage had been found at Fort Monmouth, and that several of the suspended employees were already in the process of being restored to duty. None of those suspended then had been charged with espionage, and in some cases no charges at all had been filed against them.

In connection with the investigation of Overseas Libraries, the Chairman of this Committee called before him some of the authors whose books were found on the library shelves. Among these persons was James Wechsler, Editor of the *New York Post,* who has long acknowledged that he was a Communist in his college days, but who is now a strong anti-Communist. He has also been an open critic of the operations and methods of this investigating Committee.. At his hearing, it developed that the Chairman did not know which of Wechsler's four books was, in fact, in the Overseas Library, and the questioning of him revolved largely about his unfavorable editorials. Following this hearing, a special eleven man committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors reviewed the transcript to determine whether or not the hearing amounted to a threat to the freedom of the press. They were divided on the question of whether "this single interchange constituted a clear and present danger to freedom of the press", but four members of the Committee released a separate statement to the effect that "freedom of the press in these United States. . could not long survive the repeated exercise of Congress of unlimited inquiry into the conduct of newspapers." The Chairman of the Investigating Committee immediately issued a denunciation of J. R. Wiggins of *The Washington Post,* who signed this separate report, and demanded that the Newspaper Editors investigate him.

Committee Abuses

It is obvious that the work of these Committees has overlapped. They have competed for sensational disclosures and newspaper headlines, and have used, at times, sensational methods in their hearings. This has precluded thorough investigation. For example, in a recent investigation of teachers in Philadelphia, two prospective witnesses, who stood on their rights as witnesses and refused to be subjected to any photographing, televising or broadcasting prior to the completion of their testimony, were, under these circumstances, not even asked to testify. Is the Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee more interested in television possibilities than gathering facts?

Witnesses have been required to give "yes" and "no" answers, and often have not been permitted to explain these answers or give a complete picture of their activities. On occasion, as in the case of Agnes Meyer, accusation has preceded investigation, and the power of the committees seems to have been used to stifle criticism. In spite of concessions

to the demands for procedural safeguards for individuals giving testimony, the fact remains that appearance before these committees can be disastrous even for one wrongly accused

Congressional Committees derive the right to carry out investigations through the very nature of their legislative authority. Investigations, in the strictest sense are made to lay the groundwork for proposed legislation, or to review the operation of laws already existing. Competent observers, however, greatly question whether Congressional Committees are an appropriate place for the investigation of individual guilt. They are not courts, and have not adopted and it is doubtful that they could adopt the safeguards of court procedures. Witnesses are usually permitted to have counsel, but the counsel may not himself make statements or ask questions of the Committee or of other witnesses. The Committee itself is in the position of both prosecutor and judge. In most cases, the accuser is not identified, does not appear, and even when he does, the opportunity is not given for the satisfactory cross-examination that has proved over the years to be the best means of uncovering the truth. Inconclusive and unsupported evidence is often accepted as proof. Damaging allegations are stated by Committee counsel to be contained in sworn testimony. The witness is then asked whether these statements are true or false. If he invokes his constitutional rights not to testify against himself, an imputation of guilt is then inevitable. Therefore, persons summoned before these investigating Committees are pilloried before the public and subjected to extra-legal punishment.

The Fifth Amendment

Many persons that have been summoned to testify have refused to do so, basing their refusal on their rights under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that *"No person...shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself."* Apparently some persons, misunderstanding the Amendment, have invoked it because they did not wish to testify about the activities of persons other than themselves, or because they sincerely believed that the Committee had no right to question them. Zechariah Chafee, Jr. and Arthur E. Sutherland, both of the Harvard Law School, have given the following advice to such persons:

> The underlying principle to remember in considering the subject is the duty of the citizen to cooperate with the government. He has no option to say, 'I do not approve of this grand jury or that congressional committee; I dislike its members and its objectives; therefore I will not tell what I know.' He is neither wise nor legally justified in attempting political protest by standing silent when obligated to speak...To this general duty of the citizen the privilege against self-incrimination is an extraordinary exception...
>
> Certainly the fact that disclosure of present or past association with the Communist party will cause trouble for the witness, with his church, his lodge, his union, his employer, or his university, does not excuse him from answering questions about it when subpoenaed before a competent body.

In other cases, lawyers may have advised clients who are ex-Communists to invoke their rights under the Amendment, because a series of prosecutions of Communist officials has created uncertainty as to whether or not membership itself, within the three year statutory period, will be regarded as a crime. Juries are forbidden to draw adverse conclusions from the refusal of a witness to testify, but this prohibition cannot be extended to the general public. No legal inference of guilt may be drawn from invoking the privilege without *ipso facto* destroying the privilege itself. Americans may well ponder what would be the effect on this historical safeguard of an implication of guilt by the community. This privilege grew out of centuries of torture and inquisition, during which people were compelled to confess to being witches or heretics, so that it was for a very good reason that it was included in the Bill of Rights.

Suggested Legislative Reforms

Some members of Congress have recognized the dangers inherent in some of the methods used by Congressional Committees. Three resolutions (S.Con.Res. 10, S.Con.Res. 11, and S.Res. 83) have been introduced by Senators Kefauver, Morse and Lehman for themselves and others, prescribing new procedural requirements for investigating hearings. In general, these call for prior notice to any person or organization about whom derogatory information is to be presented at a public hearing, and propose that witnesses be given the following rights which are not generally granted to them at the present time: (1) the right to be questioned by his own counsel in order to bring out all pertinent facts, (2) to present written questions to opposing witnesses, (3) to subpoena adverse witnesses, and (4) to be permitted to answer all charges. The bills further provide that all the evidence upon which a committee report or finding is based shall be made public at the same time as the finding.

No action has been taken on any of these bills, or on the House equivalent (H.Res. 29), introduced by Congressman Kenneth B. Keating. They have all been referred to the Senate Rules Committee, chaired by Senator Jenner, and the House Rules Committee, which is under the leadership of Congressman Leo Allen of Illinois.

Senator Richard B. Russell has recently proposed, in addition, that one joint committee to investigate subversive activities be substituted for the three separate committees now operating in that field. This suggestion has not yet been incorporated into a formal bill.

These reforms might ameliorate Congressional procedures considerably, but they will not put the question of political dissent in its proper perspective in the American democratic tradition. Where specific crimes have been committed, such crimes can be and should be punished in the courts. But differences of political ideology should be hammered out on the anvil of public debate and recourse to the ballot box. Thomas Jefferson, after two bitter wars, still said in his second inaugural address:

> And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, as capable of bitter and bloody persecutions . . . If there be any among us who wish to dissolve the Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

We do not retain our civil liberties by giving them up, or denying them to people with whom we differ. We do retain and strengthen our liberties by practicing them vigorously on behalf of every individual, no matter how abhorrent his ideas may be to us. Where is the emphasis today on reason to combat errors of opinion, and the championing of political programs so forward looking that people are not led to embrace non-democratic ideologies?

THE EXECUTIVE LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAM

The Executive Branch of the Federal Government exercises its jurisdiction over subversion largely by virtue of the right to employment, and of the issuance of visas and passports. This right is not limited to employment in the government service itself, but extends to all workers in industry who are employed on government contracts, to scientists in the universities and research agencies who are dealing with government research projects, all persons who have access to the waterfront, exchange students and teachers under the Fulbright Act, delegates to international conferences, and also to applicants for passports and visas. Recently this jurisdiction has been extended to cover tenants of federal housing projects and persons in universities who conduct correspondence courses for members of the armed forces.

New Program Based on Wider Investigations of Individual Loyalty

Until May of this year, investigations of government employees were of two types. Under President Truman's *loyalty* order, *all* government employees were investigated in terms of personal allegiance to the United States. Under Public Law 733, however, persons holding particularly "sensitive" positions - i.e., those which afford an opportunity to do material harm to the government, either by sabotage, espionage, or general determination of policy - were investigated in addition, as to whether they were *security* risks. Additional tests for security which were applied included such things as behavior or associations that tend to show an individual is not reliable, disregard of security regulations, liability to coercion, and treatment for serious mental and neurological disorder. Thus a person could be adjudged personally loyal, and yet not a good "security risk".

President Eisenhower has abolished the divided check for loyalty and security, and has established a new order whereby all government employees must past both loyalty and security tests. Membership in any subversive organization, as a test of security, is no longer restricted to organizations listed by the Attorney General. That official, however, continues to issue such lists, and since July 1953 has added the names of 43 alleged new Communist organizations, to the existing list.

In the new program, an employee has fewer procedural protections than under the Loyalty Program. Those who are American citizens, and who have also passed the probationary period, and acquired status in the Civil Service, must be given a written statement of the charges against them, and may demand a hearing. They have no right of appeal to any outside body, however, such as the old Loyalty Review Board. All other employees, who now constitute a substantial proportion of the government service, must be given a written statement of reasons, if they are suspended. They may make a written answer, but will have no opportunity to plead their case in person. As in the past, an employee will seldom have the opportunity to face his accuser, and he may not even be informed of all the adverse information of which a final judgment will be based. There can be no doubt that it is easier to dismiss an employee under this program than it was under the Loyalty Program. It was believed, however, that a dismissal on security grounds would not harm the individual as much as one based on the issue of loyalty. Unfortunately, the available evidence does not support this position.

Little Detailed Information Available on 1,456 Severances

On October 23, the White House reported that 1,456 persons have been severed under the new order, so far during 1953. These figures have not been further broken down in any way, and there is no information as to the grounds of dismissal nor whether the persons involved had been subjected to the same charges in previous proceedings. We do know that in one case, a stenographer in the Department of Justice had twice faced charges because her father is a Communist, and had twice been cleared of any personal guilt. Apparently, she did not feel it worthwhile to go through this procedure for a third time, and resigned. It appears that few if any of the 1,456 were given hearings, and that none of them faced their accusers. Unfortunately, statements made by Attorney General Brownell and President Eisenhower have been open to the inference that all 1,456 were tainted in some way by Communism.

Some information is now available as to the kind of charges being made under the new order. Employees have been questioned concerning membership in the Federation of American Scientists, the American Veterans Committee (of which President Eisenhower is an honorary member) and the League for Industrial Democracy - organizations that have never been listed as subversive by either the Attorney General or the Un-American Activities Committee. In a number of cases, suspension or dismissal has been due not to any act of the employee himself, but because of the radical activities of a relative. One Fort Monmouth employee was accused of associating with a brother who "favored the 'leftist' policies of Max Lerner, who was affiliated with, or a member of, several organizations cited as Communist or Communist Fronts." In two cases, a whole continent lay between the Communist and non-Communist brothers. The latter were nevertheless treated as security risks.

The possible injustice of such cases has been dramatically illustrated by the case of a young Air Force reserve officer, Lieutenant Radulovich, whose dismissal as a security risk was recommended by a board of three colonels, because his father was said to read subversive newspapers, and his sister participated in Communist picketing and other activities. This case was brought before the public in a television broadcast, and it became obvious that the Lieutenant himself had no Communist leanings, that his father read a native language newspaper because he didn't know English, and that the officer had no sympathy with his sister's activities. President Eisenhower became interested in the case, and the Air Force Secretary reversed the Board's ruling. There is no way of knowing how many other cases might have had the same clearance, if it had been possible to explore them with equal thoroughness.

There can be no question that measures must be taken to protect the government against infiltration by spies, saboteurs

and advocates of totalitarianism. Admittedly, discovery of such persons is no easy task. Ample protection would seem to be afforded if suspension is followed by careful investigation, in which every accused person is given full opportunity to refute adverse charges before he is dismissed. As it is, the actions of both Congressional Committees and the Executive Branch have created a greatly exaggerated idea of the extent of Communist infiltration.

STATE AND LOCAL LOYALTY PROGRAMS

Major activities of state legislatures and executive bodies have centered around educational issues. Thirty-three states have laws with regard to the loyalty of teachers and the exclusion of subversives from the public schools. Thirty states require special loyalty oaths of their teachers. In addition, individual Boards of Education in cities throughout the United States have loyalty programs. Private citizens have undertaken to censor the books in libraries or in use in the schools.

This kind of activity reached the *reductio ad absurdum* when the story of Robin Hood was labelled Communist because it told of someone who robbed the rich to help the poor. The present Sheriff of Nottingham solemnly denied the allegation. The whole situation appears less humorous when we discover that the same critic demanded that all mention of Quakers be removed from textbooks because they oppose war. There have been determined efforts to prevent any teaching about the United Nations or UNESCO, and in one case a school superintendant was required to delete from a ceremonial oath the promise that his pupils would be good world citizens. There has been a tendency to equate Communism with any unpopular doctrine, with the result that it has become fairly common practice to deny the use of buildings for public meetings to any person who may be regarded as "controversial". All of this has favored the growth of a new commercial enterprise - the preparation by private persons of what are, in effect, blacklists.

SOME PROBLEMS RAISED BY THESE PROGRAMS

All of these activities have caused a rising tide of fear and suspicion that has actually become a divisive force in the country. In addition, a number of specific evils have resulted. Individuals dismissed as security risks by the government, guilty and innocent alike, are often unable to find other work commensurate with their abilities. This is especially true in the case of scientists, engineers, and technicians, for in many cases, in private industry, their services would have to be used for work on government contracts. The government service is itself being seriously hurt. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find satisfactory recruits for the foreign service, and those who are in it are increasingly reluctant to make full and frank reports. A former officer of the World Health Organization has stated that, as a result of the result of the required security checks, no American health expert has been recruited for that organization since those checks began.

Seven months, on the average, has been required for clearance for the technical assistance programs abroad. When investigation involves such long delay, few persons can afford to wait for a government job, and the government loses the services of many highly qualified people. As fear and suspicion spread through the country, more and more people are unwilling to discuss controversial issues openly, and a survey of the colleges recently made by the *New York Times* shows that increasingly students are refraining from joining organizations or from participating in public activities in order to protect their future careers.

Many of our leading citizens have expressed concern at this situation. News is brought to us from England, from Canada, from the Continent, and from Asia, that our prestige is being diminished, and there are growing doubts that we can any longer offer the kind of spiritual leadership which the world expects of our country. Justice William O. Douglas spoke to this point on November 24, at a Tenth Anniversary Dinner of the Friends Committee on National Legislation in Philadelphia, when he said:

> A nation in this frame of mind, officials who are on a witch hunt, men, women and children who are suspicious of each other cannot be tolerant abroad. They will fear abroad what they fear and suspect at home. Those who are intolerant of minorities at home will not be tolerant of those who embrace unorthodox views abroad.
>
> We may win the war [the struggle against communism] even though we continue to practice and preach hate and suspicion at home. But if we continue those practices, we will never win the peace. For we cannot win the peace unless we maintain a position of moral authority in the world. To do this we must have done with the witch hunt and the merchants of hate.
>
> We will not lose the peace because the Communist opposition is strong and formidable. Communism is not strong either as a secular religious faith or as a program of political action. In no free election in any country has it ever won. But we will lose the peace if we . . . sacrifice our ideals of liberty for a miserable political advantage which a campaign of hate and suspicion temporarily gives.

SUGGESTIONS FOR INDIVIDUAL ACTION

Following are some examples of specific action which could be taken:

(1) Write to Senator Richard B. Russell supporting his proposal that one joint committee to investigate subversive activities be established to replace the three now functioning in that field.

(2) Write to Senator William Jenner, Chairman of the Senate Rules Committee (Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D.C.) asking that hearings be held on SCR 10, SCR 11, and S. Res. 83, proposing revisions in Committee procedures, and that these resolutions be favorably reported out to the Senate. Letters could also be written to Congressman Leo E. Allen, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, urging action on H. Res. 29.

(3) Write to any or all of the following Senators who are sponsors of the above-mentioned resolutions, expressing your support of their position:

Estes Kefauver (Tenn.)	Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)	Matthew M. Neely (W.Va.)
Wayne Morse (Oregon)	John Pastore (Rhode Island)	James S. Murray (Montana)
Herbert H. Lehman (N.Y.)	Margaret Chase Smith (Maine)	Irving M. Ives (New York)
Lester C. Hunt (Wyoming)	Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (Missouri)	

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON
NATIONAL LEGISLATION,
104 C Street, Northeast
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

Washington Newsletter

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(4) Write to your own Senators and Congressmen asking that they support these resolutions.

(5) Write to your local newspapers and to magazines, expressing your views in the whole area of civil liberties. Discuss these problems with your friends, and in your meeting, church, and civic organizations.

(6) There is no doubt that current fears have understandably been increased by recent disclosures about Communist penetration during the Truman Administration. Columnist Drew Pearson has suggested that unreasonable fears would be allayed if the President would appoint an impartial commission of distinguished jurists to review the evidence and report on this matter somewhat in the manner of the Canadian Royal Commission that investigated espionage in the Canadian government. If you approve of this suggestion, you might write to the President (Washington 25, D.C.) asking him to establish such a commission, thereby taking the whole issue out of partisan politics.

(7) If you are not already a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, write to Patrick Murphy Malin at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York, concerning its program, both nationally and in your area. Ask how you can strengthen the work of this organization in the field of civil rights and civil liberties.

An articulate expression of public opinion is essential in a democracy. The letters you write to your Senators and Congressmen, to the President, and to the newspapers, radio, and television commentators, *do matter.* A few voices lifted in Washington will not be heard in the present atmosphere of fear and suspicion, unless they are supported throughout the country. YOUR VOICE IS VITAL!

RECOMMENDED REFERENCE MATERIAL

Books: Barth, Alan, *The Loyalty of Free Men* (published by the Viking Press; also available from Pocket Books, Inc., Cardinal Edition - 35¢) This is an excellent survey of the whole field of civil liberties by the staff writer of *The Washington Post* who specializes in the field.

Bontecou, Eleanor, *The Federal Loyalty-Security Program* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1953). Well-documented and careful account of the executive program.

Carr, *The House Un-American Activities Committee,* 1945-50 (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1952).

Miller, Merle, *The Judges and the Judged* (Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1950) Deals with private blacklisting.

Roy, Ralph R., *Apostles of Discord* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1953), Deals with Protestant fringe groups on both the Right and the Left.

Stewart, George, *The Year of the Oath* (Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1950). Tells of the fight for academic freedom at the University of California.

Wechsler, James, *The Age of Suspicion* (Random House, New York, 1953)

Periodicals, study pamphlets, statements, etc.:

"We Hold These Truths" (A Handbook for the Study of Constitutional Rights and Liberties), Massachusetts Council for Constitutional Rights, 1953 - Room 210, 14 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts (25¢)

"Do Congressional Investigations Abridge Academic Freedoms?" - study packet, Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, November 1953 (289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York - 50¢)

"The Freedom to Read", a statement prepared by the American Library Association (and the American Book Publisher's Council (2 West 46th Street, New York 36, N.Y.)

"The Highest Loyalty", statement made by the American Friends Service Committee, October 1953 (20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania).

"Freedom, Justice, Equality: Report on Civil Liberties, January 1951 - June 1953", American Civil Liberties Union (170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y. - 50¢)

The Nation, June 28, 1952 (special issue on civil liberties).

"A Letter to Presbyterians", statement unanimously adopted by the General Council of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., October 1953 (510 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania).

This Newsletter has been prepared in consultation with Miss Eleanor Bontecou, who is the author of The Federal Security-Loyalty Program, and was formerly with the Civil Rights Section of the Justice Department.

THE COURIER-JOURNAL & TIMES MAGAZINE
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SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1967 21

Georgia's Apprehensive Liberals

Groups concerned with race relations, such as the Southern Regional Council, feel uneasy with Lester Maddox in the governor's chair

By F. W. WOOLSEY, Magazine Staff Writer

WHATEVER it was that put segregationist Lester Maddox in the governor's chair in Georgia—white backlash; fear of "Black Power" or a kind of late-blooming Populism—the subsequent change in political climate has brought some cold shivers to liberals in the Peach State.

There's an uneasy feeling that Governor Maddox is going to be unpredictable about a number of issues, including the future of Georgia-based organizations fostering interracial cooperation.

In liberal circles, one of the most respected of these is the Southern Regional Council (SRC), which for years has been publishing sober appraisals of the South's economic, moral, sociological and educational recognition of the Negro.

The SRC hopes that the governor doesn't do to its fact-finding office what he did to his fried-chicken restaurant: Get rid of it. Maddox closed his restaurant in Atlanta rather than serve Negro customers, as was required by the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The day after the election last November, some wags in the SRC office were saying that maybe the staff ought to move to Birmingham, Ala., for a more favorable working climate.

In the new governor's simplistic philosophy, the Scriptures uphold segregation. "I believe it to be Christian," he once said.

From selling fried-chicken dinners Maddox went into the furniture business, and the right-wing Let Freedom Ring organization—which espouses the John Birch Society line—has been sending out its telephone messages from the Maddox store. In his inaugural address, the elevated tone of which sounded good even to liberal ears, Maddox disclaimed extremists. But the fact that he said on inauguration day he had no plans to divorce his business from those phone spiels cast doubt on whether the governor knows what extremism is.

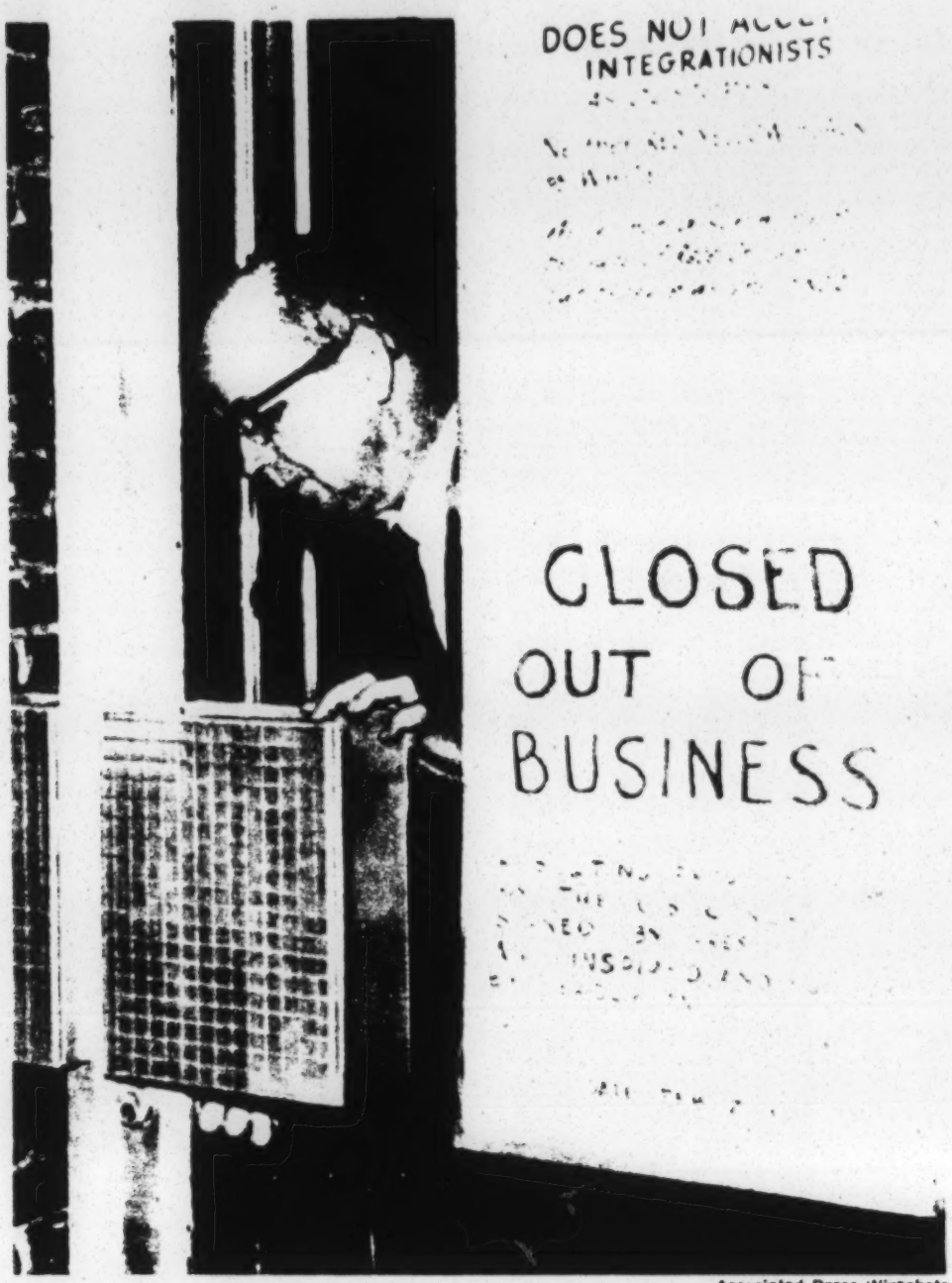
To his own satisfaction, however, the governor has ascertained the forces behind the integration movement. It was some time ago that Maddox said he thought the big-money people — "Maybe the Carnegies and the Mellons and the Fords"—are behind the civil-rights movement in order to curry favor with African nations "where there would be almost a virgin market for heavy industry, for appliances for homes, for furnishings, for clothing. . . ."

The capitalists' instrument, he said, is "the Southern Regional Council. Various foundations have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to that particular organization, and in turn it is a kind of forefather over many other organizations—helps to finance various interracial movements—and Atlanta has turned into a headquarters for such organizations."

The part about the financing is fact. The interracial board of SRC couldn't have put it better than Maddox did. The council receives foundation funds and uses the money for information and research, supports state human-relations councils, and encourages registration by Negroes qualified to vote.

The council contends that it is a charitable organization. But last year the Georgia Department of Labor called it a propaganda outfit attempting to influence legislation. The state agency presented a bill for $17,993 it claimed SRC owed for unemployment-compensation assessments, penalties and interest. SRC had never joined the compensation system, and contended in court that it was exempt. A Superior Court found for SRC, but the Labor Department took the case to the State Supreme Court, where it awaits a review.

On the fifth floor of the old Journal building in the heart of down-



Associated Press Wirephoto

BEFORE TURNING POLITICIAN, Lester Maddox closed his restaurant rather than serve Negroes. Now that he is governor, liberals fear that he would like to close down organizations fostering racial cooperation.

town Atlanta, SRC's paid staff members go about their business with the optimism of people who know their outfit has been in deep trouble before and has come through with flying colors. There are SRC alumni who recall the era of vicious telephone calls to their homes, anonymous letters of scurrilous and even obscene content, and the ever-recurrent investigations by legislatures in the Deep South states where never-proved charges of Communist leanings were leveled at the then-young Southern Regional Council.

Space in desirable office buildings in downtown Atlanta was denied the organization. (Today it is lodged in the midst of smart shops and restaurants; its neighbors across the street are The Atlanta Journal and The Constitution.) It made do in an old, out-of-the-way building owned by The Methodist Church. The volume of "hate" mail increased

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Georgia's Liberals *Continued*

every time an individual on the SRC staff or board was quoted in newspapers.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, now 83 and active every day with SRC's "Fellowship of the Concerned," a church-related project, found a satisfactory means of retaliation against abusive, anonymous telephone callers. As a member of President Truman's Civil Rights Commission, she was a target. She had a recording of a tenor singing "The Lord's Prayer" on a player near the telephone. When callers became hateful, she flipped on the record player. "I don't know about them," she said recently, "but it sure helped me."

In a variety of ways—some too subtle for statistics and others as evident as the 11 Negroes who sit in the Georgia State Legislature—the South has changed very much since SRC was born.

It was 25 years ago that some Southern Negroes—mostly educators and ministers—broke the silence from below the Mason-Dixon Line with an appeal to whites of the South to join an interracial campagin against segregation. The appeal was heard and acted upon by a group of whites, many of them nationally known, who agreed that "understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect" were badly needed.

One of the outcomes of the so-called "Durham Conference Statement" by the Negroes and the answer to it from whites who gathered at Atlanta in April, 1943, was the creation of the Southern Regional Council, a source of information and statistics about the segregated South for a generation. It began operating under a charter from the State of Georgia in 1944. Dr. Rufus Clement, a native of Louisville and son of a bishop in the A.M.E. Zion Church, was one of the charter applicants. Another was Ralph McGill, the Atlanta newspaper man and columnist.

A concern for racial justice and democracy has always been present in the Southern tradition. The Council thinks it has been the embodiment of this element. In the words of one of its past leaders, "It can never exceed—though of course it can fall short of—its environment of men and ideals and intelligence."

Dr. Robert Coles of the psychiatric staff of Harvard University Health

A PIONEER was Will W. Alexander who started an interracial mission in the years after World War I.

Service, who spent two years on SRC studies of Southern schools and migrant farmers, believes "the Southerner exists psychologically . . . across the barriers of race and class." Negro or white, says Dr. Coles, the Southerner "is the one American . . . whose ancestors, generation after generation, lived at cross-purposes to every political principle of this nation."

The two races, he theorizes, share a sense of shame. In the white, it manifests itself in nostalgia or in angry self-pity. In the Negro, it has produced acquiescence or numb rage.

This grim generalization seems to downgrade an outgrowth of the sense of shame: A determination to bring about change. Every once in a while, the South was swept by a liberal wind; and in those brief bursts of benign climate, a few seeds of racial cooperation sprouted.

After World War I, a Methodist preacher named Will W. Alexander began an interracial mission. He went ahead despite the fact that public opinion as yet wasn't even mobilized against lynching. His mission turned into the Commission of Interracial Cooperation. Recently, a noted Negro educator recalled the gravity of that mission:

"Negro soldiers coming back to the South were lynched because they dared to wear the uniforn and the insignia of rank they had worn in France."

The speaker is the president of Atlanta University, Rufus Clement. Dr. Clement was dean of the old Louisville Municipal College for Negroes from 1931 to 1937. His father was Bishop George Clement of the A.M.E. Zion Church. Dr. Clement's picture of the Rev. Mr. Alexander is of "a liberal Southerner—outspoken and evangelistic. He and my father were contemporaries and served on the commission together."

In the 25 years of its existence, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation spent $2.5 million in foundation funds, mostly Rosenwald, Rockefeller and Carnegie. One of the most important adjuncts of the commission was the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which grew to 40,000 members. Except for this manifestation of outrage against terrorism, the commission and its affiliates never approached a mass movement. Many local units (they once numbered 604) of the commission met once and never again.

Gunnar Myrdal, in the United States preparing his landmark volume, "An American Dilemma," noted a decline in support for the commission in the late 1930s and criticism of it among young Negroes for its paternalism. "We never treated them (the Negroes it set out to help) as equals," said a white commission member.

Ironically, the Durham Manifesto that came out of the 1942 meeting of Negro ministers and educators seemed to accept the separate-but-equal concept. But Lillian Smith, white and from an old Georgia family, would have none of this philosophy. From the moment she became nationally famous for her novel "Strange Fruit," there was no mistaking her as anything but an implacable foe of segregation by law or by custom. When the Southern Regional Council was in the making, she refused a place on the board of directors in the belief that the new organization was not prepared to call segregation evil and to attack it directly.

SRC was criticized by others, too,

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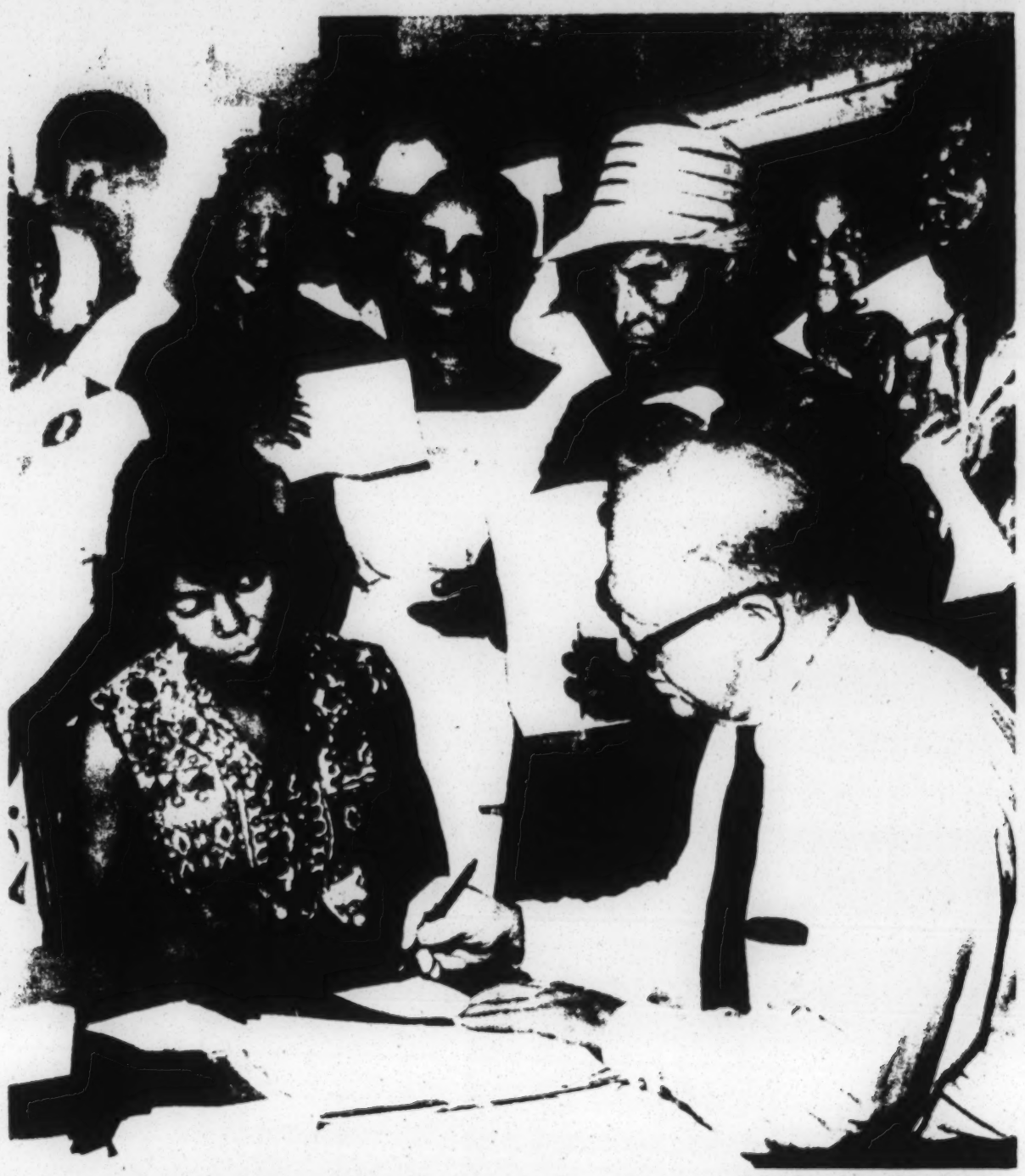


United Press International Photograph

ENCOURAGING NEGROES to register to vote is an example of the Southern Regional Council activities frowned on by segregationists.

for allegedly acquiescing to "gradualism." Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director from 1947 to 1957, once felt pressured enough to respond sharply: "We have never made it a point to be so far in advance of surrounding custom that our people lose effectiveness in pushing for a change."

By 1951, SRC was ready, as its then-president said, to make "the frontal attack, without evasion, without apology" on segregation and to take the stand that segregation must go. In the next two years, 1,600 members quit. By 1954, membership was under 1,000 and SRC was in terrible financial shape.

The cherished dream of Dr. Mitchell was that state human-relations councils would rise up in strength. Eventually, he predicted, the central SRC office could fold up.

A hefty grant from the Fund for the Republic (Ford Foundation money) materialized in 1954 and grants-in-aid were made to groups in various states. These groups never became strong enough to cut adrift, however, let alone dictate to the central office. The concept of strong state-level organization was crippled by deteriorating race relations in the late 1950s, especially in the hard-core segregationist states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Georgia.

By 1957, the Fund for the Republic money had run out. SRC was broke. Dr. Mitchell—who on an earlier occasion had come to the rescue of SRC by borrowing on his life insurance—wanted to retire to the academic life he had left years before.

The end of an era of pioneer ideal-

Continued

Georgia's Apprehensive Liberals

ism was at hand. Now a new school of young pragmatists took over, with a new grant from the Fund for the Republic to support the research, inquiry, public relations and administrative service which became the hallmark of SRC.

The earlier era to which Dr. Mitchell belonged had been one in which the liberal movement in the South coalesced around a few personalities, white men and women mostly with backgrounds in social service and with wide acquaintance on the fringes of the power structure.

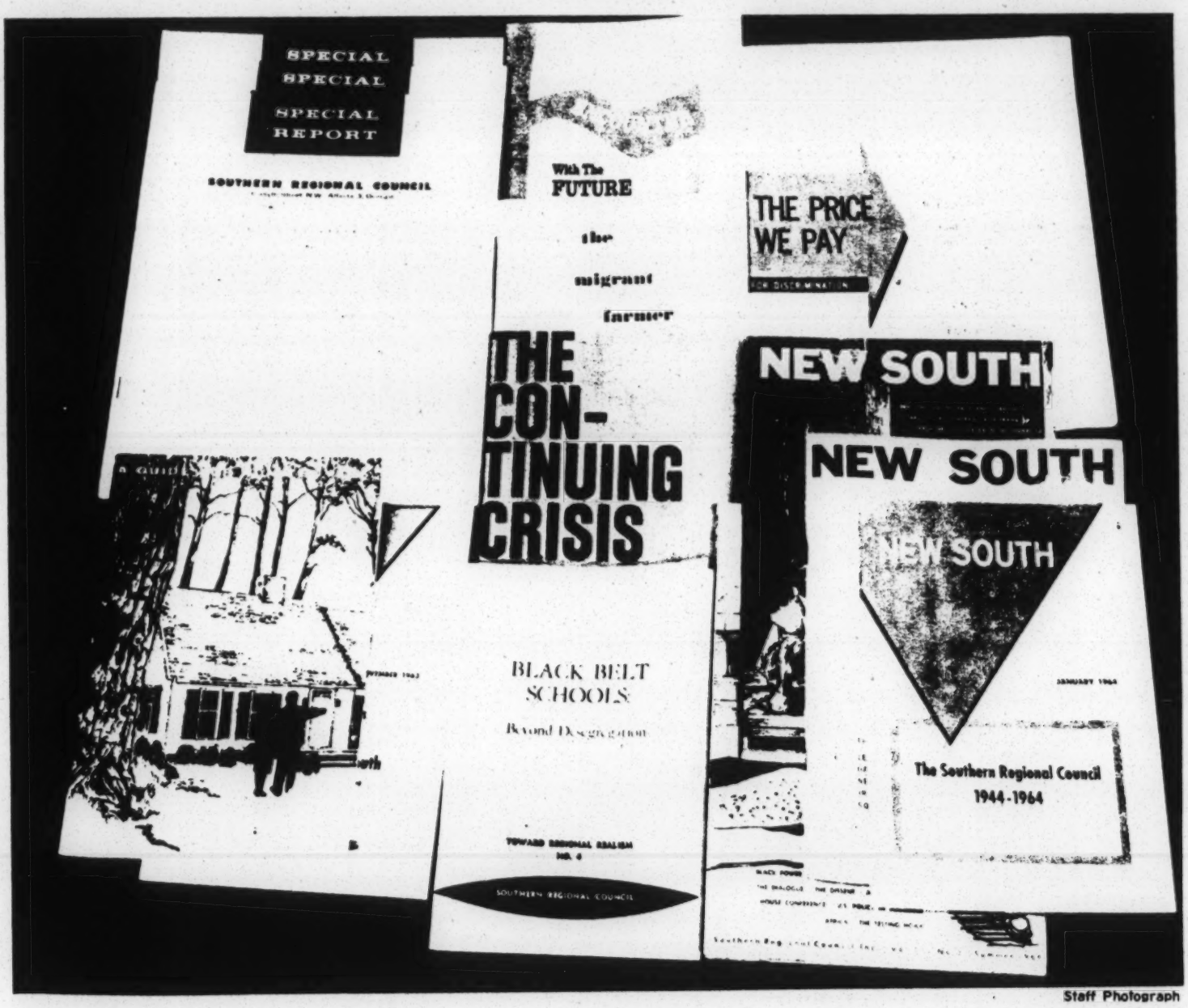
Typical of this era was the way in which Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, field secretary for the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, stage-managed the events that led up to the formation of the Southern Regional Council. Mrs. Ames, called by a contemporary "a splendid tactician and a good organizer," wrote to a leading Negro educator suggesting the all-Negro meeting that later materialized at Durham, N.C. "The initiative should be taken by Southern Negroes. I can promise you cooperation from Southern white people."

She made good the promise. There were 292 signers of the statement issued by prominent white Southerners at Atlanta in April, 1943, agreeing with the prominent Negroes at the Durham Conference that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. . . ."

Dr. Mitchell went into public service from the faculty of Columbia University. He was the son of a university president and grandson of a president of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville. Education was in his bones. He had been a professor of economics at Columbia; he believed that support for changes in the South would come from the grass roots. In this, he shared a concept of the great Southern sociologist, Howard Washington Odum of the University of North Carolina, who has been called "the intellectual midwife of the Southern Regional Council."

Odum wanted SRC to be "an immense catalyst furthering his dream of regional development." Leslie Dunbar, SRC executive director from 1961 to 1965, made this assessment of what Odum, a charter board member of SRC, gave to the organization:

"True to Odum's view that the racial relations of the South could not be changed and perfected by a frontal assault, but only by encountering and solving them in the context of the other political, social, educational, and economic problems of the region, the council set out in its early days with all these interests.



Staff Photograph

THE COUNCIL issues many publications, and the Georgia Department of Labor calls it a propaganda outfit.

Very soon, however, its program focused on race, and has stayed there. Odum's great strategy was artificial; race so undercuts and overhangs every Southern problem that none can be rationally treated without first wresting it from enslavement to a debilitating system of race relations."

In the 1940s, when the burgeoning membership of the SRC was called by one writer "a 3,000-member network for the prevention of race riots and lynchings," there were many persons on the roster who thought of race relations in terms of the absence of violence rather than of the presence of justice. In was inevitable they would quit one day. Dunbar's evaluation was: ". . . . The liberal moment (of the Atlanta Statement by whites in 1943) passed and prestigious names deserted the infant (SRC) they had helped birth. . . . Negroes turned to the more immediately productive leadership of the NAACP lawyers to advance their cause. . . ."

SRC was forced by circumstances to look inward, to become pragmatic and to embark on a highly centralized program of fact-finding and synthesizing. It went to work on the decision-makers, North and South: Big businessmen, top political leaders, editors, educators.

THE OLD "network" was gone. In its place was a board of lay members, about 100 of them, comprising a very large chunk of the progressive leadership of the South, and from SRC headquarters a growing array of publications.

Pat Watters, a former Atlanta newspaperman who is director of information for SRC, says that the publications fall somewhere between day-by-day reporting and the footnoted theses of scholarship.

Watters can check facts and interpretations in manuscripts he reads with board members all over the South, in many walks of life. He does, often.

Unless present plans change, the diversity of SRC endeavors will intensify, not diminish, with the years. The current executive director, slim, amiable, bespectacled young Paul Anthony, who has been on the scene since 1956, presides over a staff that grew by 60 per cent in a single year, 1965-66, and over a budget that tops $1 million. More than half that sum

PAUL ANTHONY, the present executive director, came on the staff in the late 1950s with a group of young pragmatists. George Mitchell, right, executive director from 1947 to 1957, typified the pioneer idealists.

was used for grants to support the work of other groups and agencies.

The voter-education project, budgeted for $325,000, is a cooperative, nonpartisan effort. Grants to national and local organizations and even some individuals are contingent upon their actually being in the field, working to educate Negroes about registration and getting them actually signed up to vote.

Some of the organizations in the field are of the boldly militant stripe. However, SRC isn't a civil-rights body in the classical sense of the word. As a former executive director, Harold C. Fleming, now of the Potomac Institute in Washington, D.C., says: "The council has been a middle ground, and that has been important. The council has avoided being just one more 'polarized' civil-rights group."

He might have added that SRC doesn't fling money around indiscriminately. When it does make a grant, SRC's bookkeepers take careful account of where the money goes. So does the auditing firm which SRC keeps on a retainer basis. Undoubtedly this sense of financial responsibility has encouraged the foundations—Ford, Field, Taconic, Rockefeller Brothers Fund and others—to support SRC projects.

But Anthony worries lest his organization develop the image of a rich uncle to be tapped for occasional, sizable advances by its "family." Nor does he want SRC's good reputation for handling foundation money to turn it into simply the "banker" for civil-rights projects. "We should be doing pilot research," he says. "We're not a program agency; we ought to concentrate on showing what can be done—then let others use our ideas as springboard for their particular needs."

On SRC's staff are people with specialized backgrounds, and they are looking into the South's penal system and studying urban planning and urban renewal in Southern metropolitan centers. The judicial system has been under scrutiny. The voter-education project has been renewed to provide citizenship and leadership training. Ways and means of stimulating poor people—both urban and rural—to help themselves are being tried in actual situations. Support of the state human relations councils continues, although the hostility of racist groups in some states is still so strong that councils there have never been able to get off the defensive long enough to work creatively in race relations.

Paul Anthony sees this conspicuous alteration in the situation: There is resistance to Negro demands on the part of many "defiant and confused whites" who thought the Negro had achieved equal opportunity. Now many Negroes are questioning whether integration can be achieved within our democratic society.

In this atmosphere of—tension and distrust—epitomized by the presence of Lester Maddox in Georgia's governor's office—the council has its work cut out. "It isn't that our audience backslid," Anthony said a trifle ruefully. "It's rather that we overestimated their understanding." □

34 - Social Research

TABLES: RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEXES
FOR TWO SOUTHEASTERN STATES

Abbott L. Ferriss

Table I

Index of Self-Sufficing Resources: Mississippi Rural-Farm Population, 1940

Correlation of Items

	1	2	3	4	5
1					
2	.4707				
3	.3879	.3490			
4	.3168	.0384	.4876		
5	.4368	.2417	.5378	.4655	
6	.2382	-.0569	.3276	.6729	.7131

1 - Number of cows and heifers over two years old per capita farm population.
2 - Number of hogs and pigs over four months old per capita farm population.
3 - Number of chickens over four months old per capita farm population.
4 - Value of vegetables (exclusive of irish and sweet potatoes) grown for home use (1939 dollars), per capita farm population.
5 - Percentage of farms reporting tree fruits, nuts and grapes (any trees, vines or production) to total farms.
6 - Per farm value of farm products used by farm households.

Formula for factor loadings:

$$SS = .5516\ z_1 + .3172\ z_2 + .6631\ z_3 + .7245\ z_4 + .8196\ z_5 + .7450\ z_6$$

Formula for computation:

$$SS = 1.986\ x_1 + 1.149\ x_2 + .5917\ x_3 + .3518\ x_4 + 3.817\ x_5 + .01968\ x_6$$

Table II

Index of Material Living: Mississippi Rural-Farm Population, 1940

Correlation of Items

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1									
2	.6066								
3	.5720	.5803							
4	-.4800	-.1187	-.2586						
5	.6756	.5672	.6031	-.4551					
6	.8016	.6985	.4830	-.3072	.4244				
7	.1273	.1038	.2617	.0925	.2879	-.0369			
8	.1703	.2887	.1467	-.1373	.0620	.2235	-.3196		
9	.4552	.2665	.2668	-.3796	.4841	.3084	-.2257	.4286	
10	.6325	.3418	.3496	-.3843	.7125	.4356	.4122	-.2237	.1521

1 - Ratio of farms reporting new autos and trucks (1936-40) to total farms.
2 - Percent of total rural-farm dwellings lighted by electricity.
3 - Percent of total farms reporting telephones.
4 - Median number of persons per room, rural farm population.
5 - Percent of rural farm homes with radio.
6 - Percent of rural farm dwelling units with running water in dwelling.
7 - Percent of rural farm houses reporting the need of major repairs.
8 - Median value of rural farm owner-occupied homes.
9 - Median monthly rental of rural farm tenant-occupied houses.
10 - Percent of rural farm owner-occupied houses.

Formula for factor loadings:

$$M = 1.112\ z_1 + .895\ z_2 + .844\ z_3 - .606\ z_4 + 1.014\ z_5 + .958\ z_6 + .212\ z_7 + .257\ z_8 + .605\ z_9 + .832\ z_{10}$$

Formula for computation:

$$M = .3069\ x_1 + .1196\ x_2 + .3625\ x_3 - 8.133\ x_4 + .1026\ x_5 + .2464\ x_6 + .0194\ x_7 + .0178\ x_8 + .7349\ x_9 + .0407\ x_{10}$$

Table III

Index of Agricultural Income and Resources: Mississippi Rural-Farm Population, 1940

Correlation of Items

	1	2	3
2	.7634		
3	-.2704	-.4340	
4	.7937	.7727	-.4619

1 - Average value of land and buildings per farm.
2 - Average value of implements and machinery per farm.
3 - Average value of livestock per farm: domestic animals, poultry, bees.
4 - Average value of all farm products sold and traded by farm households per farm.

Formula for factor loadings:

$$AIR = .8596\ z_1 + .8766\ z_2 - .4908\ z_3 + .8995\ z_4$$

Formula for computation:

$$AIR = .01558\ x_1 + .03435 x_2 - .00799\ x_3 + .05192\ x_4$$

Table IV

Composite Level of Living Index: Mississippi Rural-Farm Population, 1940

Correlation of Items

	1	2
2	.7217	
3	-.4809	-.0388

1 - Index of Self-Sufficing Resources
2 - Index of Material Living
3 - Index of Agricultural Income and Resources

Formula for factor loadings:

$$CLL = .8933\ z_1 + .7745\ z_2 - .4207\ z_3$$

Formula for computation:

$$CLL = .04990\ x_1 + .04679\ x_2 - .02120\ x_3$$

Table V

Indices of Level of Living: Mississippi Rural-Farm Population, 1940

LEVEL OF LIVING INDEXES

County	I	II	III	IV	County	I	II	III	IV
Adams	24	9	15	23	Jones	36	50	21	47
Alcorn	43	43	14	48	Kemper	31	13	7	30
Amite	37	25	11	38	Lafayette	30	25	12	34
Atalla	40	23	10	38	Lamar	43	40	18	46
Benton	25	20	8	30	Lauderdale	28	43	20	40
Bolivar	10	18	71	9	Lawrence	27	21	14	30
Calhoun	53	38	14	51	Leake	37	23	15	36
Carroll	27	19	13	30	Lee	32	48	20	44
Chickasaw	23	21	10	29	Leflore	15	21	57	15
Choctaw	42	27	6	42	Lincoln	33	35	13	40
Claiborne	28	16	14	28	Lowndes	24	29	22	31
Clarke	34	32	12	39	Madison	15	12	23	18
Clay	45	26	8	43	Marion	37	29	17	38
Coahoma	2	22	100	0	Marshall	11	3	13	14
Copiah	24	32	15	34	Monroe	29	33	20	36
Covington	21	36	18	34	Montgomery	43	32	13	44
DeSoto	21	16	32	21	Neshoba	44	26	18	40
Forrest	67	64	22	68	Newton	48	25	17	42
Franklin	44	25	5	42	Noxubee	13	0	10	15
George	59	46	14	58	Oktibbeha	29	22	12	32
Greene	62	33	10	54	Panola	17	16	19	22
Grenada	43	16	13	36	Pearl River	58	66	40	61
Hancock	90	67	15	82	Perry	52	33	11	49
Harrison	52	89	44	68	Pike	29	42	17	40
Hinds	22	22	20	27	Pontotoc	40	35	13	44
Holmes	21	11	25	20	Prentiss	44	39	12	48
Humphreys	11	18	56	12	Quitman	16	23	61	16
Issaquena	9	17	79	6	Rankin	45	31	21	42
Itawamba	39	28	10	40	Scott	52	30	15	47
Jackson	100	100	28	100	Sharkey	13	30	75	15
Jasper	44	28	14	42	Simpson	39	27	16	39
Jefferson	23	9	5	25	Smith	50	31	17	46
Jeff Davis	22	32	20	32	Stone	74	61	13	72

Table V Continued
LEVEL OF LIVING INDEXES

County	I	II	III	IV	County	I	II	III	IV
Sunflower	16	24	58	17	Warren	54	33	18	48
Talahatchie	17	17	39	18	Washington	9	18	78	7
Tate	21	20	22	25	Wayne	53	19	8	44
Tippah	42	28	11	42	Webster	44	35	7	47
Tishomingo	43	31	11	44	Wilkinson	44	12	0	38
Tunica	0	10	71	0	Winston	38	20	10	36
Union	44	43	15	49	Yalobusha	34	26	10	37
Walthall	26	27	17	32	Yazoo	22	16	28	23

Table VI
Index of Self-Sufficing Resources: North Carolina Rural-Farm Population, 1940
Correlation of Items

	1	2	3	4	5
2	-.0045				
3	.3187	.2828			
4	.4473	.1000	.1281		
5	.5151	-.1332	.0147	.5078	
6	.5181	.0814	.0920	.8816	.5886

Formula for factor loadings:

$$SS = .6352\ z_1 + .0556\ z_2 + .1921\ z_3 + .8875\ z_4 + .6750\ z_5 + .9235\ z_6$$

Formula for computation:

$$SS = .050\ x_1 + .031\ x_2 + .012\ x_3 + .188\ x_4 + .046\ x_5 + .076\ x_6$$

Note: For identification of items, see Table I.

Table VII
Index of Material Living: North Carolina Rural-Farm Population, 1940
Correlation of Items

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2	.4972									
3	.4323	.5936								
4	-.5349	-.3770	-.3803							
5	.5335	.8120	.4309	-.5669						
6	.3532	.5626	.5099	-.2354	.4802					
7	.0717	.5041	.1627	-.0899	.4161	.4175				
8	.6688	.8308	.5549	-.3766	.7446	.5980	.3744			
9	.7513	.5760	.5306	-.3063	.4646	.2649	.1278	.7164		
10	.5679	.6100	.3760	-.2150	.5971	.3666	.2990	.7507	.7322	
11	-.0355	.2535	.2633	-.4081	.3174	.5010	.2691	.0952	-.2611	-.1588

For identification of items 1-6, see Table II.

7 - Percent of rural farm dwellings not needing major repairs.
8 - Percent of rural farm dwellings with mechanical refrigerator.
For identification of items 9-11, see Table II, items 8-10, respectively.

Formula for factor loadings:

$$ML = .7285\ z_1 + .8784\ z_2 + .6489\ z_3 - .5228\ z_4 + .8345\ z_5 + .6252\ z_6 + .4168\ z_7 + .9140\ z_8 + .7358\ z_9 + .7449\ z_{10} + .2212\ z_{11}$$

Formula for computation:

$$ML = .107\ x_1 + .065\ x_2 + .146\ x_3 - .049\ x_4 + .090\ x_5 + .098\ x_6 + .028\ x_7 + .138\ x_8 + .288\ x_9 + .821\ x_{10} + .013\ x_{11}$$

Table VIII
Index of Agricultural Income and Resources: North Carolina Rural-Farm Population 1940
Correlation of Items

	1	2	3
2	.7964		
3	.6810	.6210	
4	.5110	.3195	.6044

Formula for factor loadings:

$$AIR = .2807\ z_1 + .2397\ z_2 + .2355\ z_3 + .1516\ z_4$$

Formula for computation

$$AIR = .033\ x_1 + .026\ x_2 + .027\ x_3 + .006\ x_4$$

Note: For identification of items, see Table III

Table IX

Composite Level of Living Index: North Carolina Rural-Farm Population, 1940

Correlation of Items

	1	2
2	.257	
3	-.508	.416

1 - Index of Self-Sufficing Resources
2 - Index of Material Living
3 - Index of Agricultural Income and Resources

Formula for factor loading:

$$CLL = -.6068\ z_1 + .2672\ z_2 + .7790\ z_3$$

Formula for computation:

$$CLL = -.03505\ x_1 + .01425\ x_2 + .04008\ x_3$$

Table X

Indices of Level of Living: North Carolina Rural-Farm Population, 1940

	LEVEL OF LIVING INDEXES								
County	I	II	III	IV	County	I	II	III	IV
Alamance	56	71	53	53	Johnston	32	24	48	53
Alexander	45	27	20	32	Jones	23	7	44	52
Alleghany	75	31	34	26	Lee	38	32	37	46
Anson	28	10	37	46	Lenoir	25	35	57	64
Ashe	52	14	22	27	Lincoln	55	40	45	43
Avery	64	17	13	17	McDowell	61	27	18	23
Beaufort	26	19	54	58	Macon	69	9	10	11
Bertie	20	15	46	56	Madison	62	6	15	17
Bladen	25	12	27	42	Martin	25	18	69	67
Brunswick	35	7	20	33	Mecklenburg	36	63	67	69
Buncombe	63	57	24	31	Mitchell	69	24	12	15
Burke	52	35	21	31	Montgomery	33	16	27	39
Cabarrus	38	58	53	60	Moore	34	28	29	42
Caldwell	38	41	18	37	Nash	29	23	50	55
Camden	27	34	82	76	New Hanover	25	100	100	100
Carteret	28	31	38	51	Northampton	20	6	51	57
Caswell	30	26	33	46	Onslow	21	9	30	45
Catawba	61	53	39	40	Orange	79	40	45	32
Chatham	40	26	31	40	Pamlico	36	25	46	50
Cherokee	48	7	2	16	Pasquotank	31	32	97	82
Chowan	28	30	76	72	Pender	29	20	29	43
Clay	75	7	6	6	Perquimons	29	22	61	61
Cleveland	42	39	50	52	Person	34	18	37	45
Columbus	30	15	35	45	Pitt	13	30	65	73
Craven	27	24	43	53	Polk	54	26	19	27
Cumberland	24	17	40	51	Randolph	41	44	31	43
Currituck	30	34	55	60	Richmond	23	18	38	51
Dare	100	55	35	19	Robeson	19	13	46	56
Davidson	49	72	45	52	Rockingham	42	47	35	46
Davie	45	37	52	51	Rowan	54	70	61	59
Duplin	29	12	34	44	Rutherford	45	42	24	37
Durham	47	52	46	50	Sampson	28	17	36	47
Edgecombe	16	21	84	80	Scotland	0	7	45	63
Forsyth	57	75	59	57	Stanley	49	39	42	44
Franklin	34	18	40	46	Stokes	54	25	29	32
Gaston	54	50	52	50	Surry	50	28	30	35
Gates	34	23	45	50	Swain	77	0	0	0
Graham	63	2	0	7	Transylvania	50	38	19	31
Granville	41	19	43	45	Tyrrell	30	12	44	49
Greene	17	36	70	75	Union	39	30	39	46
Guilford	59	76	56	55	Vance	40	20	48	48
Halifax	24	3	64	62	Wake	42	41	55	55
Harnett	31	30	50	56	Warren	32	7	33	41
Haywood	65	30	33	30	Washington	30	17	50	54
Henderson	61	52	30	34	Watauga	52	26	24	30
Hertford	21	16	45	55	Wayne	25	27	60	64
Hoke	10	5	43	57	Wilkes	43	18	12	27
Hyde	36	9	39	43	Wilson	22	31	61	66
Iredell	46	41	48	50	Yadkin	44	34	42	46
Jackson	55	11	7	17	Yancey	65	9	9	12

Note: Each of the above series was coded to range from 0 to 100.

Table XI

Coefficients of Correlation and of Determination between Level of Living Indexes I, II, III, and IV, North Carolina and Mississippi Rural-Farm Population, 1940, and Other Specified Indexes

State and Index		Level of Living Indexes			
		I	II	III	IV
Mississippi B.A.E. Rural Farm Index, 1940	r	.682	.828	-.131	.759
	r^2	.46	.69	.02	.58
North Carolina B.A.E. Rural Farm Index, 1940	r	-.101	.728	.644	.596
	r^2	.01	.53	.42	.36
N. C. Agri. Expr. Sta. Index, 1940	r	.666	.837	.089	-.086
	r^2	.44	.70	.01	.01

FARM LAND EDITION

GEORGIA FARMER'S Market Bulletin

TOM LINDER COMMISSIONER

VOLUME 31 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1948.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, NE
Atlanta, Ga

FOURTH INSTALLMENT

INTERNATIONALISM VS. AMERICANISM

Continued

Editorial By TOM LINDER

Prior to, during and shortly after World War One, the farmers of this country experienced their most profitable years.

During the full term of President Teddy Roosevelt, Congress enacted the Sherman anti-Trust Laws, which were designed to break down trusts and combines in restraint of trade. These laws were intended to force competition in business and industry the same as in agriculture.

In 1908, William Howard Taft, was [illegible] with the endorsement

King" theory and the rulers of those nations through intermarriage of the ruling houses were all relatives and kinspeople.

The International Bankers of the world, together with the business and industrial heads of Europe, considered that form of government as being conservative and substantial. At that time they considered the United States as being a radical government which could not endure.

After the Armistice of November, 1918, the internationalists considered Bolshevist Russia as the danger spot where he lived until just prior to the beginning of the second World War.

The government in Germany was changed to that of a republic roughly resembling that of the United States and the military leader of World War One, Prince Paul Von Hindenburg, was made President of Germany.

On account of the destruction wrought on the economy and finance of Germany and the great drain on her manpower by World War One, together with reparations assessed against Germany by the Allies, Germany was never able to recuperate under a form of government to which it was not accustomed, and

INTERNATIONALISM VS. AMERICANISM

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During the full term of President Teddy Roosevelt, Congress enacted the Sherman anti-Trust Laws, which were designed to break down trusts and combines in restraint of trade. These laws were intended to force competition in business and industry the same as in agriculture.

In 1908, William Howard Taft, was elected President with the endorsement and support of Teddy Roosevelt.

The prosecution by the Federal Government of some of the trusts under the Sherman Trust Laws resulted in a fine of 29 million dollars against the Standard Oil Company. Other prosecutions resulted in punishment to other giant combines.

Under the Sherman anti-Trust Laws the Standard Oil Company was broken down into a number of smaller corporations, such as Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Standard Oil Company of Ohio and Standard Oil Company of Kentucky, etc.

What had been a nation-wide trust in oil was divided into a number of smaller businesses and other large corporate interests were also forced to divide into smaller groups, thereby creating competition in the different lines of business and industry.

The result of this break-down of giant trusts was to give the law of supply and demand and the law of competition a chance to operate. The result was that, during the years of the Taft Administration, industry, business and agriculture were more nearly equalized with each other than at any other time.

It was for this reason that the Congress in 1933 elected to take the four years of the Taft Administration as the base period from which to figure parity on agricultural products.

It is very important, therefore, for the farmers to understand the reason why these years were selected as the base period, and also why the parity has failed to work out in practice because of changing conditions from the base period down to the present.

For generations, prior to World War One, the major nations of Europe were set up under the old "divine right of King" theory and the rulers of those nations through intermarriage of the ruling houses were all relatives and kinspeople.

The International Bankers of the world, together with the business and industrial heads of Europe, considered that form of government as being conservative and substantial. At that time they considered the United States as being a radical government which could not endure.

After the Armistice of November, 1918, the internationalists considered Bolshevist Russia as the danger spot for the overthrow of constituted authority and business in Europe.

In 1917, the oppressed people of Russia, in the midst of World War One, had revolted from the rulership of their Royal House, which was known by the name of Romanov (Romanoff).

The Bolsheviks had murdered the members of the Royal House and had confiscated their estates.

During the decade following World War One, the International Bankers expected to see the restoration of the ruling houses of Europe. They expected to go back to the days of "the divine right of Kings".

During the decade from 1919 to 1929, the agriculture of the United States, as well as business and financial structure, were wrecked in order that the International Bankers could collect their loans from European countries in American dollars.

At the beginning of World War One, Germany was the greatest industrial and financial country in Europe and was further advanced in scientific research, although the independent spirit and unequaled initiative of Americans had caused the United States to outstrip all others in inventive genius and in self-reliance.

For many years, prior to and during World War One, the ruling House of Germany were the Hohenzollerns of which the ruler member was known as the "Kaiser". The last Kaiser, who ruled during World War One, was named Wilhelm Hohenzollern.

At the close of World War One, the United States, England and the other Allies, in order to insure that Germany would never regain her strength as a nation, exiled the Kaiser to Holland, where he lived until just prior to the beginning of the second World War.

The government in Germany was changed to that of a republic roughly resembling that of the United States and the military leader of World War One, Prince Paul Von Hindenburg, was made President of Germany.

On account of the destruction wrought on the economy and finance of Germany and the great drain on her manpower by World War One, together with reparations assessed against Germany by the Allies, Germany was never able to recuperate under a form of government to which it was not accustomed, and which was not suited to the conglomerate population of people who constituted the German states.

It followed, therefore, as a matter of course, that inflation ran rampant and that the German people who owned the land, houses and businesses in Germany fell easy prey to the intrigues of people who, through the centuries, have fattened on the financial distress of fallen nations.

We have seen in a former article how the Internationalists, through funds raised in the United States and other countries, flocked into Germany and took over the land, houses and other properties belonging to the German people.

Not only this, but these people of other races, with the protection of the occupation forces of the Allies, entrenched themselves in all the better jobs such as railway engineers, railway conductors, etc.

Therefore, a condition existed in Germany very much akin to conditions in the southern states during the Reconstruction Period following the War Between the States.

It was in this atmosphere and condition that these Internationalists came to accept the idea of forced impoverishment and subjugation of "the caucasian people of the world", beginning with those in Germany.

The need for preservation of the Germanic people against the hordes of mongrel people among whom they lived gave rise to Hitler who seized upon the opportunity in his ambition to become ruler first of Germany and then of the countries that surrounded Germany.

The flocking to Hitler of the German people was motivated very much in the

(Continued on Page Eight)

Georgia Farmers'

Market Bulletin

Tom Linder Commissioner

VOLUME 38 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28, NUMBER 50

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Atlanta, 6, Ga

THE WATCHMAN'S ALARM.
AMERICA WHERE ARE THY SONS!

Editorial By TOM LINDER

Thy sons are many. On the battle fields of the world. They march and fight. They lay down their lives. They suffer lifelong agonies. They raise up sons who in turn march behind thy banners. They man thy ships of war. They fly in the heavens above the earth. They go down under the sea. They give their all for thee, oh America.

In the field, in the forest, in the mine, thou hast other sons and daughters who labor from the breaking of the day until

Abraham, grafted on from among the Gentiles by Jesus Christ and according to the Holy Word from Him through His chosen apostle Paul.

When the sons in high places of Israel forgot their God and took unto themselves strange wives and tore down the altars of the most high God, they were warned by the prophets of old of the anger of the Lord and of the terrible punishment He would bring upon them because of their unfaithfulness.

Likewise, thou, oh America, thy sons

they have entered into unholy alliances with other nations which have long forgot the God of thy youth and whom, according to Holy Writ, will be cast into hell with all the wicked. Thy sons in high places, oh America, have entered into writings of agreement with the lands that lie beyond the Euphrates River, kings of the sunrise. With the peoples of the sons of Canaan whom thy God said should serve thee. With the old world lands of the Gentiles, of isles and coastlines of Europe, and in the uttermost parts of the earth.

MISS. ANNA HOLDEN
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THE WATCHMAN'S ALARM.

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In the field, in the forest, in the mine, thou hast other sons and daughters who labor from the breaking of the day until after the sun has gone down. They labor to produce food for their tables, clothes for their body. They labor without ceasing. They raise up other sons and daughters to serve thee.

America, where are thy sons in high places? Those whom God hath appointed to make just laws to see that justice is done. To lead thy sons in war against thine enemies. To guard thee against encroachments of all nations. To keep thee in the way that the Lord hath anointed for thee.

Thy sons in high places, oh America, are far from thee, whilst thine other sons and daughters hath sought to nourish thee and to protect thee. Thy sons in high places have opened thy gates and brought into thy bosom the infidel, the communist, and many peoples from races which abhor thee.

From the four corners of the earth they do not cease to bring in infidels, worshipers of gods other than thine own, and seek to utterly destroy thee by the unholy mixing of bloods contrary to the laws of God and in obedience to the teaching of the serpent of Eden, the anti-Christ who goeth up and down the earth seeking whom he may devour and whom he may turn from the true God.

Thy God, oh America, took thee in swaddling clothes from across the sea and carried thee to a land of milk and honey. Through the storms of ocean He preserved thee from death. Among the dangers of the wilderness He was with thee and kept thee because of His promise on Mt. Ararat that the sons of Japheth should dwell in the tents of Shem. Thou wast chosen from among all the daughters of the earth to be a bright and morning star. Among the Gentiles thou wast chosen to be a city of refuge for the holy seed of Abraham, grafted on from among the Gentiles by Jesus Christ and according to the Holy Word from Him through His chosen apostle Paul.

When the sons in high places of Israel forgot their God and took unto themselves strange wives and tore down the altars of the most high God, they were warned by the prophets of old of the anger of the Lord and of the terrible punishment He would bring upon them because of their unfaithfulness.

Likewise, thou, oh America, thy sons in high places and thy people have been warned by prophets and apostles of the destruction that will be visited upon thee, if thou forgettest the God of thy youth and goeth off after strange peoples.

Thy sons in high places, oh America, have not only done all these things, but they have entered into unholy alliances with other nations which have long forgot the God of thy youth and whom, according to Holy Writ, will be cast into hell with all the wicked. Thy sons in high places, oh America, have entered into writings of agreement with the lands that lie beyond the Euphrates River, kings of the sunrise. With the peoples of the sons of Canaan whom thy God said should serve thee. With the old world lands of the Gentiles, of isles and coastlines of Europe, and in the uttermost parts of the earth.

Even today, oh America, thy sons in high places, the judges of thy people under thy laws have declared that thine own constitution, the handiwork of thy first sons under the guiding inspiration of the God of thy youth is no longer the law

(Continued on page Four)

UNITED NATIONS

By Congressman Wint Smith

6th District, Kansas

Under the Charter of the United Nations, a supreme court consisting of Chinese, Russians, Arabs, Jews, Italians and French can make any law it chooses and ratify it. This all leads to a world government. **The United Nations is a godless creation. It officially denies God and particularly denies Christ.** No good American should ever think of surrendering in any manner the sovereignty of the United States.

A treaty proposed by the President can be ratified by **two thirds** of the Senate members **present** and **voting.**

In April of 1950, the District Court of Appeals in California in the case of Fujii vs. State, 217 Pac (2d) 481, has unanimously held the California law which prohibited persons who could not become citizens from owning land in California invalid, not because it violated the Constitution of the United States but because it violated the Charter of the United Nations.

The United States Supreme Court has virtually held in so many words in comparatively recent decisions that the treaty making power of the President and the Senate is **unlimited.**

It is, therefore, virtually certain that unless we withdraw from the United Nations or secure an amendment to its charter or amend Article Six of our own Federal Constitution, all segregation laws, all laws prohibiting intermarriage of races, all laws fixing national quotas for immigration, and all laws which in some ways affect different races, different religions, different sexes, and different language speaking peoples will fail. This is already the Supreme law of the land. The Charter of the United Nations was a treaty.

I am sure we all remember when President Truman seized the steel companies last year. The Constitution gave him no power to take private property—so said a majority of the Supreme Court. But remember that the three dissenting judges said that our ratification of the UN had given our President power to seize private property, in defiance of our Constitution. Had these three judges been able to persuade two more judges to their way of thinking—our Constitution would be dead and we would be completely at the mercy of the United Nations. Under the theory that the UN is dominantly foreign, could ship us anywhere and try us for treason.

BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS PERTAINING TO SEGREGATION
INTRODUCED IN THE GEORGIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY
JANUARY 1955

S.B. No. 40, by Senator Overby of the 33rd District. Enacted into Law.

A BILL

To be entitled an Act to provide that no State or local funds shall be in any manner appropriated or expended for public school purposes except for schools in which the white and colored races are separately educated; to provide that no budget under Sections 32-619 and 32-620 of the Code of this State shall be approved which does not so provide; and to provide that no funds shall be expended for public schools within the district submitting such budget without approval of such budget; to provide punishment for violation of any of the provisions of this Act; to provide for recovery at law on behalf of the State for violation thereof; to provide that this Act shall apply to all public school systems in this State created at any time; to repeal conflicting laws; and for other purposes.

SECTION 1. BE IT ENACTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA, and it is hereby enacted by authority of the same, that no State or local funds derived from taxation or otherwise, shall be appropriated, paid out, used, or in any wise expended, directly or indirectly, for the maintenance, upkeep, operation, or support of any public school district or system in this State which does not provide separate schools for white and colored children throughout the entire district or system and in which all the white and colored children attending public schools do not attend separate schools; nor shall any such money be appropriated, used, paid out, or in any wise expended, directly or indirectly, for the payment of any salary or compensation of any nature or character whatsoever to any teacher, instructor, employee or official of any public school district or system instructing mixed classes of white and colored children or in any wise concerned in the maintenance, upkeep, support or operation of any public school district or system which does not maintain and provide separate public schools for white and colored children throughout the entire district or system and in which all the white and colored children attending public schools are not educated in separate schools; provided, however, that the provisions of this Section shall not apply to the annual capital outlay funds allotted to the local school units as referred to in the General Appropriations Act approved February 20, 1953, or to any funds hereafter appropriated for capital outlay purposes, nor to funds for payment of principal or interest on any bonded indebtedness.

SECTION 2. BE IT FURTHER ENACTED BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID, that no budget filed or submitted under Sections 32-619 and 32-620 of the Code of this State shall be approved by the State Board of Education, the State Superintendent of Schools, or other official, which does not provide that all items of proposed expenditure set forth therein shall lapse and become void in the event separate schools for white and colored children should not be maintained and operated in the school district, system or unit submitting such budget and throughout the entire district or system and in the event all the white and colored children attending the public schools thereof do not attend separate schools; and no public school system, district or unit in this State or any officer or employee thereof shall make any expenditure of any public funds for the maintenance or operation of such district, system or unit or any school

therein until the budget referred to in said sections of the Code shall have been approved by the State Board of Education or the State Superintendent of Schools as provided in said Code Section 32-620; provided, however, said district, system or unit and the officials thereof shall in all events make payment of sums due the State School Building Authority and payment of principal and interest on any bonded indebtedness, the provisions of this Section notwithstanding.

SECTION 3. BE IT FURTHER ENACTED BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID, that any official of this State, or of any county, city or school district, system or unit, or any other person who shall offend against any provision of this law, or aid or abet therein, or be in any wise therein concerned, shall be guilty of felony, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be confined in the penitentiary for a period of not less nor more than two years; and it shall be the duty of the Attorney General to conduct the prosecution.

SECTION 4. BE IT FURTHER ENACTED BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID, that any official of this State, or of any county, city or school district, system or unit, who shall be in any wise concerned in paying out, using or in any wise expending any State or local funds contrary to the provisions of this law, shall be liable for the amount so paid out, used or in any wise expended, which shall be recovered against him in an action at law in the name of the State, and the sureties on any official bond of such officer shall be likewise jointly and severally liable in such action, and the recovery shall be paid into the State Treasury, it being the duty of the Attorney General to institute such action upon direction of the Governor.

SECTION 5. BE IT FURTHER ENACTED BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID, that the provisions of this Act shall apply to all public school systems in this State, including those maintained and operated by counties and cities, including independent local systems, and all public school systems whether created before or after the Constitution of 1877; and this Act shall apply to all counties and cities and school districts within this State and all the officials thereof.

SECTION 6. BE IT FURTHER ENACTED BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID, that all laws and parts of laws in conflict herewith be, and the same are hereby repealed.

S.B. No.42, by Senator Overby of the 33rd District. Passed Senate, first reading in House only, not reported out of committee.

A BILL

To be entitled An Act providing for the assignment of pupils in the public schools of this State; providing for appeals from assignments made by the Local Superintendent and other Officials and the procedure on such appeals and the authority of the Local Superintendent, Local Board of Education, State Superintendent of Schools and State Board of Education in respect of such assignments and appeals; providing that the State Board of Education shall have authority to make assignments of pupils; to provide that the State Board of Education shall have authority to order educational grants and establishing in in the office of said Board a Grant Register and providing for the payment of educational grants to pupils entered on said Register; to provide for review

of assignments and enrollments in the public schools and as to pupils found therein and authority of school officials on such review; to provide that this law shall apply to all public schools in this State whenever created; to repeal conflicting laws; and for other purposes.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA AS FOLLOWS:

SECTION 1. Unless the context otherwise clearly requires, the following terms shall bear the following definitions:

(a) "School District" shall be synonymous with school system, and shall mean and include (1) A County school district or system as provided in the Constitution of 1945, Art. VIII, Sec. V. Par. 1, and the Code of Georgia 1933 as amended, Section 32-901; (2) All other public common school systems in this State not embraced within the foregoing definition, regardless of when or how created, or by what public body operated.

(b) "Local board of education" shall mean the board of education or other body or authority charged by law or ordinance with the control and management of such "school district," as hereinbefore defined.

(c) "Local Superintendent" shall mean the Superintendent or other officer in immediate charge of any school district, as hereinbefore defined.

(d) "Pupil" shall mean any person attending any school district or system as hereinbefore defined.

SECTION 2. Without in any wise impairing his existing authority in respect of assignment of pupils in the public schools, the Local Superintendent shall have authority to assign pupils in the several public schools within the school district in such manner as in his judgment, considering in that connection all information which shall be at his disposal, will best promote the interests of all pupils attending public schools therein, their health and morals, their mental, physical and cultural development, as well as the public health and morals, and every such assignment shall be made consistently with the maintenance of good order within the district and each of its several public schools and maximum attendance in such schools.

SECTION 3. Within 10 days following any assignment by the Local Superintendent, made under authority of this law or otherwise, an appeal may be entered thereon to the local Board of Education by the parent or guardian of the pupil dissatisfied with the assignment of such pupil, or by the parent or guardian of any pupil attending any public school within the school district, or by any citizen resident in the school district, such appeal to clearly set forth in writing the nature of the assignment complained of and the objections thereto, and in the determination of such appeal the local Board of Education shall have the authority conferred by this law upon the Local Superintendent.

SECTION 4. Within 10 days following the order of the local Board of Education on such appeal, an appeal may be entered thereon to the State Superintendent of Schools by any person authorized to enter an appeal to the local Board of Education, upon such person filing in the office of the State Superintendent of Schools a statement of appeal clearly setting forth in writing the order of the local Board of Education and his objections thereto accompanied by a transcript of the records before the local Superintendent and the local Board of Education certified as correct by such local Superintendent and local Board respectively; and in the determination of such appeal the State Superintendent of Schools shall have the authority conferred by this law upon the Local Superintendent.

SECTION 5. Within 10 days following the order of the State Superintendent of Schools on such appeal, an appeal may be made therein to the State Board of Education by any person authorized to enter an appeal to the local Board of Education, upon such person filing in the office of the State Board of Education a statement of appeal clearly setting forth in writing the order of the State Superintendent of Schools and his objections thereto accompanied by a transcript of the record before the State Superintendent of Schools certified by such Superintendent as correct, and the State Superintendent of Schools shall transmit to the State Board of Education a transcript of the records before the Local Superintendent and the Local Board of Education. In the determination of such appeal the State Board of Education shall have the authority conferred by this law upon the Local Superintendent, and said State Board of Education shall make a determination of the matter of said assignment which shall be final and conclusive and not subject to review or inquiry by any Court or tribunal in any manner whatsoever.

SECTION 6. In respect of any assignment made under any other law by the local Board of Education or other public school authority, an appeal may be taken to the State Superintendent of Schools and from his ruling to the State Board of Education in like manner as provided herein by any person authorized hereunder to appeal to the Local Board of Education from an assignment made by the Local Superintendent. The procedure herein provided shall constitute the exclusive method of appeal in respect of all assignments of pupils in the public schools, by whomsoever made and under authority of this law or otherwise, and Section 32-910 of the Code of this State as amended shall not apply thereto; but every assignment or placement of pupils in the public schools of this State shall be subject to appeal as provided herein.

SECTION 7. The State Board of Education shall have authority to make and promulgate rules and regulations governing the several appeals herein provided for and to amend the same from time to time, and shall have authority to extend the time for taking and perfecting any appeal and to permit any appeal to be entered and perfected after the time therefor has expired; and during the pendency of any of the several appeals herein provided for in respect of any assignment of any pupil, said State Board of Education shall have authority to make a temporary assignment of such pupil pending appeal, including the authority to make an assignment contrary to that appealed from, and such temporary assignment so made by the State Board of Education shall be in full force during the pendency of all appeals in respect of the assignment complained of and until final determination thereof, and shall not be subject to review or inquiry by any Court or tribunal in any manner whatsoever.

SECTION 8. It shall be the duty of every pupil as to whose assignment an appeal is entered, and the duty of the parents or guardian of such pupil, to personally appear on the hearing of all appeals in respect of such assignment, and to submit to examination and inquiry in the premises; and appearances by counsel shall not satisfy this requirement for personal appearance but no person shall be prevented from being represented by counsel employed by him on any such hearing.

SECTION 9. At the time of determination of any appeal which comes before it under the provisions of this law, or at any time thereafter, the State Board of Education shall have authority in its discretion to order an educational grant under authority of Article VIII, Section XIII, Par. 1 of the Constitution, for the benefit of the pupil in respect of whose assignment said appeal

was entered, in lieu of attendance on the public schools, if said Board shall regard such action necessary for the better education of said pupil or necessary in the interest of public education in the school district or necessary for public health, morals and good order within said district.

SECTION 10. There is hereby established in the office of the State Board of Education a Grant Register upon which the State Board of Education shall enter the names of those pupils for whose benefit it shall order an educational grant as provided in Section 9 hereof. The grant from State funds shall be annually calculated by the State Board of Education and shall be in such amount as shall represent the State funds attributable to an individual pupil in the public school system which said person would be otherwise eligible to attend; the grant from local funds shall be annually calculated by the local Board of Education and shall be in such amount as shall represent the local funds so attributable. The local Board of Education shall furnish the State Board of Education with such local calculations, and the State Board of Education shall make orders for the payment of such grants to the parents or guardians of said pupils as designated therein, who shall expend the same only for the education of such pupils and under the supervision of said Board of Education and in accordance with such rules and regulations as it may prescribe.

SECTION 11. To more effectually accomplish the purposes set out in Section 2 hereof, the State Board of Education, at any time, under such rules and regulations as it may prescribe and amend from time to time, shall have authority to order review (1) of any assignment, enrollment or placement of a pupil in the public schools made under authority of this or any other law and as to which no appeal has been filed (2) in respect of the attendance thereon of any pupil attending or found in any public school; which review shall be first made by the local Superintendent and thereafter respectively by the local Board of Education and State Superintendent of Schools, final and conclusive determination of the review (not subject to review or inquiry by any court or tribunal in any manner whatsoever) to be thereafter made by the State Board of Education. Upon determination of the review by the State Board of Education an educational grant may be ordered as provided in Sections 9 and 10 hereof. Upon ordering review the State Board of Education shall make a temporary assignment of the pupil to some public school and said pupil shall attend such school until final determination of the review by the State Board of Education and such temporary assignment shall not be subject to review or inquiry by any court or tribunal in any manner whatsoever. At each hearing held on review the pupil and his parents or guardian shall personally appear and submit to examination and inquiry in like manner as provided in Section 8 hereof.

SECTION 12. This law shall be applicable to all school districts and all public common school systems in this State, including independent local systems, all public schools operated by counties or cities, and including all systems created before the adoption of the Constitution of 1877 or thereafter.

SECTION 13. All laws and parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

S.B. No.41, by substitute, by Senator Overby of the 33rd District. Read second time January 19, 1955 and referred to Committee on State of Republic.

A BILL

To be entitled An Act to authorize the laying out of attendance districts in any public school district in this State and to provide as to the attendance of pupils on the school located in such attendance district; to provide for appeals in respect thereto; to provide for the authority of local Boards of Education and the State board of Education as to such matters; to provide that this Act shall apply to all school districts in this State created at any time; to repeal conflicting laws; and for other purposes.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Georgia, and it is hereby enacted by authority of the same, that the Local Board of Education of any school district in this State shall have authority to lay out and create within such school district such attendance districts (and to alter and amend the same at any time) as in the judgment of such local Board of Education will best promote public education within the school district and said Local Board of Education in laying out and creating such attendance districts (and in altering and amending the same) may consider roads, school bus routes, distance, school population, and every other matter which, in the judgment of said local board, will best promote public education within the school district, and said local Board of Education shall create and lay out said attendance districts in such manner as shall be consistent with the maintenance of good order within the school district in each of its several schools and maximum attendance thereon and shall place one school within each attendance district.

SECTION 2. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that said Local Board of Education shall have authority to require the public school pupils within said school district to attend the school located in the attendance district in which such pupil resides, provided, however, this law shall not prevent the assignment of a pupil to another school within the school district or to another school in district pursuant to any law authorizing the assignment of public school pupils or authorizing contracts between districts.

SECTION 3. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the parent or guardian of any pupil resident in the school district, or the parent or guardian of any pupil resident in the attendance district or required to attend the school within such attendance district, may at any time appeal to the State Board of Education from the order of the Local Board of Education creating and laying out such attendance district, or from any order requiring such pupil to attend the school within such attendance district, which appeal shall clearly set forth in writing the order or requirement complained of and the objections thereto, and said State Board of Education upon the determination of such appeal may in its discretion modify or revise the order creating or laying out such attendance district, or make such order as to school attendance of any pupil residing in said attendance district or required or permitted to attend the school therein, as shall in the judgment of said State Board of Education best promote public education in the several attendance districts of the school district and be consistent with the maintenance of good order within said school district and each of its several schools and maximum attendance thereon, which orders of said State Board of Education shall be final and conclusive in the premises and not subject to review or inquiry by any court or tribunal in any manner whatsoever. Pending any such appeal said State Board of Education shall have author-

ity to give direction as to school attendance within said attendance district and school district respecting any pupil required or permitted to attend the school in said attendance district, and such pupil shall attend only the school directed by said board during the pendency of said appeal, which temporary direction of the State Board of Education shall not be subject to review or inquiry by any court or tribunal in any manner whatsoever.

SECTION 4. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid: (1) "School District" as used in this law shall be synonymous with "school system," and shall mean and include (a) A County school district or system as provided in the Constitution of 1945, Art. VIII, Sec. V, Par. 1, and the Code of Georgia 1933 as amended, Section 32-901; (b) All other public common school systems in this State not embraced within the fore going definition, regardless of when or how created, or by what public body operated. (2) "Local Board of Education" as used in this law shall mean the Board of Education or other body or authority charged by law or ordinance with the control and management of such "School District" as hereinbefore defined.

SECTION 5. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this law shall apply to all school districts and all public common school systems in the State including independent local systems, all public schools operated by counties or cities, including all systems created before the adoption of the Constitution of 1877 as well as all systems created thereafter.

SECTION 6. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all laws and parts of laws in conflict herewith be, and the same are hereby repealed.

H.B. No.376, by Messrs Lavender of Elbert, Perkins of Carroll, and others. First reading, not reported out of committee.

AN ACT

To provide that any teacher in this State must take an oath that he or she shall not teach the classes with mixed races; to provide that no salary may be paid to any person who does not take said oath; to provide penalties for the violation of this section; to repeal conflicting laws; and for other purposes.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA:

SECTION 1. Any person employed by a common, independent or university school system within this State as a teacher or instructor shall subscribe to an oath that he or she will not teach any class of pupils in which the white and colored races are mixed. It shall be unlawful for any school system which is either directly or indirectly supported by public funds to pay any salary to any person who does not subscribe to the said oath.

SECTION 2. Any person or group of persons who violate the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished therefor.

SECTION 3. All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this Act are hereby repealed.

H.B. No.555, by Messrs. Perkins of Carrol, Kilgore of Gwinnett and many others. Two readings, not reported out of committee.

AN ACT

To prohibit the holding of athlethic events, dances, and other similar activities wherein persons of the Negro race and persons of the white race are permitted to participate together; to provide that persons holding such events, persons participating therein, and persons knowingly permitting such activities on their property or property under their control shall be guilty of a felony; to prescribe punishment therefor; to repeal conflicting laws; and for other purposes.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA:

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to hold, produce, direct, sponsor, supervise, or otherwise cause to be conducted any athletic contest, game, program or event, open to the public, wherein Negroes or persons of African descent are permitted to play or participate therein with persons of the white race.

SECTION 2. It shall be unlawful for any person, white or Negro, to participate in any such event above described.

SECTION 3. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to hold, produce, direct, sponsor, supervise or otherwise cause to be conducted, any dance wherein Negroes or persons of African descent are permitted to mix, dance, or otherwise participate therein with persons of the white race.

SECTION 4. It shall be unlawful for any person, white or Negro, to dance, or otherwise participate in any such dance above described.

SECTION 5. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation owning, leasing, or having the supervision or control of any property or premises, to knowingly permit or suffer any of the activities defined by the above four sections to be held or conducted thereon.

SECTION 6. Any person violating any of the provisions of this Act shall be guilty of a felony, and upon conviction therefor, shall be punished by fine not to exceed $2,000.00, imprisonment in the penitentiary not to exceed eighteen months, or both.

SECTION 7. All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this Act are hereby repealed.

H.R. No. 31-84a, by Mr. Fowler of Douglas. Passed.

A RESOLUTION

Memorializing Congress to call a convention for the purpose of considering an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the administration by the Several states of their respective school systems.

WHEREAS, recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States

have tended to withdraw from the sovereign states the power to administer their respective school systems in a fashion never contemplated by the ratifiers of the Fourteenth Amendment: and

WHEREAS, this unconscionable usurpation of power, if not restricted, will ultimately result in the destruction of every vestige of state supported and regulated public education.

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that the General Assembly of Georgia respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to call a convention for the purpose of proposing the following Article as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

"ARTICLE --

"SECTION 1. Anything in this Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding, the several states shall have exclusive authority to regulate, administer and operate their respective educational systems as they may deem necesary and proper, and neither the Congress, the President, nor anything in this Constitution shall in anywise interfere therewith or otherwise affect same.

"SECTION 2. The Supreme Court, the several District Courts and Courts of Appeal, and any and all other federal judicial tribunals, quasi-judicial tribunals, and all administrative or executive agencies, shall have no jurisdiction to decide or consider, either originally, on appeal, or by other means of review, any matter drawing in question the administration by the several states of their respective educational systems."

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Congress of the United States be, and it hereby is, requested to provide as the mode of ratification that said amendment shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of the United States, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a duly attested copy of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each member of the Congress from the State of Georgia.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a duly attested copy of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the governor of every state and the President of the State Senate of every state and the Speaker of the House of every state for the express purpose of encouraging these sovereign states to take similar action in their legislatures.

H.R. No. 23-54a, by Mr. Deen of Bacon. Passed.

A RESOLUTION

Memorializing Congress to call a convention for the considering of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the operation of state schools.

WHEREAS, the National Government, through the use of various funds and agencies has greatly encroached, directly and indirectly, upon the operation of the State schools; and

WHEREAS, the operation of State schools is, and should remain, an exclusive State function; and

WHEREAS, the continued exercise of various means and methods by the National Government in controlling the operation of State schools tends to encroach upon an exclusive State right;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA, that the legislature of the State of Georgia respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to call a convention for the purpose of proposing the following Article as an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

"ARTICLE --

"SECTION 1. Notwithstanding any provision in this Constitution, nothing shall, in any way, take away from, or in any manner deprive, the right of the several States of the Union to operate their school systems, and to have exclusive and complete power to regulate and to determine the rules and regulations for the conduct and operation of State schools.

"SECTION 2. Nothing herein shall prohibit any state from accepting aid in any form from the National Government.

"SECTION 3. This amendment shall be effective upon ratification by three-fourths of the several States."

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Congress of the United States be, and it hereby is, requested to provide as to the mode of ratification, that said amendment shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of the United States, when ratified by the legislation of three-fourths of the several States.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a duly attested copy of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each member of the Congress from the State of Georgia.

rnf
3/22/55

GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA GROWS

The BIG IDEA refers to the Self Survey of Conditions Affecting the Negro Population of the Greenville, South Carolina Area. The fact finding was conducted by more than 200 citizens of both Negro and white races during the summer and fall of 1949. Committees compiled reports and made recommendations.

The Community Council, working with citizen groups throughout, made these findings available to the public, thus encouraging the translation of the recommendations into action.

The Big Idea began to pay off in specific improvements even during the study, and many additional improvements have come about since. It is difficult to say how many of the results directly came from the study. Perhaps it would be better to say the study contributed to a "climate of opinion," which nourished the findings, stimulated thinking, physical improvements and long range planning. It is this "climate of opinion," undoubtedly, which has made many things possible, and which will continue to influence our people and bring about progressive changes in our community.

The study has been reproduced in two forms: "Everybody's Business," a mimeographed, detailed 85-page booklet, and "Greenville's Big Idea," a smaller, illustrated, printed summary of 32 pages.

"The Big Idea Grows" is an attempt to bring up to date the tangible results of Greenville's Self Survey, realized within four years of the completion and publicizing of the citizens' findings.

COMMUNITY COUNCIL
112 W. McBee Avenue
Greenville, South Carolina

THESE THINGS HAPPENED WHILE THE STUDY WAS BEING MADE:

1. General interest was taken in improving recreational opportunities. An option was taken on land for a State Park.

2. The Greenville American, Negro Newspaper, was published January 1950 to November 1951. It was then combined with the Atlanta World, giving subscribers a larger weekly paper, with sections devoted to local Negro and community news.

3. A maternal care project was begun by the Auxiliary to the County Medical Society.

4. Blinker lights were installed at Negro school crossings for safety.

5. Interest was shown in improving educational opportunities throughout the county.

6. Negro doctors began attending meetings of Greenville Medical Society.

7. A Negro chapter of the Red Cross Gray Ladies was formed, volunteers to serve in Negro wards of the Greenville General Hospital.

8. The YWCA Branch Program for Negroes began experimentally.

9. Better housing was proposed and slum clearance projects got underway.

10. A new elementary school was planned for the Nicholtown area.

11. There was increased awareness of the unhealthy conditions under which many Negro families have had to live.

12. The City Health Department condemned several slum houses.

13. Daily newspapers improved noticeably in handling news about Negroes: the word Negro is now properly capitalized; newsworthy pictures of Negroes are used.

14. City Council appointed a special committee to investigate employment of Negro policemen.

15. Intangible gains of the study:

    a. brought people together, not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose;
    b. strengthened Recreation-Education Division of Community Council;
    c. promoted leadership and purpose in the Negro community itself;
    d. opened channels of communication between white and Negro citizens;
    c. gave citizens specific proposals for community social improvement.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE STUDY WAS COMPLETED?

JULY 1953 - JULY 1954

(1) The Fourth Annual Human Growth and Development Institute was held in September of 1953 and for the first time was interracial.

(2) The Social Workers Luncheon Club, which meets monthly, is interracial.

(3) A Negro Farm Bureau was organized.

(4) New Maternity Shelter built. This institution was formerly for all white; will now accommodate Negro women in one ward. Negro babies have been served here for some time.

(5) Happy Hearts Negro Park received funds from County Legislative Delegation to help operate a similar program.

(6) Negroes continue to be represented on more and more community boards, commissions and committees.

COMPLETION OF SURVEY TO JULY 1953

Community Participation

(1) Two Negro YWCA members were elected to the YWCA Board for the first time.

(2) Community Council membership meetings are now open to all citizens of the community and a Negro is on the Council Board for the first time.

(3) The Annual meeting of Community Chest is open to all citizens. Three Negro citizens are now serving on the Community Chest Budget Committee.

(4) The number of places where interracial meetings are held has been increased. Prior to the study, Negro and white had met together in a few places, but only after the study were places opened broadly. Among the places where such meetings are held at present, are churches (Christ Episcopal, First Baptist, Fourth Presbyterian and others); schools, agencies (Salvation Army, YWCA, Phillis Wheatley, Community Council); public auditoriums (new County Court House, City Hall, County Office Building).

(5) A Negro Business and Professional Men's Club has been organized for the purpose of fostering civic and social betterment of community life.

(6) In a recent Polio drive to select the "most beautiful man," a Negro was given the greatest applause for being most popular among some thirty candidates for the "most beautiful man" contest. This recognition came from an audience made up of mostly white people.

Community Participation (continued)

(7) On July 18th, 1953 at the Parker High School Auditorium, before an all-white audience, a Negro girl won first place among 41 participants on the USA Talent Show contest conducted by a local radio station. The applause meter record determined the winner.

(8) The solicitation of Negroes in the Community Chest Campaign has been largely merged with solicitation of other business and professional divisions of the campaign. The term "Negro Division" has been done away with at the request of the Negroes.

Education

(1) The State General Assembly set up an educational Finance Commission to direct an extensive program to promote the improvement of schools and their physical facilities. Emphasis is being given to the providing of equal facilities for Negroes. Such conditions as double sessions are to be eliminated.

(2) The School District of Greenville County, Number 520 has been created replacing the former system of 82 separate school districts in the county.

(3) Bus transportation for Negro and white children is now on the same basis. For example, at the beginning of the 1951-52 school term, five buses were transporting county students to Sterling High School and one school bus was transporting students between Lowndes Hill Section and Nicholtown School, both for the first time.

(4) Free textbooks are now provided all school children in the county.

(5) There is improved instruction and supervision of education throughout the county.

(6) A new lunch room and rest room have been built in the Brutontown School and the West Greenville School in the Parker District.

(7) A new elementary school of 26 rooms has been completed in the Nicholtown area of Greenville.

(8) Up to January 1, 1953, $1,729,407.28 had been allocated to Greenville County for the purchase of sites and the construction of additions or new buildings for Negro schools of Greenville County. These funds have been made possible through the South Carolina Sales Tax. Some of the major projects, either underway or to be completed in the near future, are: a High School in the southern part of the County in the Fountain Inn Simpsonville Attendance Area; an Elementary School in the Ellen-Woodside Attendance Area, the St. Mark's Elementary School in the Taylors-Greer Area, and the Travelers Rest Elementary School. Eight additional rooms will also be added to the Gower School in Greenville.

Education (continued)

(9) A full physical education and health education program for the entire County is now being conducted for all Negroes with special emphasis being placed on the opportunities after school.

(10) Much interest has been shown in adult education work with the objective of increasing these opportunities whenever possible.

Health

(1) The Gower Street School P.T.A. and City Health Department jointly sponsored a clean-up campaign in that neighborhood.

(2) Greenville General Hospital Board made available staff privileges to doctors, based on medical qualifications and ethical standards.

(3) Two Institutes on Human Growth and Development were planned jointly, the courses being offered Negro and white simultaneously, but at different locations.

(4) Work progressed toward an enlarged General Hospital which will provide many additional facilities and services to Negroes.

(5) The application of physicians to the Greenville County Medical Society is acted upon according to qualifications and ethical standards, without regard to race or creed.

(6) The Human Growth and Development Institute for September 1953 will be non-segregated; previous Institutes have been on a segregated basis.

(7) The three local Negro dentists are helping provide dental care for children who are unable to pay.

(8) Greenville General Hospital has had 40 beds for Negroes; these will be increased, during the coming year, to approximately 70, including semi-private and private accommodations for the first time.

Housing

(1) The City Council took a strong stand relative to Negro housing to make possible a low income Federal Housing Project of 348 units called Field Crest Village. The Project was completed during spring of 1952.

(2) The Roosevelt Heights Housing Project of 300 units was completed during 1950.

(3) The local Housing Authority completed the Slum Clearance Survey which disclosed that of all slum dwellings needing replacement 85% are Negro and 15% white. An effort is being made to improve the slum areas either by a complete re-development or renovation of buildings so they will conform with the City Code, which is considered adequate.

Housing (continued)

(4) A local Negro citizen is developing a restricted Negro residential area which was very much needed.

Industry and Employment

(1) A local radio station was hired for commercial time for the first time in connection with the opening of a new Negro business.

(2) Another Negro cab company with six cabs and its own radio system is now serving the population.

(3) Greenville now has a Negro lawyer who came to the city late in 1951.

(4) A Negro has been employed as Field Representative by a national distributing company to cover several states, including South Carolina.

(5) Four Negroes have been regularly employed as announcers by a local radio station.

(6) A local white-owned business promoted their Negro delivery man to a skilled job in their plant.

(7) During the past four years three Negro postal employees were employed for the first time.

Law Enforcement

(1) Newspapers are favorable to the appointment of Negro policemen, but no action has been taken by the Police Commission.

(2) City Council passed an anti-mask bill.

(3) The Council of Church Women has secured considerable support in its request to establish two rehabilitation camps (one for Negroes, one for whites) for youthful and inexperienced prisoners who are sent to the county prison camps.

(4) The County Delegation appointed a Rehabilitation Board and will approve a sum of $5,000 as extra funds to be used in beginning the rehabilitation program.

(5) The County Delegation has a special Committee studying the entire penal system of the County. Much improvement in the handling of prisoners may come from this study.

(6) The City Civil Service Commission, the City Council, and other responsible groups have no objection to Negroes being appointed as policemen providing they meet the qualifications expected of others who pass examinations.

Recreation

(1) Four Recreational Training Institutes (Social Recreation, Conduct of Playgrounds, and Crafts) have been offered by the Community Council and City Park and Recreation Department. Joint planning for the concurrent institutes was established as a method of work.

(2) The Recreation-Education Division of the Community Council located a site for a Negro State Park in Greenville County; the County Legislative Delegation provided funds to purchase this 300 acre site; a five-year plan of development of the park is underway, with first year funds appropriated by the State Legislature. The park was named Pleasant Ridge State Park. The water dam has been completed and will provide a large area for swimming and boating. Picnic areas will be available, along with some shelters. A new house has been built for the superintendent, who is a Negro, formerly of Greenville. Although funds have not been provided by the Legislature for further development of the park during 1952-53, an effort is being made to secure funds to continue the development plan that has been started. The State Highway Department has promised to pave a road into the park from the main highway.

(3) A new Negro commercial theater was opened January 1951, showing a better class of pictures.

(4) A Negro USO for servicemen was opened in September of 1951. Plans for enlarging and improving the facilities were announced in January of this year.

(5) The first Negro Recreation Supervisor was appointed by the city, February 1, 1951.

(6) The City Parks and Recreation Department enlarged the playground staff. A new lighted softball field was opened, and plans made to develop recreation areas on land made available by two housing projects.

(7) YWCA Branch program began operation under a full time professional leader, paid from Community Chest funds. A building is rented for the Branch Headquarters.

(8) The Study of Phillis Wheatley was completed, as recommended in the Self Survey.

(9) The number of Negro Boy Scout troops increased to 30 from approximately five.

(10) Negroes are being admitted to several large community cultural and religious programs, for instance: Don Cossacks Chorus, Horace Heidt's Amateur Program, etc. Negro citizens are bringing Negro artists to the city - Hazel Scott in 1951, Marian Anderson in 1952 (a non-segregated audience with excellent attendance).

(11) Happy Hearts Park provides a small combination wading-swimming pool. Limited leadership is employed.

Recreation (continued)

(12) Negro P.T.A. groups were stimulated to sponsor Recreation programs in Freetown, Oscar Street, Brutontown.

(13) The Public Library Board purchased a building on East McBee Avenue and established a much improved Negro Branch Library.

(14) The first out-door swimming pool (20 x 40 feet) was built at the Phillis Wheatley Center and opened for use in June, 1953.

(15) The City Council purchased a 49 acre tract of land on which will be developed the first large City Negro Park. A large out-door swimming pool will be ready for use about September 1, 1953. Many other recreational opportunities will be available at this park. The house at the park is serving as an indoor recreation center.

(16) The City Recreation Department opened the Mayberry Park Community Center Building for use on May 23, 1953.

(17) The Greenville Kiwanis Club and the YWCA, in cooperation with the City Recreation Department, sponsored during August 1953 the first Negro Day Camp for girls.

(18) The County Legislative Delegation approved $500 for leadership at Happy Hearts Park for the summer of 1953.

Religious Resources

(1) Several churches have sponsored week-day activities with volunteer leadership.

(2) A Negro Council of Church Women has been formed.

(3) The Episcopal Church has increased activities at the St. Philips Negro Church.

(4) Presbyterian Churches of the city have joined together in buying land, raising money for the construction of a Negro Presbyterian Church in Nicholtown, and supplying a Negro Presbyterian minister during the past year. This will be continued for the present time through the joint support of all local Presbyterian Churches.

(5) White and Negro Baptist leaders are completing plans for establishing a school for the training of Negro ministers and church leaders in upper South Carolina. A group in the First Baptist Church is providing funds for the education of a Negro minister.

(6) Several Negro churches have improved their physical plants by making additions to their church and educational space.

Sanitation

(1) Two downtown businesses, one a department store, have provided rest rooms for Negroes.

Transportation

(1) White and Negro citizens appeared before City Council requesting city bus transportation for 600 local students attending Sterling High School.

(2) Southern Railway improved Negro rest room and drinking facilities.

(3) Extra buses are now being run during peak hours in Nicholtown and Fieldcrest Area.

Welfare

(1) The Mental Hygiene Clinic opened, serving white and Negroes.

(2) A State Industrial School for delinquent Negro girls was built near Columbia.

(3) A volunteer sponsored Day Nursery has been operating in the Fieldcrest Village housing project. This program was initiated by the Tenants Association members who live there.

(4) Several Negro citizens have been active in raising money for a Negro Day Nursery program. It is hoped that another Negro Day Nursery will be opened during the coming year.

(5) A full time day nursery is in operation at the Allen Temple Methodist Church.

Miscellaneous

(1) Modern problems and social studies classes in local white high schools have studied the contents of the study, emphasizing the process. They have heard speakers on phases of the findings and visited Negro groups and facilities for first hand information.

(2) Impetus was also given to people in other communities:

a. Through Southern Regional Council bulletin.
b. Through newspapers and magazine stories appearing in the New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, daily newspapers throughout the country, Community Chests and Councils of America magazine, National YWCA magazine and many others.
c. Through Conferences with leaders from other towns, held informally at:
   1. Blue Ridge Institute, Blue Ridge, N.C., 1950-53
   2. YWCA Regional Meeting, Atlanta, Ga., 1951

3. Piedmont Regional (South Carolina) Conference of Social Work, Clemson, S.C., 1950.
4. Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, Georgia, 1950.
5. Southeastern Conference Community Chests and Councils, Edgewater Park, Miss., March 1951.
6. National Conference of Community Chests and Councils, Milwaukee, Wis., February 1952.
7. National Meeting of Community Welfare Council Leaders, Cleveland, Ohio, January 1953.

d. Through requests that have been received from leading libraries throughout the nation asking for copies of the study to be on file in the research departments. Several graduate students have written for more information on the study.

THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL

is interested in maintaining up to date records on all community wide improvements in the fields of health, recreation, education, and general welfare. If the list of improvements listed on the preceding pages is not complete please call the matter to the attention of the Community Council Office. You are also asked to help keep this list up to date in the future. The Council plans to issue annually a report similar to this one and will, therefore, need your help in keeping the list of improved services and opportunities current.

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file under "good eggs"

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

AT FISK UNIVERSITY

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Program

OF THE

Ninth Annual Meeting

OF THE

Southern Sociological Society

▲

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MAY 17-18, 1946

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ALLEN C. EDWARDS, Winthrop College
GRACE TOWNS HAMILTON, Atlanta Urban League
JAMES E. FLEMMING, University of Georgia
E. H. LOTT, Louisiana State University
LYDA GORDON SHIVERS, University of North Carolina
ROBERT I. KUTAK, University of Louisville
DOROTHY DICKINS, State College, Mississippi
C. L. FOLSE, Virginia Polytechnic Institute
OLIVE M. STONE, Georgia State Woman's College

Resolutions

EDGAR T. THOMPSON, Duke University, Chairman
RAYMOND F. BELLAMY, Florida State College for Women
MORTON B. KING, University of Mississippi
ROSAMONDE WIMBERLY, Converse College

Research

GORDON W. BLACKWELL, University of North Carolina, Chairman
R. O. JOHNSON, Morris Brown College
DOROTHY JONES, Winthrop College
ROY E. HYDE, Louisiana State University
HENRY L. ANDREWS, University of Alabama

▲

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

The Teaching of Sociology

WAYLAND J. HAYES, Vanderbilt University, Chairman
BELLE BOONE BEARD, Sweet Briar College
JOHN E. IVEY, JR., University of North Carolina
ROBERT I. KUTAK, University of Louisville
LEE M. BROOKS, University of North Carolina
WILLIAM B. JONES, University of Tennessee

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MILDRED R. MELL, Agnes Scott College, Chairman
FRANK D. ALEXANDER, United States Department of Agriculture
WALTER R. CHIVERS, Morehouse College
L. L. CLEGG, Emory University
JOHN GRIFFIN, Emory University
GUY B. JOHNSON, Southern Regional Council
IRA DE A. REID, Atlanta University
COMER WOODWARD, Emory University

▲

REGISTRATION

No registration fee is required of members or guests. Members and guests are requested to register at the Registration Desk as soon as possible after arrival. It is important that registration with hotel designation be completed in order to facilitate prompt delivery of telegrams, etc. The registration and information desk will be maintained throughout the meeting, except at night, and will be located near the entrance to the Ball Room.

ATLANTA HOTELS

Hotel reservations should be made by mail as early as possible, specifying rate desired. There are always competing conventions in large cities. Rates quoted below under "twin" are for two persons.

HEADQUARTERS — ATLANTA BILTMORE HOTEL

817 Peachtree Street

Rooms, All With Baths

Single	$4.50 to $5.50
Twin	6.00 to 7.50

This hotel is located away from, but convenient to, the business center. There are numerous hotels in Atlanta, but with present crowded conditions there may not be space other than that which has been reserved at the Biltmore for the Society meeting.

VISITS TO PLACES OF INTEREST

There are many places of interest in Atlanta and vicinity. Any member or guest wishing to visit these places is requested to make inquiry at the registration desk. The Committee on Local Arrangements will be glad to make provision for such visits as far as possible.

THE PUBLIC

All meetings, except business sessions, are open to the public. Business meetings and the evening program will be held in the Ball Room; sectional meetings will be held in the rooms designated on the program.

Southern Sociological Society

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MAY 17-18, 1946

THURSDAY, MAY 16

7:30 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee. *Room 2*

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Program

FRIDAY, MAY 17

8:00- 9:00 A.M. Registration of Members and Guests of the Society.

9:00-10:00 A.M. Business Meeting. *Ball Room.*

10:00-12:00 A.M.

I. IMPERSONAL FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH, Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, presiding.

1. *A Sociological Interpretation of Social Change in the South.* Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University. (20 minutes)

   Discussion:

   Morton B. King, University of Mississippi. (5 minutes)

2. *Factors Influencing Industrial Development in the South.* Lorin A. Thompson, University of Virginia. (20 minutes)

   Discussion:

   Howard Harlan, University of Alabama. (5 minutes)

3. *The Role of Agricultural Technology in Southern Social Change.* Arthur Raper, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. (20 minutes)

   Discussion:

   Irving A. Spaulding, Clemson College. (5 minutes)

   General Discussion: (45 minutes)

II. SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF HOUSING. *Room 10.* W. B. Jones, University of Tennessee, presiding.

Rural Housing Needs in the South, Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina. (20 minutes)

Housing, the South's Number One Economic Opportunity. C. F. Palmer, Public Housing Authority. (20 minutes)

How Housing Needs May Be Met. Martin Handrick, Regional Economist, Federal Public Housing Authority. (20 minutes)

General Discussion. (60 minutes)

12:00- 1:30 P.M. Luncheon Time. No Program.

1:30- 3:30 P.M. PANEL—TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY. Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University, presiding.

1. *What modifications do you think should be made in the statement concerning the objectives and place of sociology in education?* William E. Cole, University of Tennessee.
2. *What further study and adjustment of sociological curricula seems justified?* Ira De A. Reid, Atlanta University.
3. *In what ways can the materials and methods of sociological instruction be improved?* Morton King, University of Mississippi.
4. *What further testing of sociological instruction needs to be developed?* Harlan W. Gilmore, Tulane University.

(This panel discussion is based upon the report of the Commission on the Teaching of Sociology, appearing in the October issue of *Social Forces.* Members are requested to refresh themselves on this report for the general discussion.)

3:30- 5:00 P.M. REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH. Gordon W. Blackwell, University of North Carolina.

Discussion.

5:00- 8:00 P.M. Dinner Time. No Program.

7:00 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee. *Room 2.*
Meeting of the Nominating Committee. *Room 6.*

8:00 P.M. Evening Session. *Ball Room.* Charles S. Johnson, President, Southern Sociological Society, presiding.

The Carrying Capacity of Sociology. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina.

The Shape of Things to Come. William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago.

SATURDAY, MAY 18

8:00- 9:00 A.M. Business Meeting. *Ball Room.*

9:00-12:00 A.M. SOUTHERN ATTITUDES AND ASPIRATIONS. Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina, presiding.

1. *The Tradition of Exploitation in the South.* Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University. (25 minutes)

   Discussion:

   Allen Edwards, Winthrop College. (10 minutes)

2. *Culture vs. Civilization, or the Secularization of the South.* Lewis C. Copeland, Tennessee Valley Authority. (20 minutes)

   Discussion:

   A. D. Beittel, President, Talladega College. (5 minutes)

3. *How Can Progress in Race Relations Be Measured?* Jitsuichi Masuoka, Fisk University. (20 minutes)

   Discussion:

   Ernest E. Neal, North Carolina College for Negroes. (5 minutes)

1:30- 2:30 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee for 1946-47. *Room 2.*

THIRD ANNUAL

INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

American Missionary Association

July 1-20, 1946

WHO'S WHO

Membership

1. Barber, Mrs. William M. -- 2515 N. Oakley Street, Saginaw, Michigan. Nurse. Michigan Practical Nursing Association; Staff Assistant, American Red Cross; Executive Member, Council of Church Clerics; Vice-President, Saginaw Branch NAACP; Executive Member, State NAACP Board; Y.W.C.A.

2. Bittinger, Rev. Foster M. -- Oak View, Westernport, Maryland. Minister. Church of the Brethren; Rotary International; Chairman, Tri-Town Y.M.C.A. and Recreational Committee; Chairman, Race Relations Committee (Southeastern Region) Church of the Brethren; Co-Director, Inter-Race Church Camp.

3. Blacklidge, Rev. John H. -- 307 Warren Street, Brooklyn, New York. Minister.

4. Blackmon, Rev. Whalon H. -- Alcorn A. and M. College, Alcorn, Mississippi; Annual Conference, Methodist Church; Interracial Fellowship for College of Mississippi; NAACP. Chaplin, Instructor.

5. Broadbrook, Miss Gracia E. -- 222 Aldine Street, Rochester, New York. Student.

6. Brewster, Rev. Charles T. -- 710 Poyntz, Manhattan, Kansas. Minister. Kiwanis Club; Advisory Board of Manhattan Negro Civic Club; President of Board of Directors of Manhattan's Consumer Cooperative Association.

7. Brown, Mrs. Louise D. -- 10630 Tacoma Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. Teacher. Junior Board of Phyllis Wheatley Association; NAACP.

8. Brown, Mrs. Florence Beatty. -- 615 School Street, Jefferson City, Missouri. Teacher.

9. Caspary, Miss Ruth L. -- 2026 E. 107th Street, Cleveland, Ohio. Public Education Secretary, Urban League; Progressive Citizens Committee; The Ansel Road Temple.

10. Caution, Tollie L. -- 281 4th Avenue, New York City. Secretary, Negro Work Division, Protestant Episcopal Church.

11. Chen, Miss Shan-Tsiang, Greenwich House, 27 Barrow Street, New York City. Graduate student, New York University.

12. Claxton, Paul M. -- Box 778, Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Owner and Manager, Beauty Shop; Methodist Church; Lions Club; Chamber of Commerce; Junior Chamber of Commerce.

13. Comer, Miss Katherine B. -- Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

14. Crank, Mrs. Suejette T. -- 5606 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Program Service Guild of Woodlawn A.M.E. Church; NAACP; Director for Business and Professional Women, Y.W.C.A.; Women's Division of Urban League; Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Adult Education Council of Chicago.

15. Davis, Mrs. Annie Lee -- Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Consultant in Social Services for Children in Minority Groups.

16. Davis, Mrs. Dowdall H., Jr. -- 2711 E. 23rd Street, Kansas City, Missouri. Public Relations Secretary, Urban League of Kansas City. Committee of Management, Paseo Branch Y.W.C.A.; Public Affairs Council, City Y.W.C.A.; Radio Committee, Kansas City Branch NAACP; Alpha Kapa Alpha Sorority.

17. Doty, Mrs. Elizabeth L. -- 118 Irwin Avenue, Ben Avon, Pittsburgh 2, Pennsylvania. Director of Women's Department, Central Branch Y.W.C.A.; Workers Section of Group Work Division of Social Agencies; Member, Intercultural Committee of Social Agencies; Member, Committee on Japanese-American Problems in Pittsburgh; United Presbyterian Church; NAACP.

18. Enwright, Rev. John T. -- 1912 N. Miro Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Minister. Congregational-Christian Churches of America.

19. Fine, Miss Huldah -- 2970 Blain Avenue, Detroit 6, Michigan. Teacher.

20. Forrester, Mrs. Marion L. -- 246 W. 150th Street, New York City. Executive Secretary, Englewood Urban League, Englewood, New Jersey; Catholic Church; League of Women Voters; Bergen County Maternal Health; Bergen County Council of Social Agencies; Greater New York Interracial Fellowship.

21. Gartrell, Miss Carrie. Atlanta, Georgia. Student.

22. Gayles, Miss Anne R. -- P. O. Box 175, Marshallville, Georgia. Teacher and Graduate Student. Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.

23. Givin, Miss Grace -- 706 W. 8th Street, Emporia Kansas. Teacher, Iberia Junior College, Iberia, Missouri. A.A.U.W.; NAACP.

24. Greene, Percy -- Jackson Advocate, 125½ N. Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi. Editor and Publisher. Mason; Elk; Knight of Pythias; Southern Conference for Human Welfare; NAACP; A.M.E. Church.

25. Guest, Miss Muriel -- 109 Lenore Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Graduate Student. United Church of Canada; Canadian Student Christian Movement; Christian Work-Camp Fellowship; Prospective American Friends Service Committee Work Camp Member, Indianapolis.

26. Guinn, Miss Dorothy C. -- 2018 Cantre Avenue, Apt. 3, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Social Worker. Executive Director, Centre Avenue Branch Y.W.C.A.; Chairman, Professional Standards, National Employed Officers of Y.W.C.A.; Registered Social Worker; Member, Executive and Program Committees Group Division Federation of Social Agencies; Member, Advisory Committee, Community Council Center; Member, Advisory Committee - Group Work, School of Applied Sciences, University of Pittsburgh; Member Radcliffe Club; Educational Chairman, Woman's Auxiliary of Church of Holy Cross (Episcopal).

27. Haertel, Miss Gertrude E. -- 2620 N. 70th Street, Milwaukee 13, Wisconsin. Teacher. Christian Science Church; Member, National, State and Local Education Associations.

28. Hamilton, Rev. Sylvester B. -- 725 W. Madison Street, Bastrop, Louisiana. Minister. Baptist Church; Chairman, Ministers' Fellowship; Fieldman Fraternal Council of Negro Churches; Southern Regional Council.

29. Hansen, Miss Alvida L. -- 1615 W. Washington Street, Phoenix, Arizona.

30. Harper, Rev. T. E. -- 6422 3rd Court, North, Birmingham, Alabama. President Daniel Payne College. A.M.E. Church; Civic League.

31. Harris, Mrs. Hattie Mae -- 2014 Ivy Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee. Teacher. A.M.E. Church; Community Club; Federated Clubs.

32. Helper, Miss Rose -- Ontario, Canada. Research Fellow, Social Science Institute, Fisk University. School Teacher's Federation.

33. Henegan, L. Herbert -- United States Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C. Farm Security Administration Administrative Assistant. NAACP; Capitol Press Club; Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.

34. Herndon, Miss Ann -- Irvington, Kentucky. Student.

35. Hill, Dr. P. W. -- P. O. Box 547, Clarksdale, Mississippi. Surgeon Dentist. Baptist; Coahoma County Negro Association; Executive Board Member, National Dental Association and Mississippi Dental Society; Alcorn A. and M. College Alumni Association.

36. Hope, Mrs. John (II) -- 1608 Phillips Street, Nashville, Tennessee. Graduate Student in Sociology.

37. Hoskinson, Rev. Charles C. -- 848 Lake Street, Oak Park, Illinois. Minister, First Congregational Church.

38. Hoskinson, Mrs. Charles C.

39. Johnson, Cyrus M. -- Route 5, Goldsboro, North Carolina. Director, Program for North Carolina Commission for Interracial Cooperation.

40. Johnson, Miss Juanita L. -- 1516 N. E. Church Street, Portland 14, Oregon. Secretary, Information and Public Relations Division, Farm Security Administration, U.S.D.A. Portland Branch NAACP (Executive Board and Editor of Monthly Bulletin); Vice-President, Cosmopolitan Club (Interracial Group), Portland Consumer Cooperative; Race Relations Commission of Public Relations Committee, Y.W.C.A.; Race Relations Commission of Portland Council of Churches.

41. King, Miss Margaret -- 311 Fourth Street, Rankin, Pennsylvania. Student, University of Pittsburgh. Catholic Church; Member Pre-Social Work Club, Pittsburgh; Member, Brashear Settlement Organization.

42. Larkins, John R. -- 133 E. Kurgett Street, Raleigh, North Carolina. Social Worker. North Carolina Conference of Social Service; Consultant on Negro Work, North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare; Southern Regional Council; Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

43. Light, Rev. Shelby J. -- 1619 N. Second Avenue, Canton, Illinois. Minister, Congregational Church.

44. McVoy, Lawrence W. M. (II) -- The Call, 2811½ Dowling Street, Houston, Texas. Newspaper Correspondent.

45. Meijer, Mrs. Elizabeth T. -- 1635 W. North Avenue, Baltimore 17, Maryland. Afro-American Writer and Volunteer Worker for Urban League. Society of Friends; Urban League; NAACP; Interracial Fellowship; NCPAC.

46. Milton, Miss Eleanor M. -- 410 Merritt Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Student.

47. Minar, Miss Louise -- 629 Fulton Street, Wausau, Wisconsin. Teacher. Y.W.C.A.; National Education Association; Wisconsin Education Association; Wisconsin Council for the Social Studies; Pi Delta Epsilon.

48. Molyneaux, Lambert -- Charlottesville, Virginia. Professor of Sociology, University of Virginia; Visiting Professor of Sociology, Vanderbilt University.

49. Murdock, Miss Amanda -- 317 W. Pecan Street, Carbondale, Illinois. Teacher. Methodist; Race Relations, Southern Illinois Normal University; City Council Concert Music Association.

50. Payne, Mrs. Helena M. -- 1405 N. 25th Street, Richmond Virginia. Unit Manager, Stanley Home Products, Westfield, Massachusetts. Baptist; Interracial Committee, Y.W.C.A.; P.T.A., NAACP; Ideal Benefit Society; Citizens Committee

51. Pulliam, Miss Theresa -- 942 N. Bellevue, Memphis, Tennessee. Student.

52. Pursband, Mrs. M. Elizabeth -- 728 S. Burdick, Kalamazoo, Michigan. Teacher.

53. Quinn, G. V. -- Lincoln High School, 11th and Broadway, East St. Louis, Illinois. Principal. Member of Board I, Selective Service and Re-employment Counselor and Advisor for Veterans; Interracial Commission; Boy Scouts of America.

54. Ratliffe, Mrs. W. H. -- Sherard, Mississippi. Housewife. President, South East Jurisdiction Woman's Society of Christian Service; Women's Federated Club; State Board, Congress of Parents and Teachers, DAR.

55. Refsland, Mrs. Martha B. -- Houston, Minnesota. Supervisor Indian Education, Department of Interior - Indian Affairs. NAACP; Urban League, A.C.L.U.; B.P.W.C.; Southern Regional Council; East and West Association.

56. Reitzes, Dietrich C. -- 5731½ Kenwood Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois. Graduate Student in Sociology, University of Chicago. American Veterans Committee; American Sociological Society.

57. Roberts, Miss Laura -- 1721 Tyler, Amarillo, Texas. Methodist; Delta Kappa Gamma. Teacher.

58. Roberts, Miss Nina -- International House, 500 Riverside Drive, New York City. Prospective Associate Secretary, United Council of Church Women.

59. Rowse, Rev. Ralph H. -- 564 W. 160th Street, New York City. Minister. Executive Secretary, Interracial Fellowship of Greater New York.

60. Salert, Irving -- Jewish Labor Committee, 175 E. Broadway, New York City. National Field Director, Jewish Labor Committee.

61. Schulte, Miss Eileen -- 201 12th Avenue, S. E., Minneapolis 14, Minnesota. Teaching Assistant, General College, University of Minnesota.

62. Shackelford, Miss Jane D. -- 1324½ Liberty Avenue, Terre Haute, Indiana. Teacher. Author: The Child's Story of the Negro and My Happy Days. Methodist Church; Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Girl Scout Leader's Association; Kappa Delta Pi Honorary Society; Literary Club; NAACP; A.S.N.L.H.

63. Shisler, Miss Dorothy K. -- Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama. Secretary to the President. Philadelphia Anthropology Society; American Anthropology Society; American Linguistic Society; NAACP; Y.M.C.A.

64. Smith, Miss Myra A. -- 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. Executive, Data and Trends and Program Subject Departments, National Board, Y.W.C.A.; Member, Southern Regional Council; Alternate Executive Committee, Federal Council of Churches.

65. Sprague, Miss Ruth L. -- 25 College Place, Oberlin, Ohio. Director of Religious Education, First Congregational Church. League of Women Voters.

66. Stern, Miss Celia M. -- 2244 Gladstone, Detroit 6, Michigan. Directing Teacher in Primary Education. NAACP; American Federation of Teachers; Y.W.C.A.

67. Sweet, James F. -- Providence Rhode Island.

68. Thomas, George L. -- Portland Council of Churches, 308 Y.M.C.A. Building, Portland 12, Oregon. Director of Race Relations, American Missionary Association, through Portland Council of Churches. Congregational Church; NAACP; Urban League; International House Board of Portland; Portland Housing and Planning Association; Civic Action, Inc.; Police Athletic League.

69. Van Vliet, Miss Florence L. -- 773 N. Prospect Avenue, #614, Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin. Teacher - English; Department Chairman. Episcopal Church.

70. Williams, John D. -- 170 Hubbard Street, Glastonbury, Connecticut.

71. Willis, Miss Josie E. -- 111 Elm Street, Hornell, New York. Teacher. State Secretary, World Wide Guild of Northern Baptist Convention; Fellowship Church of All Peoples, San Francisco, California; Co-Chairman, Woman's Forum, Hornell; Vice-President, Hornell Teachers Association.

72. Wittman, Miss Gerda P. -- 807 E. Juneau Avenue, Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin. Teacher.

File with Good eggs or "good people"

VETERANS EDUCATION COUNCIL
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JANUARY 14-17, 1947
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN

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VETERANS EDUCATION COUNCIL
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
JANUARY 14-17, 1947
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

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Veterans Counselor
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NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
JANUARY 14-17, 1947
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

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VETERANS EDUCATION COUNCIL
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
JANUARY 14-17, 1947
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

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Wygal, Fred O.
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Wythes, William H.
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N. Y. Div. of Vet. Affairs

good Eggo

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Beittel, Dr. A. D. — Talladega, Ala.
President, Talladega College; Congregational Church; Southern Sociological Society

Davis, Dr. W. S. — Nashville
President, A. & I. State College; Regional Chairman, Veterans Project, Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges

Drake, Dr. J. F. — Normal, Ala.
President, State A. & M. Institute; Regional Chairman, Veterans Project, Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges

Eleazer, Mr. R. B. — Nashville
Secretary, Local Church Division, Methodist Board of Education; Formerly, Educational Director, Southern Interracial Commission

Freeman, Mr. Andrew G. — Dayton, Ohio
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Hall, Mr. Wiley A. — Richmond, Va.
Executive Secretary, Richmond Urban League; American Association of Social Workers; National Conference of Social Work

Hamilton, Mrs. Grace Towns — Atlanta, Ga.
Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League

Harper, Mr. William V. — Nashville
Department of Education

Haygood, Mrs. Vandi V. — Chicago, Ill.
Acting Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund

---

*Inadvertently left off First Week's list.

Hernandez, Dr. Raphael — Nashville
Meharry Medical College

James, Mrs. Bernice Davis — Galveston, Tex.
Teacher, English, High School; Girl Reserve Adviser; YWCA; Reedy Chapel AME Church; Social Clubs, AKA Sorority

Lanier, Mrs. E. E. — Nashville

League, Chief Petty Officer Richard — Nashville

Lemon, Rev. J. H. — Milledgeville, Ga.
Minister, Wesley Chapel AME Church; NAACP; Religious Educational Council

Martin, Mrs. H. L. — Nashville
Secretary, South Nashville District of the Women's Missionary Society, AME Church; President, PTA; WCTU; Bethel AME Church; Committee of Public Affairs, YWCA

McFall, Mrs. John A. — Nashville

McFall, Dr. John A. — Nashville
Retired Pharmacist

Mundy, Mrs. A. V. — Tuskegee, Ala.
Editor, Pulling Together Magazine; Catholic Church

Niermeyer, Miss Ethel — Memphis, Tenn.
General Secretary, YWCA

Patterson, Mrs. Eva L. — Jackson, Miss.
Teacher, Social Science, Magnolia High School, Vicksburg, Miss.; Camile Arts Club of Women's Federation

*Phillips, Mrs. H. L. — Houston, Tex.
Presbyterian Church, Heights Woman's Club; Houston YWCA, Board of Directors and Chairman of Council on Public Affairs; City Federation Women's Clubs

Pipes, President W. H. — Alcorn, Miss.
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Children's Librarian, George C. Hall Branch Library; NAACP; YWCA; Chicago Civil Liberties Committee; Urban League; Chicago Public Library Union; SCMWA; ALA; ILA; Chicago Library Club; People's Co-op; Children's Reading Round Table Chicago Staff Association

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* Inadvertently left off First Week's list.

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Terrell, Mrs. Mary Church — Washington, D. C.
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YOUTH

IN A MINOR KEY

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 STANDARD BLDG.
ATLANTA, GA.

NEGRO YOUTH IN STORY AND FACT

IN A MINOR KEY

Negro Youth in Story and Fact

BY IRA DeA. REID

Prepared for

The American Youth Commission

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

Washington, D. C. . . . 1940

AUTHOR: IRA DEA. REID
FORMER SRC ASST. DIR.

Progress Memorandum

Pac Northern

INTEGRATION

NORTH and SOUTH

by David Loth and Harold Fleming

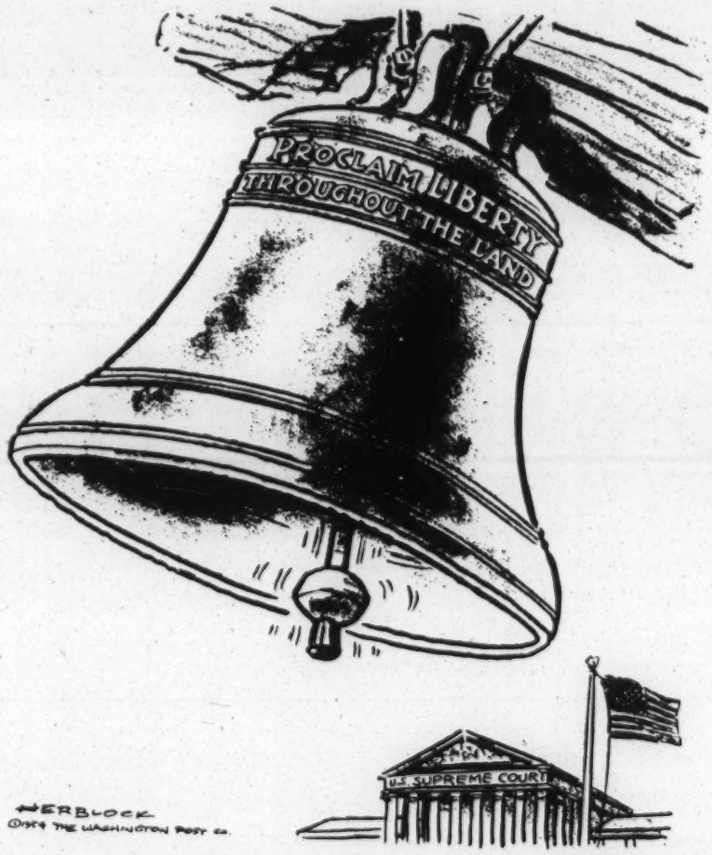
FOREWORD BY MORRIS L. ERNST

Southern Section, Researched and written by SRC.

A MEMO ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Steps in Implementing the Supreme Court's Decision

School Bell



Prepared for the

NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE

by a Panel on School Integration:--

Irene Osborne, American Friends Service Committee, Chairman

Philip Lerman, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Margaret Garrity, Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems

Olya Margolin, National Council of Jewish Women

Mary Alice Baldinger, National Civil Liberties Clearing House, Secretary

A MEMO ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

"Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship.

". . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

-- From the Supreme Court's Decision of May 17, 1954.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Citizens in many communities throughout the United States have, for a long time, worked to eliminate segregation in education. The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, leaves no choice to the law-abiding citizen, but to accept the challenge of achieving an orderly transition from a segregated to an integrated school system. School integration is now the law of the land, and local and state school authorities have the responsibility for carrying out the law. But no law, no matter how right and just, can be fully realized without the widest possible public understanding and acceptance. The ultimate solution lies in the hearts and minds of the people of the community. For those who are willing to assume their share of the necessary task of developing among their fellow citizens a clearer understanding of the issues involved, these suggestions are offered.

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Fortunately, there has been extensive experience in desegregation of schools -- enough to point the way, to indicate some do's and don'ts. In recent years, there have been desegregation programs in school systems throughout the border states and into the South. Since the Supreme Court decision, integration has been undertaken in the major cities of Washington, Baltimore, Wilmington and St. Louis, as well as in smaller communities and rural areas of Delaware, Missouri, West Virginia, and Arkansas. These instances can be added to the earlier experience in Arizona, New Mexico, Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Delaware and New Jersey. In addition, there has been extensive experience in higher education and in private schools.

This experience tells a story of success. Over and over, the job has been done, and well done, providing a constructive experience for the community. Despite initial fears, the difficulties which would be expected with any major change, and opposition from significant portions of the community, integration has been achieved in such a way as to improve the educational system.

Indeed, delay is more to be feared than action. Before the fact, the community will react with some fear of the unknown. The community often tends to divide over issues which are not the real issues, while anxieties grow in the waiting period. Time will frequently be used to mobilize opposition.

School authorities will do well to take leadership in building a constructive program of desegregation. The stable elements in the community will welcome such leadership and will give it whole-hearted support.

Establishing Policy

It is most important to establish a clear and concise policy, one which will be understandable to everyone. The policy should affirm the principle of non-discrimination in the conduct of school affairs. However it may be worded, the basic plan should specify that both pupil assignment and personnel handling should be carried out without regard to race. A statement of conviction is a sound idea. As an example of what one community has done, the policy statement of the District of Columbia Board of Education, adopted May 24, 1954, is here cited:

> In the light of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in Bolling v. Sharpe, the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, believing it to be in the best interest of all citizens of the community of Washington, and necessary to the effective administration of an integrated system within the public schools, hereby adopts the following declaration of policy:
>
> 1. Appointments, transfers, preferments, promotions, ratings, or any other matters respecting the officers and employees of the Board shall be predicated solely upon merit and not upon race or color.
>
> 2. No pupil of the public schools shall be favored or discriminated against in any matter or in any manner respecting his or her relationship to the schools of the District of Columbia by reason of race or color.
>
> 3. Attendance of pupils residing within school boundaries, hereafter to be established, shall not be permitted at schools located beyond such boundaries, except for the most necessitous reasons or for the public convenience, and in no event for reasons related to the racial character of the school within the boundaries in which the pupil resides.
>
> 4. The Board believes that no record should be kept or maintained in respect to any pupil not enrolled in a public school on or prior to June 17, 1954, or in respect to any officer or employee not employed within the system on or prior to that date in which information is solicited or recorded relating to the color or race of any such person.
>
> 5. That the maximum efficient use shall be made of all physical facilities without regard to race or color.
>
> In support of the foregoing principles, which are believed to be cardinal, the Board will not hesitate to use its full powers. It is pledged to a complete and wholehearted pursuit of these objectives.
>
> We affirm our intention to secure the right of every child, within his own capacity, to the full, equal and impartial use of all school facilities, and the right of all qualified teachers to teach where needed within the school system. And finally, we ask the aid, cooperation and goodwill of all citizens and the help of the Almighty in holding to our stated purposes.

Pupil Assignment

In order to make desegregated pupil assignments, the city can be re-zoned on a geographic basis without reference to the race of the child. The new zones should be drawn in such a way as to make maximum use of facilities. Efficiency and economy will be the natural results. If racial prejudice or antagonism to integration are allowed to dictate school assignment, policy becomes difficult or impossible to enforce, placing school officials in an untenable position. For these reasons, a liberal transfer policy is unwise.

When boundary lines are drawn on a geographic basis, results will vary in different communities, depending on the pattern of housing. Where there is considerable residential segregation, it may be inevitable that some schools of only one race remain. On the other hand, the practice of gerrymandering may be used as a device to avoid integration. Citizens should be aware of this as a threat to a positive program.

Details will need specific planning in each community. In some cases there are inadequate school buildings which should be abandoned and pupils reassigned elsewhere. Where two schools are close together, they may be combined as one school, with lower grades in one building and upper grades in the other. Often there are special institutions which can be merged at once (e.g. teacherscollege, technical school, or facilities for the handicapped).

There are, of course, some school systems which do not use a plan of enforced districting, or which have secondary schools specialized on a curricular basis. Whatever system is used, the rules should apply without regard to race.

Staff Integration

Integration of teachers should take place along with integration of pupils. Teachers should be hired and promoted on the basis of merit, and placed according to the needs of the system, irrespective of the race of the teacher or the student. There are numerous instances of interracial staffs around the country, and many where the staffs were integrated along with pupil integration. Personnel-wise, it is the soundest policy, since it insures the best qualified person for each job. With the nation-wide shortage of teachers severe as it is, the South cannot adequately staff its schools without the services of Negro teachers. Staff integration is therefore indicated both for the needs of the schools and out of fairness to Negro teachers.

Meeting Opposition

One of the questions most often asked is how to handle cases of outright resistance, such as the student strikes which occurred in a few cities. The best answer is provided by the experience of cities which have met the problem. It is notable that in Baltimore and Washington, the strikes were short-lived and met with no success. In those cities, school officials, police and press took a firm stand against the demonstrations, reaffirming policy and opposing the tactics of the strikes. Social action, religious, and welfare groups organized quickly to defend the integration policy. This is in contrast to the story in Milford, Delaware, where the state authorities hesitated and backed down, and no community organizations came to the rescue. The result was a long period of trouble. The lesson is clear that success depends on a firm and positive stand.

Public Relations

School authorities should give special attention to public relations at the time of desegregation. To do a good reporting job, press representatives need ample factual material as well as some interpretation of what the schools are trying to do.

A school administrator who does a careful and honest job of working with the press will find that it pays dividends in terms of public understanding and good will.

The school program should likewise be interpreted to city officials, police, and leading community agencies. Conferences with the chief of police are particularly advised, so that the police will be fully aware of a responsibility to act impartially and in the interest of law and order at all times.

CITIZENS CAN HELP

Part of the American belief is the right of every child to an education, an education which will meet his needs as a person and which will be available to him regardless of his financial resources. Out of this belief grew our public and private school systems. Our money has built and maintained our schools. Our money and time must still be given if we wish to continue a solid program of education. The schools are ours, and the responsibility of keeping the schools is ours.

Today more than ever before it behooves us to make known our interest to our local and state officials so they can discharge honorably the responsibilities with which we, the citizens, have entrusted to them. They cannot know our desires unless we tell them what we want.

We must have now a positive program of study and action to safeguard our schools and to insure an orderly transition period from segregation to de-segregation - a transition period which will be a pleasant experience for our children and not one which will be harmful to them.

This is not the goal of just one or two or a few of us. This is the goal of almost everyone in every community. It needs serious consideration. Talk to your friends, your neighbors. Their interest in preserving the schools is the same as yours. See to it that your voices are heard. You make up the bulk of your community. Now your voice must be heard if your community and your schools are to serve their true purpose.

To be heard you must talk together, meet together, learn together how your schools and community are managed. You will want to become better acquainted with your community and the people who make up your community: work with the organized segments of your hometown. Learn with the churches, the synagogues, the schools, the civic clubs, the community centers, the professional associations and fraternal organizations what your major school problems are.

Study the strengths and weaknesses of your school system. Discover how the system is organized and financed. What is the employment status, the tenure and the qualifications of Negro and white teachers? What is the proportion of Negro and white teachers? Of Negro and white students? What are your school boundary lines and how are they determined? Are the citizens kept informed of the planning of the school board? Are Negro and white teachers meeting separately or together to work out their problems?

Learn the practice and policy of other state and city organizations, e.g. libraries, hospitals, employment offices, colleges and universities. What is the official attitude and practice of church groups, civic associations and other institutions in your community in regard to desegregation?

After you have acquired the factual information which bears on a program of desegregation, talk with your responsible officials so that together you can

arrange an orderly desegregation of the schools. Be prepared to make some recommendations about how the process should be carried out. Urge other outstanding citizens in your area to do likewise. Encourage the organizations already established to do the same. Work with the press, so they can help to build an informed citizenry. Encourage widening segments of the community to give serious thought to the subject.

AND IN CONCLUSION

What, then, do we know about the job ahead of us? What guideposts are available to give the citizen a sense of sureness about what he is doing? By way of summary, we offer here a few of the conclusions which emerge from the record of experience.

1. Experience in desegregation of schools has been extensive in recent years, demonstrating that the job can be successfully accomplished, contributing to better schools and more democratic communities.

2. Desegregation should begin with official adoption and announcement of a policy of non-discrimination, affecting both pupil assignment and personnel action.

3. Opposition can be effectively met by a firm and positive stand. Constructive elements of the community can and should be organized in support of a forthright policy.

4. Desegregation is a responsibility not only of school officials, but of all citizens who have an interest in a good school program.

5. Citizens can help by taking the lead in study and planning, by making their views known to the public and to the responsible officials.

6. In every community, there are resources that can be tapped for help in doing the job, resources in terms of people, organizations, and specialized services.

7. Problems do not solve themselves. People solve problems. In the words of Arnold Toynbee, "We cannot just fold our hands and let history rip." The problems we are facing are, in fact, human problems which human beings can and will solve.

Those who believe in the American concept that all men are created equal and therefore entitled to equal protection of the laws should now assume their citizenship responsibilities by actively participating in the implementation of the Supreme Court Decision -- the law of the land. The economic, political and social wellbeing of our nation and its communities depends on an intelligent and informed citizenry. An adequate education for all children is, therefore, essential. Those who have faith in our Nation and its people welcome the opportunity to take a step forward in democratic living.

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* * * * SOME SELECTED GROUPS WORKING IN THE FIELDS OF INTEGROUP EDUCATION * * * *

(Write national office for address of local affiliate and for resource material and audio-visual aids.)

Adult Education Association
Malcolm S. Knowles,
Administrative Coordinator
743 North Wabash Avenue
Chicago 11, Illinois

American Camping Association, Inc.
Mr. Chancey Paxson, Chairman,
Intercultural Committee
American Camping Assn., Penns Park
Bucks County, Pennsylvania

American Federation of Labor
Boris Shishkin
901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

American Friends Service Committee
Richard K. Bennett, Secretary,
Community Relations Program
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

American Jewish Committee
Mrs. Dorothy M. Nathan
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

American Jewish Congress
David W. Petegorsky,
Executive Director
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

American Nurses' Association
Miss Grace E. Marr,
Assistant Executive Secretary
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Oscar Cohen, Director,
Program Division, A.D. L.
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Association for the Study of
Negro Life and History, Inc.
Albert N. D. Brooks,
Secretary-Treasurer
1538 9th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Boy Scouts of America
J. A. Brunton, Jr., Director,
Division of Relationships
National Council, B.S.A.
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Catholic Committee of the South
Very Rev. Maurice Shean,
c/o The Oratory
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Catholic Interracial Councils
George K. Hunton, Exec. Secretary
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Congress of Industrial Organizations
(Civil Rights Committee)
George L-P. Weaver, Director
718 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Girl Scouts of the United States of America
Mrs. Besse Kranz, Advisor on Inter-group
Relations, Community Relations Division
155 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
Henry Lee Moon, Dir. of Public Relations
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

National Association of Intergroup
Relations Officials
John Field, Executive Secretary
565 North Erie Street
Toledo 2, Ohio

National Catholic Welfare Conference
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt
Department of Education

Miss Margaret Garrity
Office of Race Relations
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

National Community Relations Adv. Council
Isaiah M. Minkoff, Executive Director
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

PLEASE NOTE

We regret that by error the name of an important agency working in the field of intergroup education was deleted from the list of organizations given here. Please add --

National Conference of Christians and Jews,
Dr. Herbert L. Seamans, Director,
Commission on Educational Organizations,
381 Fourth Ave.,
New York 16, N.Y.

National Council of Catholic Women,
Miss Irma Piepho
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

National Council of Churches
(Dept. of Racial & Cultural Relations)
Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

National Council of Jewish Women
Mrs. Elsie Elfenbein, Exec. Dir.
1 West 47th Street
New York 36, New York

National Council of Negro Women
Mrs. Wm. Thomas Mason,
National President
1318 Vermont Ave., N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s
Leo B. Marsh
291 Broadway
New York 7, New York

National Education Association
William G. Carr, Exec. Secretary
1201 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

National Jewish Welfare Board
S. D. Gershovitz, Exec. Vice President
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

National Social Welfare Assembly
Robert E. Bondy, Director
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

National Urban League
Lester B. Granger, Exec. Director
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Y. W. C. A.
Publication Services
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

* * * \

5. JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, Summer, 1954, Vol. XXIII. Fourteen articles on history of integration and current problems.

6. McCULLOCH, MARGARET C., "Integration: Promise--Process--Problems," Nashville, Tenn.; (Fisk University, Race Relations Dept., American Missionary Assn., 1952, pp. vi-77) Deals with integration in the various fields where segregation now exists. Contains basic statements which apply specifically to educational integration.

7. "Questions & Answers: The Schools and the Courts." Atlanta, Ga. (Southern Regional Council, 1953, p. 16) Explains how question of integration was brought to the fore by appeals to the courts; summarizes principal arguments advanced for and against segregation and points out the changes that are likely to take place in the schools depending on what the Court decides.

8. "Segregation and the Schools," New York, (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 209, 1954, 30 pp.) Summarizes the Ashmore report, "The Negro and The Schools." Will be particularly useful for brief orientation to facts in the situation.

9. WILLIAMS, ROBIN AND MARGARET W. RYAN, "Schools in Transition," (University of North Carolina Press, November 20, 1954)

10. "Southern School News," issued periodically by the Southern Educational Reporting Service, 1109--19th St., South, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tenn. Set up especially to report factually and objectively on integration education. Free copies on request.

11. GRAMBS, JEAN D., "Education in a Transition Community," (National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1954, 124 pp.) A compendium designed to assist community organizations and leaders in preparing for school integration.

12. "Resource Units on Intergroup Relations - Desegregation in the Public Schools." (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1954, 4 pp.) A resource unit for teachers and community leaders, listing material and education ideas to assist in preparing the school and community for integration.

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FILE
COPY

Revolutionary Plans to Improve Negroes' Lot Laid Before Willis

By PAUL HUGHES, Courier-Journal Staff Writer

BOLDLY asserting that any progress Kentucky makes "is dependent not only on an intelligent use of its natural resources but, primarily, on the quality of its human resources and full employment of the skills of every citizen," the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs has called for basic and positive application of "United we stand, divided we fall."

In a surprisingly exhaustive report—considering the formidable questions involved and the exasperating dearth of time—the commission has laid before Governor Willis, who asked for a survey and conclusions, the most far-reaching, most revolutionary and yet most obvious recommendations for improvement of race relations that ever have come out of the South.

Legislation Proposed

Legislation was asked to :

1. Abolish the Jim Crow Law.
2. Permit attendance of Negroes at professional schools and in postgraduate courses.
3. Require nondiscrimination in State Government contracts and other public projects.
4. Seek federal aid to raise the level of educational opportunities.
5. End immediately all differentials in teacher salaries due to race.
6. Provide funds for expansion of West Kentucky Vocational School and Lincoln Institute as more adequate boarding high school service for rural youth.
7. Make available funds to provide educational opportunities at Kentucky State College equal to those at University of Kentucky in areas of instruction in which adequate enrollment may be expected.
8. Designate Kentucky State College as recipient of funds for agricultural education and experimentation received by the State from federal sources.
9. Allocate $25,000 a year to Red Cross Hospital, Louisville, to bring about establishment of a training school for nurses and for care of out-of-county indigent Negro cases.

New Infirmaries Urged

10. Establish infirmaries at each State educational institution, with facilities for an out-patient clinic and in-patient treatment, for training of licensed midwives and as centers for services for Negroes in rural areas.
11. Provide public school instruction for dependent and delinquent Negro children with standards comparable with other tax-supported schools.
12. Make the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs permanent by appropriation of not less than $7,500 a year for research and continuing study of facts relative to the needs of the Negro in Kentucky.

Others among the recommendations include:

A. Creation of a special commission of members of the General Assembly to develop antidiscrimination legislation for enactment by the forthcoming Legislature.

B. That to stimulate improvement of conditions affecting Negro schools of the county, an independent school district be accredited as a system of schools rather than as a separate school.

C. That the position of assistant supervisor of Negro education, employing a Negro educator, be made permanent.

D. That a Negro be appointed to the State Board of Education to interpret special problems of Negro education.

E. That adequate funds be provided for West Kentucky Vocational Training School, and that a strong program of vocational training be developed for it and Lincoln Institute.

F. That the out-of-state scholarship plan be eliminated as soon as equality of educational opportunity exists, but that during the period remaining of its operation, a maximum of $350 per person per year be granted, instead of the present $175.

G. That any Negro qualified to pursue a course of instruction of graduate grade or on the professional level may do so at any educational institution in this state if such course is not available at the Kentucky State College.

H. That there be developed a co-ordinated program of education for Lincoln Institute, West Kentucky Vocational Training School, Kentucky State College and possibly Louisville Municipal College.

I. More technical training in schools for adults and within industries to develop skills of Negro workers.

J. Labor union officers should share with management the responsibility for obtaining white workers' approval of employment of Negroes, and impart democratic standards and practices to the rank and file of the membership generally.

K. Employers should be urged to give to Negroes opportunities from which custom has barred them; that is, in sales personnel, on telephone switchboards, as operators of streetcars and busses, etc.

L. Include small farmers, tenant croppers and household workers of both races in provisions of the Social Security System.

M. Develop a system of written leases to include reimbursement for unexpended improvements on land and dwellings and acknowledgment of certain improved practices to stand in lieu of rent.

N. Develop rural housing improvement programs and community recreational activities for both races.

O. Urge acceptance of Negro farmers as members of farm organizations and cooperatives.

P. Broaden work among Negroes under Smith-Hughes vocational funds administered by the State Department of Education, including 4-H Club work.

Q. Establish a household workers' training institution which would become a center of education, information and interpretation of proper standards, for both employers and workers; certificates should guarantee competence and dependability of household workers and give it the dignity it deserves.

R. Include courses in business practices in Negro schools, and adult instruction in centers where Negro population justifies it.

S. Set up an educational program to combat lack of information regarding health laws.

Negroes In Health Work

T. So that the State may attract more Negro doctors, provide for professional postgraduate and in-service training in all tax-supported institutions for physicians, dentists and nurses in the state.

U. Consider employment of Negro physicians, nurses, social workers, inspectors and appropriate Negro personnel by county boards of health where the Negro population justifies it.

V. Negro professional workers should be employed in official or voluntary agencies where such employment would contribute materially to solution of health problems vitally affecting the Negro.

W. Appoint Negroes to the governing boards of tuberculosis sanatoria.

X. Establish a home for dependent Negro children separate from delinquents, with the intstitution being adjacent to and sharing in use of psychiatrists and other personnel employed at Kentucky Home School at Lyndon.

Y. Trained Negro personnel should be employed in the welfare agencies throughout the state.

Z. A training program for Negro inmates should be set up in all State penal institutions.

AA. Make a study of the legal aspects of restricted covenants in titles to real estate to determine what form of legislation may be necessary to eliminate such practice in Kentucky.

First Big State Survey

Although studies of race relations in the East and North have pioneered the effort and thought in this field, and Fiske University at Nashville and Tuskeegee Institute, Alabama, have added some fact-finding and recommendations in the same direction, this is the first and most long-ranged survey undertaken officially by any state in the South, and no doubt will stand as a beacon light for a long time.

The commission, wisely moving cautiously but not timidly, cites that "the interdependence of peoples and government is practical democracy," and that "the state's government is dependent upon a responsible citizenship, and every citizen is dependent on a responsible government for 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness'."

The corollary follows that "public taxation is justified to the end that it enables each individual citizen to become an asset to life in our democracy," and "therefore, equal opportunities for every citizen in every section of the state and of every race and creed is an essential public policy." The report adds:

"These self-evident truths and our democratic ideals admit the inclusion of all citizens in the services provided by the state. Therefore, equal opportunities are essential for Negro citizens in order that they may make the full contribution to the progress of Kentucky.

"Kentucky's motto must be applied more honestly to race relations in our state and in America to make our democracy real and to keep it from taking the road to revolution that so many other democracies have taken. It is essential to world peace that all races of men must learn to get along together. America has a great opportunity to demonstrate this for other nations. Kentucky can lead the way in the South.

Negro Population Dropping

"Fifty years from now there will be no Negroes in Kentucky, if the present rate of decline in the population ratio continues. Kentucky, once a slave state, in 1890 had a Negro population which was 50 per cent greater than that of Missouri, Illinois and Ohio combined. The number in any one of these states now far exceeds that of Kentucky. It has decreased from 14.4 per cent of the state total in 1890 to 7.5 per cent as shown by the 1940 U. S. census.

"Despite the fact that Kentucky is an agricultural state with 44 per cent of her population residing on farms, Kentucky's Negroes are city and town dwellers. Over half are in urban centers, a fourth in nonfarm communities and less than one-fifth live on farms.

"The sparsely settled and scattered Negro population in Kentucky and the traditional pattern of segregation for Negroes in schools and other public services has impoverished the services of the state to all its people. The second-rate services which are provided Negroes, and in many instances the absence of any services at all, have impoverished the capacity of Negroes to serve the state.

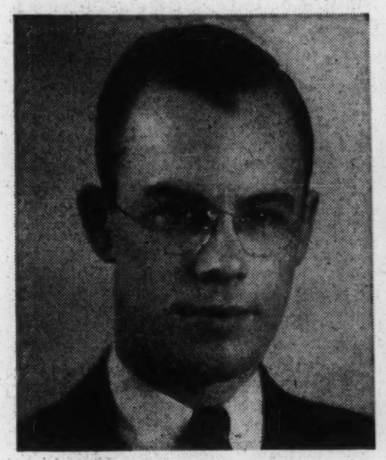
"The migration of Negro people from rural to urban centers in the 'pursuit of happiness' and well-being they do not find in their present day rural life is at the root of all the problems of the Negro people. It is expensive and impractical to provide separate health, educational, welfare institutions, and other public services for the scattered few who remain on the farm."

Who's on commission, and how it works

THE Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, made up of an equal number of appointees from each race, was created 14 months ago by an executive order of Governor Willis and told to "obtain and study all the facts and conditions relating to the economic, educational, housing, health and other needs for the betterment of Negro citizens of Kentucky." The commissioners undertook the study on their own time and without any remuneration, not even for their expenses for travel and clerical work.

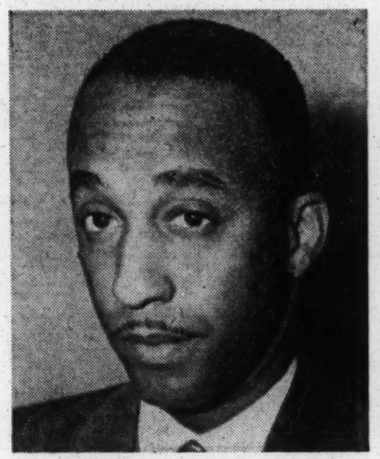
Serving as chairman was J. M. Tydings, business manager of Lincoln Institute, in Shelby County, and co-chairman was W. H. Perry, Jr., principal of Louisville's Madison Street Junior High School and secretary of the Kentucky Negro Education Association. Others were President William H. Vaughan, Morehead State Teachers College; Walter K. Belknap, Louisville, a Lincoln Institute trustee; Dr. Maurice Rabb, Shelbyville, secretary of the Blue Grass State Medical Association; Mrs. Christine Bradley South, Frankfort; J. J. Kavanagh, Louisville attorney; the Rev. W. H. Ballew, pastor of the Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church, Louisville, and moderator of the Kentucky Association of Negro Baptists; Mrs. L. B. Fouse, Lexington, an officer of the Kentucky Federation of Negro Women; Tarleton Collier, a Courier-Journal editorial writer; Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Louisville attorney and only Negro member of the Kentucky Legislature, and Robert E. Black, Negro, executive secretary of the Louisville Urban League.

The dozen commission members distributed themselves among committees on education, economics, housing, social welfare, health and civil affairs, and then called in as advisory committee members a score or more of the state's leading citizens representing business, professions, labor and civic organizations in general. Group sessions were held here and at Frankfort until two months ago, when work was begun on the final report, handed to Governor Willis on November 1.

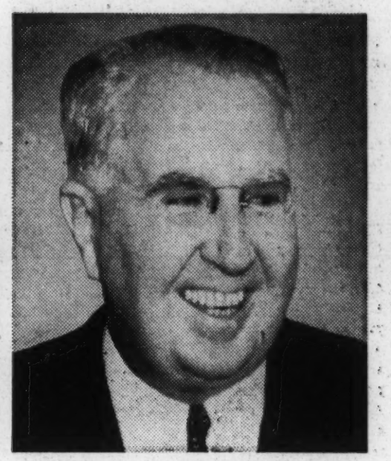


Chairman J. M. Tydings

Walter K. Belknap



Charles W. Anderson, Jr.



J. J. Kavanagh

Here are four of the busy citizens who gave their time to the survey

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G. That any Negro qualified to pursue a course of instruction of graduate grade or on the professional level may do so at any educational institution in this state if such course is not available at the Kentucky State College.

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provements on land and dwellings and acknowledgment of certain improved practices to stand in lieu of rent.

N. Develop rural housing improvement programs and community recreational activities for both races.

O. Urge acceptance of Negro farmers as members of farm organizations and cooperatives.

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Q. Establish a household workers' training

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The Negro's civil status in Kentucky still is low and puzzling

"IN THE domain of civil affairs, the condition of the Negro in Kentucky is advanced as to several particulars beyond that of his brother in most states of the deeper South which possess somewhat similar historical traditions," said the commission, adding:

"Formal political equality, without restrictions at the ballot box, has been attained; and so also has eligibility to hold public office, although this perhaps is too infrequently realized.

"However, in this border state where divergent attitudes mingle and clash, often without losing their identity, there are odd degrees of tolerance and right. Obvious discriminations and segregations occur, some of which are illogical in the extreme, almost to the point of travesty. For example, a visitor might be moved to the point of ironic comment at sight of railway passengers being segregated by color as soon as a southbound train crosses the Ohio River, although they may have traveled together casually, in comfort and in peace for hundreds of miles southward—the same persons, the same necessities, yet all at once subjected to arbitrary distinctions and 'verbotens.'

"Many of these discriminations and segregations are the results of attitudes and customs rather than of legal omission or commission; others are the result of exploitations due to economic conditions, and bear as heavily upon those of lower income status among the white race as well as the Negro.

Three State Laws Cited

"For example, established practice in most centers of the state demands bail bonds for petty crimes that too often impose hardships and unjust detentions; too often the poor white as well as the poor Negro becomes the defenseless victim of arbitrary handling by officers of the law.

"Three State laws, now for some time in operation, are suggested as likely models for Kentucky legislation. One is the New York (Ives-Quinn) law, the most comprehensive of the three, which provides for a commission empowered to issue anti-discrimination orders enforceable in court. The New Jersey (Hill) law, vests powers of investigation, hearing and enforceable orders in an assistant commissioner of education. The Indiana law empowers the commissioner of labor to receive and investigate reports of discrimination, publish findings, give technical assistance to employers, labor unions and private and public agencies and make recommendations to interested parties."

The Commission recommended to the Governor that he ask the Legislature to repeal the Day Law, in so far as it relates to postgraduate education, by nullifying any discrimination against any person because of color, race or creed in the professional and graduate schools of the various institutions within the state. "We feel that it is undemocratic as well as being an unjustifiable hardship that Negro students are compelled to pursue graduate and professional courses of study outside of the state, while in the payment of taxes they support the very institutions to which they are denied admission, because of color," the commission argued.

Industrial Problems

"The major test of the Negro's acceptance as a worker, on terms of equal opportunity, lies in the field of industrial employment. The test will be applied in the fateful next year or two of readjustment when employment will be stabilized, when seniority benefits will be invoked and competition for jobs will stiffen, and when trades unionism will be measured as never before for its substance as a constructive, protective, democratic force.

"The economic problem of the Negro in Kentucky has two main parts: The handicap of his relative lack of skills, which makes him the 'expendable' of the labor force, the first to go when unemployment impends; and the barriers to employment, training, promotion and opportunity that are too often interposed because of his race.

"Of 482,811 placements by the United States Employment Service in Kentucky in the period 1941 through 1944, approximately 15 per cent, or 75,114, were those of nonwhite workers. However, the Negroes placed on skilled jobs were only about 1 2/3 per cent of the total placed in this classification, and 90 per cent of the Negroes were placed in unskilled (47,209) or service (21,661) jobs. Of 407,697 white workers placed, nearly 25 per cent went into skilled jobs.

'The Vicious Circle'

"This is evidence of a lamentable lack of skills, of classification of many experienced Negroes as unskilled, because the greatest demand for workers was in the division of common labor. The Negro generally was barred from vocational training courses for war workers because of the vicious circle—few good jobs, with prospect of upgrading, because no training; no training, because no prospect of good jobs and the temporary great need of common labor.

"In plants where collective bargaining applies, union officials should share with management the responsibility for obtaining the white workers' approval of the employment of Negroes; and beyond that, approval of the commonsense, economy and constructive value of non-segregation within the plants. Negroes, like other workers, become more efficient through working with experienced workers.

"We urge upon employers generally the consideration of giving opportunity to Negroes in fields from which custom has barred them; i.e., in sales personnel, in such operations as those of telephone switchboards and streetcars and busses. There is a convincing argument, it seems to us, in the greater community stability and common economic benefit that come from full employment.

"A study of the departments and divisions operated by the State of Kentucky reveals interesting figures. Fifty-one offices have thus far been studied with a total of 6,503 employees. Of this number 412, or 6.3 per cent, are Negroes. This is lower than the Negro population percentage in Kentucky of 7.5, and a further study will show that almost all of these employees are porters, maids, attendants or in other unskilled types of work. Out of 1,091 administrative positions, Negroes hold 29 or 2.6 per cent.

"This committee feels very definitely that the State and city administrations should take the lead in nondiscriminatory employment practices. In State employment that is not under civil service, Negro citizens should be employed in at least the proportion of population percentage in all skills and in administrative positions.

The Household Servant

The field of employment that in the past has received the least attention but which probably deserves the most—all circumstances taken into consideration—is that of the household servant. It touches nearest "home" because it involves the closest relationship of peoples—in the home itself. And it touches women, chiefly; it offers the least hope of security, generally speaking, and it is the most trying on the dignity of the worker.

In this area the commission made notable suggestions, without the adoption of which the field may continue to offer little reward, little privilege, little recognition. Here are excerpts from the report on this section:

"One person out of every 25 employed in Kentucky (one out of 18 in Louisville) is in this classification. And of the total of

Nobody Answers

37,841 in Kentucky (1940 Census), 22,134, or 58.5 per cent are Negroes, and of these more than 80 per cent are women. There are more women workers in household employment in Kentucky than in any other single occupation, including teachers or clerical and office workers. This is a fact which has a great influence on the quality of family life.

And yet this field is marked by the least security of tenure, the greatest lack of standards as to hours and conditions of work, the smallest prospect of independence after long years of labor, the least dignity and the most exploitation. The principal if not the only incentive to enter this field is elemental need; not, as in the case of most callings, the hope of advancement, occasional leisure and more than a bare living wage.

"Definite vocational training, leading to certificates at the completion of a course—certificates which would bear the guarantee of competence and dependability—seems to this committee to be a fundamental necessity.

"Hygiene, personal attractiveness and ethics would go along with technical instruction; and at least a minimum of scholastic education would be required, and imparted if not already possessed. The aim, in short, would be the development of proficiency, without which any occupation is bound to remain underprivileged, unrecognized and unrewarded."

Most Negro citizens fare very badly in health, in housing and in welfare

IN THE matter of health, the commission pointed to the fact that the national defense program had highlighted the need for increased health facilities in every community, but that much remains to be done for the Negro population in this regard. It said:

"Due to the recently enacted law regarding blood tests for marriage licenses, the serological division of the State Department of Health laboratory expanded to take care of approximately 400,000 persons a year as against a little over 100,000 annually prior to July 1, 1939.

"This facility greatly enhanced the detection of venereal disease in the low-income group, to which the Negro belongs, which had not had means at their disposal for such examinations.

"Statistics for the period 1941-43, reveal that the annual Negro death rate from syphilis is 44.2 per 1,000 Negro population, ranking seventh in cause from all deaths. The white death rate for the same period averaged 7.5 persons per 1,000 white population.

"Since investigation bears out that a large proportion of venereal infections occur among people who are not economically able to bear the cost of medical treatment, the establishment of a treatment center with adequate personnel and equipment in all counties would be most advisable. Rapid treatment centers should also be available to low income groups since the absence of the individual from employment causes increased strain on the income of the family.

"There are no available statistics on the number of hospital beds for Negroes in the state as a whole. In Louisville and Jefferson County, according to Dr. Carl M. Gambill of the State Health Department, there are 301 or 17.4 per cent of the total beds available to Negroes. This is approximately 5.9 beds per 1,000 Negro population.

New Jobs—New Hopes

A comparative death rate of white and Negro population in Kentucky for 1941-43 for selected cases of death, shows that the annual death rate of Negroes from tuberculosis alone is 128.6 per 1,000, as compared to 59 per 1,000 for whites.

"During the war period the necessity of producing needed war material caused the employment of thousands of Negroes who had never been engaged in the type of work they were doing before. The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee caused many of them to be trained and hired in skilled jobs never before attempted. These opportunities have caused new hopes and ambitions in a group, who for the first time, have tasted just the first fruits of a little economic freedom and security. With the curtailment of the F.E.P.C. program, Kentucky may again find many of her citizens on relief rolls unless it institutes measures to insure Negroes an equitable share of the jobs available in her industries.

"The unskilled laborer and the domestic worker constitute the two largest groups of Negro workers in the State. The Social Security Act does not include these in its program. There will be no unemployment compensation for them.

"Although the exact figures are unavailable at this time, we think the percentage of Negroes requesting assistance was much larger proportionately than that of whites because the lack of educational opportunities and employment are patterns affecting Negroes as a whole in Kentucky.

"The segregrated pattern relegates the Negro to inadequately equipped and operated schools where his chances of acquired skills with which he may make a decent wage are nullified. Because the majority of Negroes are untrained for those jobs which offer more pay their chances for making decent living wages are lessened.

Discrimination By Unions

"The discrimination practiced by many unions also mitigates against the employment of Negroes, in plants which have closed shops. This limits the Negroes' earning power. Seniority rights is another problem in his retention of jobs acquired during the war emergency. Being the last persons hired they, naturally, are the first laid off. All of these circumstances enter into the general welfare of the Negro in Kentucky.

"It should be revealing to have reports from other thickly Negro populated sections of the state. The earning capacity or average yearly income of the Negro is $187, compared to the yearly income of $327 for the white citizen in Kentucky. This points to low educational standards, with their concomitant low earning capacity.

"The housing conditions of Negroes in Kentucky are deplorable. The war period has served to aggravate this condition. The Negro suffers handicaps not common to the majority group. Being low wage earners, they fall more in the class of tenants than any other group. Being predominantly renters they fall heir to property that has been vacated by former occupants who were able to secure better houses.

Where Criminals Breed

"Living in houses already in great need of repair, their condition is made worse by the lack of attention by landlords to these rundown conditions. The landlords charge excessive rents, but do not invest any of the income from the rents to property upkeep. This vicious practice blights the communities with slum areas, most of which are populated by Negroes.

"Nothing breeds criminals more than the squalid and unwholesome conditions in which pauperized people are forced to live. The human being has to have an incentive to be good. Unfortunately, this is a matter of cultivation. It is a result of environment influences. Because of the discrimination practiced on the Negro group by law enforcement officers, the statistics for crime and misdemeanors show an overwhelming percentage of arrests and convictions. The Louisville Welfare Report indicates that over 29 per cent of the daily inmate population of the workhouse were Negroes over a three-year period, although the Negro constituted only 13 per cent of the total population."

Educational facilities available for Kentucky Negroes are described as being 'scandalously poor'

WITH regard to education, the commission cited the segregation system, which "contributes much to Kentucky's low rank educationally." The report pointed out that "a survey of Negro schools in Kentucky reveals that educational facilities for Negroes, particularly in the rural areas, is scandalously poor. There is a great need for new school buildings and equipment, for higher standards of Negro teachers, and an educational program adaptable to present day economic and social changes.

"Almost one-fourth of the Negroes now in Kentucky live in Louisville and Jefferson County. Over two-thirds of the colored population lives in 27 counties. The land area of these counties is but one-fourth of the area of the state. For the one-third scattered thinly over the rest of the state, there are critical problems concerning adequate facilities for school and other social services.

"In 1944-45 there were 25,932 Negro children enrolled in the elementary schools of Kentucky. Ten counties enrolled 47 per cent of the Negro elementary school pupils of the state. In twenty counties there were 62.5 per cent of the Negro elementary school pupils in the state. Thirty per cent of the Negro elementary school pupils were in three counties—Jefferson, Christian and Fayette. Twelve counties of the state reported that there were no Negro elementary school pupils enrolled.

"Ten thousand Negro children of school age failed to enroll in any of the public schools of the state during 1942-43. Four thousand Negro pupils dropped out of school before the close of the term and did not return to or enter another school during the year. Only 60 per cent of the Negro children in the first grade and 76 per cent in the second grade completed the year's work. In 1942-43, 36 out of every 100 Negro children who had entered the first grade seven years before were graduated into the eighth grade, while at the same time 33 out of every 100 white children who entered the first grade seven years before were graduated into the eighth grade.

"It is surprising that so many Negro pupils are enrolled in high schools. It shows an eagerness on their part to get an education. It presents a challenge to the people of Kentucky to help them get the most out of their high school experience. In most of the counties that do not have any high schools for Negroes, the local boards of education are attempting to furnish Negroes the adequate educational opportunity by transporting them to high schools in adjoining counties, or by sending them to the boarding high school service provided by the State through a contractual agreement with Lincoln Institute. A long range program should seek to establish several boarding or consolidated high schools in centers as near the homes of pupils as is practicable.

"Kentucky State College, Frankfort, the only State institution on the college level for Negroes, is doing a good job with limited facilities and finances. However, it has barely met the minimum requirements for accreditation by the Southern Association. Its highest enrollment (in 1939) was 682 students, and its lowest (1944) was 310 students.

"It is believed that were Kentucky State College for Negroes inspected at this time, it would lose its rating.

"Whether any graduate work should be offered at Kentucky State College is a question to be faced at some future time. Its consideration is not timely until present undergraduate courses are greatly strengthened and expanded.

"Besides our recommendations of strengthening the departments of the Kentucky State College, granting more funds through legislative and administrative designation for this purpose, centering an enlarged extension service at the Negro college, establishing an experimental sub-station and other facilities for organized research at the latter and permitting advanced qualified Negro farmers or graduate students access to facilities of the main experiment station and university instruction, the committee feels there is need for broadening work among Negroes under the Smith-Hughes vocational funds, administered by the State Board of Education."

The committee's report pointed to these facts:

1. Only 10 Negro high schools have departments of agriculture financed by federal funds.

2. Home economics departments, thus subsidized, exist in only 31 Negro high schools, with 34 teachers.

3. Eighteen Negro high schools, with 27 teachers, have home economics departments which lack this subsidy.

4. Only 24 Negro high schools have trades departments which enjoy this subsidy.

Strengthening the land-grant college—that is, Kentucky State College—in these respects would provide a natural center for annual gatherings of Negro 4-H Club members (incidentally stimulating growth of membership!) and for Negro farmers and farm homemakers generally. No such center now exists.

Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians!

A DIGEST OF THE REPORT OF THE
KENTUCKY COMMISSION ON NEGRO AFFAIRS

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The Kentucky Commission
on
Negro Affairs

LET'S PULL TOGETHER, KENTUCKIANS

Any progress which the State of Kentucky shall make is dependent, not only on an intelligent use of its natural resources but primarily upon the quality of its human resources, and the full employment of the skills of every citizen.

The interdependence of peoples and government is practical democracy. The state's government is dependent upon a responsible citizenry, and every citizen is dependent upon a responsible government for "liberty and pursuit of happiness."

Public taxation for public services is justified to the end that it enables each individual citizen to become an asset to life in our democracy. Therefore, equal opportunities for every citizen in every section of the State, and of every race and creed, is an essential public policy.

These self-evident truths and our democratic ideals admit the inclusion of ALL citizens in the services provided by the state. Therefore, **equal opportunities are essential for Negro citizens in order that they may make their full contribution to the progress of Kentucky.**

Almost a quarter of a million Negroes live in Kentucky. Despite the fact that Kentucky is an agricultural state with 44% of her population residing on farms, **Kentucky's Negroes are city and town dwellers.** Over half are in urban centers, a fourth in non-farm communities, and less than one-fifth live on farms.

The sparsely settled and scattered Negro population in Kentucky and the traditional pattern of segregation for Negroes in schools and other public services has impoverished the services of the State to ALL its people. The second rate services which are provided Negroes, and in many instances the absence of any services at all, have impoverished the capability of Negroes to serve the State. **The high cost of segregation of Negro services** is therefore a two-fold economic burden to the State.

The slave status of the Negro on the farm changed only on the surface. The freedom of the Negro people is circumscribed by the vicious circle which discourages farm ownership and farm management opportunities for lack of adequate training in the science of agriculture.

The migration of Negro people from rural to urban centers in the "pursuit of happiness" and well-being they do not find in their present day rural life is at the root of all the problems of the Negro people. It is expensive and impractical to provide separate health, educational, welfare institutions, and other public services for the scattered few who remain on the farm.

Obviously, the need is for a more attractive and advantageous farm life for Negroes, as well as programs of aid for their adjustment and integration into city life. The removal of segregated barriers to the full enjoyment of the privileges and responsibilities of the democratic way of life is the greatest need of Negro people of Kentucky.

The Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs was created by an executive order of Governor Simeon Willis on September 21, 1944. It was instructed "to obtain and to study all the facts and conditions relating to the economic, educational, housing, health, and other needs for the betterment of Negro citizens of Kentucky." Both races are equally represented in the appointed membership of the Commission.

Here, in condensed form, is what the Commission found and what it recommends to be done about it.

CITIZENSHIP

These more than 200,000 Negro citizens of Kentucky were among the first colored people in the South to obtain political freedom; but, as citizens, they are hampered from achieving the full development of their abilities and from contributing these abilities in their full potential to the welfare of the State.

Because of this, the Commission recommends:

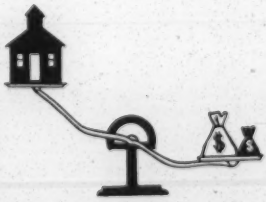
1. That the State Government require non-discrimination in state contracts and other public projects, with stipulation in bids also that Negro workers should constitute a proportion of skilled artisans on these projects.

2. The creation of a special commission, composed of members of the General Assembly, to develop anti-discrimination legislation.

3. The enactment of appropriate legislation to repeal and abolish Kentucky's present "Jim Crow" laws on railroads operating in Kentucky.

4. The modification or repeal of the Day Law insofar as it relates to post-graduate education and in the professional schools by nullifying discriminatory practices which now deny Negroes educational opportunities which are provided within the State for other students.

EDUCATION



Kentucky maintains by law an expensive separate school system for Negroes, but because the Negro population outside of the cities is sparsely scattered, only 16 of the State's 41 counties can ever hope to have a first-rate (Class A) high school for Negroes. The typical elementary school for Negro pupils is poorly constructed, inadequately equipped, and understaffed. The State supervisor of Negro education has said that many of the State's Negro high schools are "characterized by inadequacy of equipment, absence of supplies, want of curriculum.

The Commission recommends:

1. That aid for education be sought from the Federal Government in order to raise the level of educational opportunities within the State; that the administration of such funds provide its fair apportionment to racial minorities, and that Negro personnel be employed in the distribution of such funds.

2. That, in order to stimulate improvement of conditions affecting Negro schools, all the schools of the county and independent school district be accredited as a system of schools rather than as separate schools.

3. That all differentials in teachers' salaries, due to race, or to subterfuges therefor, be eliminated immediately.

4. That the position of Assistant Supervisor of Negro Education, employing a Negro educator, be made permanent.

5. That adequate funds be provided for the expansion of West Kentucky Vocational School and Lincoln Institute as a more adequate boarding high school service for rural youth residing in 58 counties where no high schools are available to Negroes. That there be developed in each of these centers strong courses in agriculture and vocations.

6. That adequate funds for the physical development and equipment of West Kentucky Vocational Training School be provided, and that a strong program of vocational training be developed in it for the Western section of the State and at Lincoln Institute for the Eastern end of the State.

7. That there be appointed a Negro as member of the State Board of Education to interpret to that Board the special problems of Negro education.

8. That there be made available the funds necessary to provide educational opportunities equal to those provided at the University of Kentucky, at Kentucky State College, for Negro students in every area of instruction in which adequate enrollment can be expected or may occur.

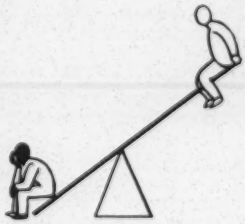
9. That the out-of-state scholarship plan be eliminated as soon as equality of educational opportunity exists within the State, but that during the remaining period of its operation, a maximum of $350 per person per year, rather than the present $175, be granted.

10. That any Negro qualified to pursue a course of instruction of graduate grade or on the professional level, which course is not available at the Kentucky State College, may pursue such course of instruction at any educational institution in this State at which the course is offered. In such cases the provisions of K.R.S. 158.020 shall not apply.

11. That there be developed a coordinated program of education for Lincoln Institute, West Kentucky Vocational Training School, Kentucky State College, and possibly Louisville Municipal College.

EMPLOYMENT

The Negro in Kentucky, as in the rest of the South, is still the marginal worker. His average annual buying income in Kentucky in 1940 was $187, as compared with $361 for white workers. The Negro lacks many industrial skills and is generally denied the vocational training that could provide these. He is discriminated against in employment in public and private commerce and industry in the State. Negroes make up more than half of all workers in household employment in Kentucky, but there is no training provided for this kind of work.



The Commission recommends:

1. More technical training in schools for adults and within industries to develop skills of Negro workers.

2. Labor union officers should share with management the responsibility for obtaining white workers' approval for the employment of Negroes, and impart democratic standards and practices to the rank and file of their membership generally.

3. Employers are urged to give opportunities to Negroes from which custom has barred them: i.e., in sales personnel, on telephone switchboards, operators of street cars and buses, etc.

4. Inclusion of small farmers, tenant croppers and household workers of both races in provisions of the Social Security System.

5. Development of a system of written leases which include reimbursement for unexpended improvements of land and dwellings and acknowledgment of certain practices to stand in lieu of rent.

6. Rural housing improvement programs and community recreational activities for both races.

7. Acceptance of Negro farmers as members of farm organizations and cooperatives.

8. Legislative action necessary to designate Kentucky State College for Negroes as recipient of funds for agricultural education and experimentation received by the State from Federal sources, and provide such additional state funds as are necessary to support (1) a more adequate extension service and (2) an experimental sub-station and other facilities for organized research.

9. Broadening work among Negroes under Smith-Hughes vocational funds administered by the State Department of Education, including 4-H Club work.

10. A Household Workers' training institution which would become a center of education, information, and interpretation of proper standards to both employers and workers. Certificates of completion of courses from responsible institutions should guarantee competence and dependability of household workers and give such employment the dignity it deserves.

11. The inclusion of courses in business practices in Negro schools and adult instruction in centers where the Negro population justifies such preparation under the supervision of the State Department of Vocational Education.

HEALTH

The good health of our citizens is an asset to the welfare of the State. The Negro death rate during 1941-1943 was almost twice the death rate for white citizens. Tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza rates among Negroes are more than twice as high as among whites. The infant mortality rate for Negroes (73.9) is much higher than the rate for white infants (48.8 per 1,000 live births); about three times as many Negro mothers die in childbirth as do white mothers. The death rate from syphilis is reported by the State Department of health to be 489 per cent higher for Negroes (44.2) than among whites (7.5).

The Commission recommends:

1. An education program to combat the lack of information regarding health laws, and that provisions be made for courses in health education in the State supported schools, to be taught by qualified personnel and that adequate provision be made for the development of a physical fitness program in these institutions.

2. In order that the State may attract more Negro doctors, provisions should be made for professional post-graduate and in-service training in all tax-supported institutions for physicians, dentists, and nurses within the State.

3. Favorable consideration for the employment of Negro physicians, nurses, social workers, inspectors and other appropriate Negro personnel by county boards of health where Negro population justifies such employment.

4. That Negroes be appointed to the governing boards of the tuberculosis sanatoria.

5. Negro professional workers be employed in official or voluntary agencies where such employment would contribute materially in the solution of health problems vitally affecting the Negro race.

6. A subsidy of $25,000 per year for the Red Cross Hospital, Louisville, Kentucky, in order that immediate provision may be made for establishing a training school for nurses, and for the care of out-of-county indigent Negro patients.

HOUSING AND WELFARE

Housing facilities for Negroes, both urban and rural, are very inadequate. In 1940, more than one-third of all Negro-occupied homes in Kentucky and approximately one-fourth of all white-occupied homes were in need of major repairs. Better housing is badly needed. There is also a great need to expand social services to the economically insecure people of the State, many of whom are Negroes. And the statistics of arrests for crimes and misdemeanors show an overwhelming proportion of Negroes. Louisville, for example, reports that Negroes form 29% of the daily inmate population of the workhouse, although they make up only 13% of the population.

The Commission recommends:

1. A home for dependent Negro children separate from delinquent children that they may escape the stigma attached to their being together, said State institution being adjacent to and sharing in the use of psychiatrists and other personnel employed at Kentucky Home School, Lyndon, Kentucky.

2. Public schools at the expense of the State or County should be provided for dependent and delinquent Negro children with standards comparable to other tax supported schools.

3. Trained Negro personnel should be employed in the Welfare agencies throughout the State.

4. A training program for Negro inmates should be instituted in all the State penal institutions.

5. That a study of the legal aspects of restricted covenants in titles to real estate be made to determine what form of legislation may be necessary to eliminate such practice in Kentucky.

THE CHALLENGE

The spirit of Kentucky's motto: "United we stand and divided we fall", must be more honestly applied to race relations in our state and in America to make our democracy real and keep it from taking the road to revolution that so many other democracies have taken. It is essential to world peace that all races of men must learn to get along together. America has a great opportunity to demonstrate this for other nations. Kentucky can lead the way in the South.

Changing laws, applying efficiency and idealism is not enough. A lasting social and economic peace can only be built on moral foundations of honesty and unselfishness — where men of all races learn to work together through a common obedience to God and have a vision for their part in making their nation great.

This statement was drafted by Harold C. Fleming, then SRC Director in consultation with Clarence Jordan and others at Koinonia Farms and with Emory F. Via who had served as liason between the Farms and a group of Atlanta based agencies.

STATEMENT BY KOINONIA FARM

April 15, 1957

For Immediate Use

In Presentments published in the Americus Times-Recorder of April 5, 1957 the Grand Jury of Sumter County has gone to great lengths to discredit the honesty, sincerity, and religious beliefs of the community at Koinonia Farm. We take this means of presenting an answer to the people of Americus and Sumter County. It is a shocking thing that the Grand Jury, the official body responsible for just inquiry on behalf of the citizens of this county, should conduct so apparently biased and unfair an investigation as this one. It should be clear to anyone, however uninitiated, who reads these Presentments that the Grand Jury showed no concern whatever for a fair and balanced presentation of the facts. On the contrary it collected and interpreted to the discredit of Koinonia every possible piece of information that could be twisted to that purpose. And by deliberate selection it omitted all of those readily ascertainable facts which reflect to the credit of Koinonia.

We are forced to conclude that these misrepresentations are largely the result of bias and pre-judgments. In evidence of this we cite the fact that Solicitor General Charles Burgamy, who was responsible for assembling the facts and presenting them to the Grand Jury, on August 3, 1956, was quoted at length by the Albany Journal in a front-page article headed, "Solicitor Asks Revival of K.K.K. at States' Rights Meet Here." We quote from this newspaper account:

"The Dougherty County Chapter of the States' Rights Council met at 8:00 o'clock Tuesday night in the Dougherty County court house to hear Solicitor General Charles Burgamy of Americus, Georgia, tell the gathering of approximately 200 persons that he favored a return to the Ku Klux Klan... Mr. Burgamy talked for approximately one hour, strongly attacking integration and race mixing. At the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Burgamy said 'Maybe that's what we need now is for the right kind of a Klan to start up again and use a buggy whip on some of these race mixers. I believe that would stop them.'"

In this same story, Mr. Burgamy is quoted as commenting on the bombing of the roadside market at Koinonia Farm, which had occurred eleven days before his speech. The Albany Journal states: "Mr. Burgamy also intimated that it was possible for the participants in the Farm's cooperative and racially mixed agricultural program to have planted the bomb as a means of gaining sympathy and public attention." This shows that, long before most of the violence had occurred, Mr. Burgamy was putting forward the charge that people at Koinonia themselves were responsible for the violence directed against their persons and their property. If this were an honest conviction and not simply a pre-judgment, could Mr. Burgamy have failed over the course of many months and many acts of violence to have gathered proof of guilt by members of the Farm? Instead of this, many months later Mr. Burgamy has used the prestige of the Grand Jury to distort the facts to fit his preconceived theory.

We think it should also be noted that the Clerk of the Grand Jury, Tommy Hooks III, had previously publicly stated his animosity and bias against Koinonia Farm. In an article in Newsweek magazine of February 25, 1957, Mr. Hooks is quoted as follows: "I had $25,000 to $30,000 worth of their insurance....I cut them off because I didn't like to do business with people like them." This not only shows bias, but misrepresents facts. Actually, Mr. Hooks cancelled insurance with Koinonia Farm totalling only $1,300.

It is astounding that, in the findings of what was supposed to be an objective investigation, no mention whatever is made of the wide-spread economic boycott practiced against Koinonia Farm. Whatever the feelings of the Grand Jury about this boycott, it is an important part of the picture and should have been a matter of information and, we think, concern to the citizens of Sumter County.

The following is a point by point answer to the allegations made against Koinonia Farm in the Grand Jury's Presentments.

1. The most serious and most unfair accusation contained in the Presentments is that members of Koinonia Farm themselves have been responsible for the violence. This is absolutely untrue and cruelly unjust. Law enforcement officers have had full access to the grounds of Koinonia Farm at all times and the Farm is open to any kind of investigation that they may wish to make. Surely no reasonable person could believe that these acts of violence, involving a number of weapons of different types, could have been perpetrated by persons at Koinonia Farm without evidence to that effect being discovered by law enforcement officers who, by their own testimony, claim to have suspected that the violence was self inflicted. The Grand Jury itself declares that "from the standpoint of legal evidence" it "cannot state what person or persons committed the violence." But instead of resting on this factual and objective statement, it then proceeds to present a great mass of contrived and inconclusive detail designed to convict Koinonia of the violence in the court of public opinion. This we feel to be a serious and dangerous breach of trust by this important official body.

As to the specific incidents discussed:

a. Evidence that the flood lights were in fact shot out does not have to rest on the testimony of Koinonia members alone. Although the lights were replaced immediately after they were shot out in order not to leave the area in darkness, the marks of the buck shot may still be clearly seen in the reflectors of the flood lights.

b. The Presentments state that the evidence makes it impossible for John Eustice to have been fired upon in the manner indicated in his testimony. One of the main reasons given is that the damage to the flashlight he was holding could not have been caused by a shotgun blast without striking him as well. Neither John Eustice nor any other resident of Koinonia Farm testified to the Grand Jury or said at any other time that this was the result of a shotgun blast. On the contrary, all indications are that the shots in question were fired by pistol or rifle. The Grand Jury nowhere explains why it concluded that a shotgun must have been involved,

but it proceeds to build up a mass of contradictions based on this conclusion. The fact that bullets struck the flashlight from different angles is also alleged to present "impossible" contradictions in John Eustice's testimony. While we are not ballistics experts, we offer the commonsense explanation that John Eustice would most likely have moved in the course of the shooting and that the position of the flashlight in his hand would logically have changed.

It is said that no broken glass was found at the scene of this shooting. We cannot explain, of course, what was found or not found by law enforcement officers investigating the scene at the time. However, even after the Grand Jury Presentments were published, a member of Koinonia Farm searched the area and found a portion of the broken automobile mirror.

It is further said that examination of the flashlight showed evidence of powder burns, which would have been impossible at the distance at which the shots were fired according to John Eustice's testimony. It is impossible for us to answer this allegation. All of the evidence was turned over to a representative of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. We were disturbed to learn that immediately after returning from his investigations at Koinonia, and before the flashlight was submitted to the State laboratory, this G.B.I. agent expressed himself to Lee Griggs, reporter for Time, as convinced the whole incident was staged by Koinonia persons and falsified by them. The agent said it was his idea that Koinonia people knew the reporter was coming, and wanted to create some news for him. This we felt to be a grave pre-judgment of the situation by an official charged with objective investigation. An account of this exchange was given to us in writing by the newspaper reporter involved and is on file at Koinonia Farm.

c. Significance is attached to the fact that members of Koinonia used the word "dynamite" in referring to the explosion which damaged the roadside market. No such significance is warranted. We refer to the market as having been dynamited only because that is the explosive most commonly available and most commonly used to cause an explosion. We did not and do not have any knowledge based on evidence of the type of explosive used.

d. The statement is made, seemingly with some adverse implication, that many residents who sleep at Koinonia Farm were not awakened during "any" of the acts of violence, "although living on said premises and in some instances in the same house." Unfortunately, violence has been frequent at Koinonia Farm in recent months, and there has been no practice of having the night watchman awaken everybody in the community when it occurs. Some of the acts of violence have taken place at great distance from the residences - in the case of the roadside market, approximately five miles. Moreover, like most farmers, Koinonians sleep soundly and, in winter, windows are usually closed. On some occasions, the entire community has been awakened, as on the night when ten or twelve blasts of shotgun fire were directed at the community. There has been no instance when a house was fired upon without its occupants all being awakened. We cannot account for any testimony on which the Grand Jury could have based its statement to the contrary, since Clarence Jordan was the only occupant of such a house to appear before the Grand Jury, and he and everybody else in the house was awake immediately after it was fired upon.

2. It is stated that Koinonia Farm has gained an economic advantage from the violence directed against it. This allegation is completely unfounded. In the interest of truth, we are perfectly willing to have a professionally qualified certified public accountant examine the books of Koinonia Farm and make public an audit thereof. It is true that after the bombing of the roadside market on July 23, 1956, many sympathetic friends did send in gifts to restore the damage, and in order to keep accurate records of these gifts, a column with that heading was established in the books of Koinonia Farm. Prior to that time, Koinonia had been practically self-sustaining and had not looked to gifts as a means of support. We are grateful to the many kind people in Sumter County, throughout the state, and elsewhere who have wished to assist Koinonia Farm in this time of great difficulty. The Presentments refer to total gifts and donations of over $27,500. Actually only about $20,000 of this amount was contributed by persons outside the community, the remainder representing amounts turned over to the common funds of the Farm by new members when they joined the community. There is nothing insidious about the fact that the very real violence against Koinonia should have prompted persons of good will to offer such assistance to the Farm. Nor is the amount given a large one when one considers that $13,000 worth of property damage, the productive energies of members dissipated in meeting legal harassment, boycotts, the moving of two families outside the area because of danger to their lives, and the disruptions caused by the violence, have greatly reduced farm income. Also, all members and residents of Koinonia must be fed, clothed, and sheltered out of the proceeds of the Farm. The overhead expenditure, including the basic living needs of residents, is approximately $3,000 per month alone. In addition, several notes have become due and payable because of our inability to maintain insurance. These heavy expenditures readily explain why, in spite of seemingly large receipts from gifts, our bank balance was only $1,600 at the end of February.

The Presentments attempt to show that the bombing of the roadside market led to great profits. It is not true that, after the violence began, the market began to have monthly sales of $7,000. The gross sales - not net profit - reached this figure in only one month, December, 1956, when orders in connection with Christmas produced these gross sales. In January, 1957, our gross sales were only $1,730.21. To suggest, as the Grand Jury does, that the market was earning twelve times as much as before the violence is a serious distortion. For example, in October, 1955, our gross sales were $1,297.12, whereas in October, 1956, in the midst of the violence, our gross sales were only $477.06. In the nine months of operation since the violence began (July, 1956 through March, 1957) our gross sales have actually averaged $1,800.62 per month, which clearly refutes the Grand Jury's charge that we averaged $7,000 per month. The operation was suspended entirely on April 10, since it could not usefully be carried on longer following the total destruction of the market. Even if the Grand Jury's account were accepted, who could believe that Koinonia itself would destroy a property that was yielding so much revenue?

The question of insurance claims on the roadside market destroyed by explosives is also completely misrepresented. After the damage, estimated at $3,000, caused by the initial bombing in July, 1956, an insurance recovery of slightly over $1,000 was received. After this, the insurance

was cancelled. Later, after the market was repaired, more insurance was obtained. Then, after the market was totally destroyed, in January, 1957, a claim was filed, but the insurance company denied that it was liable for vandalism and has made no settlement. On total losses of approximately $13,000 from the bombing and destruction of the roadside market and other farm property, we have recovered slightly over $1,000 in insurance.

3. It is stated that Koinonia Farm discriminates against Negro residents for the gain of a few. As we have already pointed out, it is completely and legally impossible for any individual to profit personally from the proceeds of Koinonia Farm. The fact that race is not a consideration in the treatment of any person at Koinonia Farm is evident for all to see. There are three stages of membership - novices, provisional members, and full members. It is true that no Negroes have become full members. In recent years, only three Negroes have applied for even this first stage of membership, and this was granted. As yet no Negro has applied for full membership and none has been denied, or would be denied because of race.

It is utterly false that members of any one of the three stages, Negro or white, are excluded from full participation in the business affairs of the corporation. Novices, provisional members, and full members all may attend business meetings and all have an equal voice in decisions affecting business matters. Only in spiritual matters do full members alone make decisions.

4. It is stated again and again that Koinonia Farm is a profit-making venture. This is utterly untrue and completely ignores the testimony given by members of Koinonia Farm in explanation of the financial nature of the Farm. Koinonia Farm is a non-profit corporation, based on religious principles, so recognized in its charter, and so recognized by the Federal Government. The Farm has an official letter of tax exemption from the United States Treasury Department. As in the case of any non-profit corporation, no profit accrues to the benefit of any member of individual. Members receive no wages, salary, dividends, bonuses, or other compensation. Living expenses and personal needs of members and visitors to the Farm are met by the corporation. The same conditions apply to all persons at Koinonia Farm, member and non-member, white and Negro, male and female, young and old, alike. The Grand Jury cites the fact that it had before it a Negro from Koinonia who received no salary or wages. This is true, just as it is also true that Clarence Jordan and the other white members of Koinonia receive no salary or wages.

Even though the Grand Jury had before it the books of Koinonia Farm, it made the utterly false statement that Koinonia "has a net worth of $150,000 and has made a profit of over $150,000" during its fourteen years of operation. Grand Jurors circulated among themselves and examined a record of Koinonia's liabilities, or debts, which totaled $59,577.70 as of January 1, 1957. Yet their Presentments make no mention whatsoever of this figure, and do not take it into consideration in speaking of our net worth.

It is true that the total value of Koinonia in land, buildings, machinery, livestock, growing crops, furniture, tools, and other property has been estimated at $150,000. But it seems more than just an oversight that

the Grand Jury failed to subtract the indebtedness of almost $60,000 from this amount. Nor did it point out that of the remaining $90,000, more than half is due to the inflation of values over the past fourteen years, and that the other half came largely from gifts of friends who helped launch Koinonia Farm and from members who have joined and put their assets into the common treasury.

Much is made of the fact that no members of Koinonia Farm have paid personal income taxes, federal or state. The truth is that like many other citizens, they do not have an income large enough to be subject to tax. Clarence Jordan, who is mentioned by name, has filed returns every year, despite the fact that the size of his income did not call for any tax to be paid. It is unreasonable to suppose that the Internal Revenue Service of the Federal Government would ignore willful disregard of the income tax laws of this country. We further state that Koinonia Farm paid all state and county taxes on its property claiming no homestead or other exemption.

In its vigorous attempt to prove that Koinonia has profited by the violence against it, the Presentments refer repeatedly to "profits," contributions, and income. No mention at all is made of the very heavy disbursements made during the same period for operating expenses of the Farm, the daily needs of the members of the community, and the onerous expenses caused by legal harassment, economic boycott, and the violence itself. All of this information, duly shown on the records of Koinonia Farm, was before the Grand Jury.

5. Statements are made in the Presentments to the effect that Koinonia Farm has misrepresented the facts to the press and in its newsletters in order to gain sympathy and support. The only untrue statement made by Koinonians that we are aware of - and that one was made unknowingly and inadvertently - is that the sheriff did not come out to investigate the burning of the house at Koinonia Farm. We did not see the sheriff at that time and thus had no knowledge of his visit or visits. After we learned from his statement that he had visited the scene, we apologized to him for our unwitting error.

The allegation that Koinonia initiated newspaperpublicity at the time of the first instance of violence in July, 1956, is completely false. This act of violence was publicized by the Americus Times-Recorder without any origination or prompting from Koinonia Farm. Later, as other acts of violence occurred, the Associated Press and other wire services and news publications began to call the Farm, and a number of reporters came to the Farm in connection with stories that they were preparing. We have been requested by news services to notify them when violence occurs, and we have complied with this request. However, it is our policy and practice to notify the press only after the sheriff has been notified. We deny utterly and completely the Grand Jury's suggestion that residents of Koinonia Farm have made a practice of calling the press before notifying the sheriff.

After the violence began, Koinonia Farm instituted its newsletter in order to keep close friends and relatives, who were naturally concerned, informed of developments. The mailing list was approximately 300 at the beginning. Since that time we have added to the list those people who have

written letters expressing sympathy and concern, who have ordered our produce, who have contributed to the needs of the Farm, or who have requested that they be added to the mailing list. The list compiled in this way now stands at approximately 2,500.

The untrue statements which the Grand Jury alleges were made in the newsletter and to the press are not specified, so that we are unable to give a specific answer to this allegation. We can only say that we think we have done an honest and factual job of presenting information. All of our newsletters are on file and we will be glad to have anybody view them and judge for themselves whether or not we have been truthful and accurate.

6. The Grand Jury's Presentments state that Clarence Jordan and other members of Koinonia Farm made false statements under oath before the Grand Jury. This we did not do. If we had done so, we would be guilty of perjury, and it would be clearly within the Grand Jury's power to indict us for this offense. Again, the Grand Jury seems to prefer to indict and try the members of Koinonia Farm in a court of public opinion, rather than through due process of law.

7. The Grand Jury attempts to imply that there is some connection between Koinonia Farm and the Communist Party. To do this they once again resort to mis-representation and distortion of the facts and of the nature of Koinonia Farm. Koinonia's sustained witness over 14 years to non-violence is in direct conflict with the Communist philosophy of violence. The Grand Jury itself affirms this fact by stating that members of Koinonia have suffered imprisonment rather than take up arms against their fellow men. Testimony of members of Koinonia is grossly distorted. The position of Koinonia regarding visitors to the farm described to the Grand Jury was clearly expressed in a letter to Attorney General Eugene Cook, as follows: "We are a Christian Community and as such welcome all comers with friendliness and open mindedness. To our knowledge no member of the Communist party has ever visited Koinonia Farm. However, we receive a constant stream of guests and we make no investigation into their political affiliation either before they come or after. Should a Communist Party member visit us here he would be welcomed in Christian concern, just as would a member of the Methodist Church, the Republican party, the Americus Chamber of Commerce or the White Citizens Council. But such welcome would not signify any affiliation with or ideological agreement with any of these, just as our recent receiving of the Ku Klux Klan did not signify agreement or affiliation with them. In fact we are diametrically opposed in viewpoint and purpose."

The Presentments say that the Southern Conference Educational Fund is the successor to an organization "established to be communistic" and that it is significant that the name of Clarence L. Jordan appears upon the list of the Board of Directors of that organization. The facts are that shortly before the Grand Jury investigation, Clarence Jordan was notified that he had been elected to the Board of Directors of the SCEF. At that time, he had not yet responded to this election to board membership, and subsequently he has notified the SCEF that he cannot accept this responsibility at the present time because of Koinonia's need to devote all of its energies to the spiritual struggle now facing it.

We wish to make it clear that we have no reason to believe that the SCEF is a Communist organization, and we note that the Grand Jury presents no specific evidence to support such a conclusion.

Only the names of a few of the directors of the SCEF were read to Clarence Jordan at the Grand Jury, and he testified, truthfully, that he was not personally acquainted with them. He had not attended any board meeting or any other function of the organization. He had read its publications on occasion and knew several of its directors (not mentioned by the Grand Jury) as well respected individuals. Due to the prominence of Clarence Jordan's name in recent developments, it is certainly understandable that he might be known to others whom he himself does not know.

It is true that Koinonia's summer children's camp, after it was barred in Sumter County, was transferred to the grounds of the Highlander Folk School. However, the camp remained under the complete direction and supervision of Koinonia Farm. There is no evidence to our knowledge that Myles Horton "has for long years been known to be a member of the Communist Party." And, again, the Grand Jury has produced no evidence to support such a charge, in spite of the fact that it has been vigorously denied by Myles Horton in a statement published in the Americus Times-Recorder.

In any case, these charges are completely irrelevant, since the camp was simply held on the grounds of Highlander Folk School and no part in its conduct or direction was played by the personnel of Highlander.

We think it is noteworthy that the Grand Jury itself feels constrained to point out that it has been expertly advised that its charges would be "insufficient to convict of Communism in a court of law." It then invites the public, nevertheless, to accept the wholly false conclusion that "there exists extremely close kinship between the Communist Party and Koinonia Farm, Inc."

8. Finally, we are disturbed that the Grand Jury sees fit to sit in judgment on the sincerity of the Christian convictions of members of Koinonia Farm and others. This seems to us to be a dangerous abuse of authority by a secular agency of the state. Do the people of Americus and Sumter County wish to grant to the Grand Jury the power to pass on the Christian sincerity of other citizens? Like all human beings, we are subject to frailty, but we are earnestly striving to follow the teachings of Jesus as we understand them.

Another evidence of the Grand Jury's attempt to interfere with the free expression of Christian conviction is its censure of the Americus and Sumter County Ministerial Association for its resolution deploring violence. Apart from the propriety of this criticism, we cannot see how any reasonable person could object to either the spirit or the content of the resolution, the full text of which is as follows:

"We deplore and condemn the use of violence in any form against property and/or persons because of their personal beliefs which do not endanger the rights of others. As Christians and citizens we hold the right to disagree with others concerning their beliefs without forcing their agreement or yielding ours.

"We further condemn lawlessness in any form and call upon every citizen and the forces of law to do all things necessary to protect the rights, properties, and lives of others in our community, state, and nation.

"In these difficult days in which many nations and people look to these United States for moral as well as political leadership, it behooves each citizen - and especially each Christian - to assert positive efforts to strengthen the cause of civic righteousness."

We admit that we are conscientiously opposed to all forms of violence, including war. We feel that war and violence are opposed to Jesus' gospel of love and forgiveness. We believe that our greatest contribution to the welfare of the nation is to walk as closely as possible in the way of Jesus.

We wish to express our gratitude to the people of Americus and Sumter County for their friendly and courteous personal relationships with us. It has been an extremely difficult and trying time for everyone, and we feel that on the whole the people have been unusually calm. Some have expressed sincere regret that pressures upon them have forced them to participate unwillingly in the boycott. We also wish to commend the Americus and Sumter County Ministerial Association for its courageous support of law and decency, an action which has been looked upon with great favor by many other religious bodies and groups throughout the state and nation.

We also note that even though the editorial policy of the Americus Times-Recorder has been opposed to Koinonia Farm, this newspaper has maintained the highest traditions of American journalism in its fair and objective reporting of incidents relating to Koinonia.

We express our sympathetic understanding of the difficult position of the sheriff and other law enforcement officers. Under such circumstances, few people would covet their jobs.

Finally, we wish to reaffirm our faith in God and in the essential goodness of every human being which He has created. We are convinced that as His spirit broods over us we shall be less inclined toward strife and more inclined toward peace. It is our belief that the solution to the problems of the South - and the nation - does not lie in violence, force and coercion. It lies in the redemptive love of God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

The Grand Jury has called attention only to the few incidents of violence about which they could raise some question reflecting upon Koinonia. We would like to present a complete list of the acts of violence committed against Koinonia and to call attention to the fact that the Grand Jury has failed to report to the public the great number of acts in which it was clear that Koinonia had no part. The violence in chronological order is as follows:

In June, 1956, a heavy caliber pistol, estimated from the slug to be a .44, was fired into the roadside market.

July 23, an explosion, described in the Americus Times-Recorder as dynamite, wrecked the roadside market. Damage was estimated at $3,000.

November 27, a newly acquired refrigerator-meat case was destroyed by buck shot.

December 26, the mechanism of a recently purchased electric fuel pump was destroyed by heavy caliber bullets.

January 1, 1957, the sign at the entrance of Koinonia Farm was hit by gun fire.

January 14, an explosion and resulting fire completely destroyed the roadside market and all of its equipment. Damage was estimated at $7,000.

January 18, a dwelling house on the far side of the farm, not being used, was burned to the ground. The same night an attempt was made to burn the barn of a sympathetic neighbor.

January 29, a speeding car raked the residence nearest the highway with automatic gun fire, complete with tracer bullets, narrowly missing Ross Anderson and an overnight visitor from Michigan. One slug entered the top of a car, just over the head of Harry Atkinson.

February 1, ten to twelve shotgun blasts were fired from two cars into the cluster of residences, sprinkling with shots children playing on the volley ball court. One shot, presumed by the sheriff to be .22 rifle bullet, entered a window and narrowly missed eleven year old Ora Ruth Browne.

February 9, a cross was burned before the home of Top Wilson, who rented his house from Koinonia and worked for wages.

February 14, a cross was burned before the home of the parents of a resident of Koinonia, and another before the home of a neighbor who made frequent, friendly visits to Koinonia.

February 15, two floodlights placed along our property facing the highway, were shot out with buck shot.

March 5, John Eustice, who was investigating a prowling car in the vicinity of our fences which had been repeatedly cut, was fired upon. The flashlight he held in his hand was hit and two shots passed through the side view mirror of the car beside which he was standing.

March 20, buckshot was fired into the Top Wilson home.

March 22, high powered rifle shots, presumed by the sheriff to be a 32-20, were fired into the residential cluster, one shot passing through three rooms of the Jordan home and narrowly missing Eleanor Jordan.

March 26, as Koinonia watchman John Gabor drove along the highway investigating a car which had stopped beside our hog fence, two shots were fired from behind him, both missing, by occupants of the car.

April 9, several shots were fired from an automobile on the highway, several hundred yards from the residences.

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

First Newspaper West of the Alleghenies
Gazette Established 1786. Post Established 1842. Combined 1927
PAUL BLOCK, PUBLISHER, 1927-1941

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1959

Northerner Backs Segregation

A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal

By John Lofton
Post-Gazette Staff Writer

IN TODAY'S issue of the Post-Gazette there is an advertisment consisting of a letter to President Eisenhower criticizing the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision. Carleton Putnam, the writer of the letter, is presented by the ad's sponsors as "a member of a famous New England family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia." These credentials are obviously intended to convey the impression that Mr. Putnam's segregationist views carry the weight of high, nonpartisan authority.

* * *

BY WAY of demonstrating that Mr. Putnam's preachments are something less than Olympian, we would like to quote in answer to them the comments of an observer who is much closer to the subject and who, we think, has credentials which make him a far more creditable authority. He is James McBride Dabbs, a member of a family that has lived in the South for 150 years, a native of South Carolina, owner and operator of a plantation employing Negroes, a graduate of the Uninversity of South Carolina and of Clark University, author of the recent book, *The Southern Heritage* (Knopf), from which we quote. Excerpts from Putnam and Dabbs follow:

Mr. Putnam: "It is my personal conviction that the local [Southern] customs in this case were 'hardened by time' for a very good reason, and that while they may not . . . have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court."

Mr. Dabbs: "There's no doubt they [Negroes] are more poorly equipped than the whites. But, now, having made this probably correct observation, we conclude that nature, or God, made them so. This is a most happy conclusion. For it's perfectly clear that the inferior position of the Negro in the South is due either to God or to us; and as it's doubtful democratic and Christian doctrine for us to admit the responsibility, we are happy to pass it on to God."

Mr. Putnam: "Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court."

Mr. Dabbs: "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been a part of the Constitution for that length of time [90 years] and, however adopted, are built into the conscience of the nation. True, the judges are just getting around to pinpointing their meaning, but the meaning has been there for any man to read, and as time has turned the pages the meaning has become increasingly clear."

Mr. Putnam: "In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word 'association' here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please.)"

* * *

MR. DABBS: "The Court didn't order anybody to 'integrate' anything; it merely said we should stop separating school children on the basis of race. . . . It's we who have substituted 'mixing' for 'stop separating.' . . . Negroes merely want the rights and privileges of American citizens. But desiring an equal chance with us at success isn't the same as wanting to sit with us in school and church."

Mr. Putnam: "Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combination of character and intelligence which is civilization."

Mr. Dabbs: ". . . with top-flight Negroes in practically every field, it seems rather late to raise the old question of the implied inferiority of the Negro because of the lack of a modern civilization in Africa. Yet the question is raised and should be answered briefly. First, though Africa has never had an industrial civilization—a Western creation of yesterday—the native Africans of the slaving period, especially those who were brought to America, were not savages but pre-literate folk with a complex agricultural, social, and legal society, with skilled workers in iron and other metals, and with great artists, especially in sculpture and wood-carving. Indeed, the invention of iron-smelting may have been brought to Europe from Africa."

Mr. Putnam: "I would emphatically support improvement of education in Negro schools, if and where it is inferior. Equality of opportunity and equality before the law, when not strained to cover other situations, are acceptable ideals because they provide the chance to earn and to progress . . ."

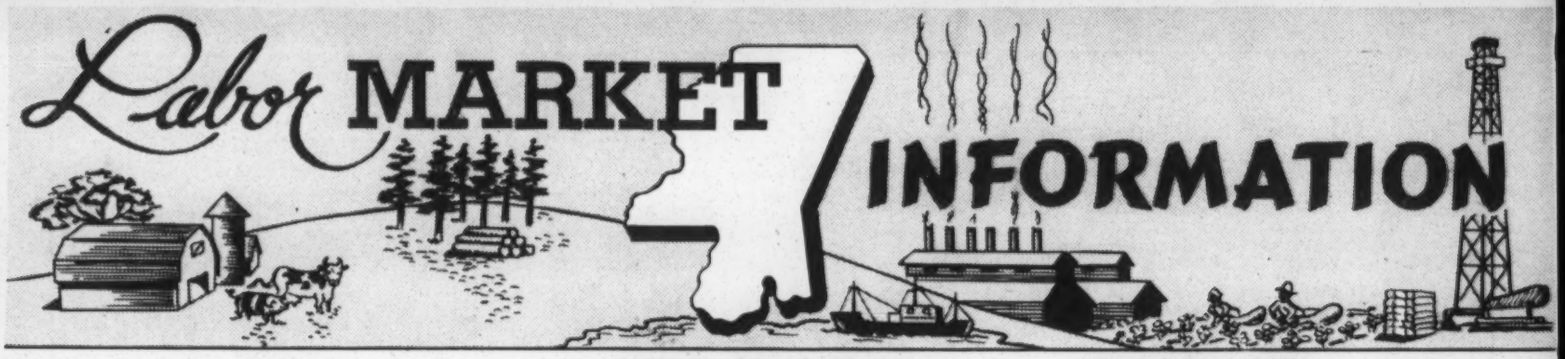
Mr. Dabbs: "We overlooked the 'equal' that Plessy v. Ferguson said they [Negroes] should have, and thus caused them and the courts to ponder its absence until now the "separate' has been outlawed. . . . They now have the right to desegregated schools, just like other people, and let the law forget race."

* * *

MR. PUTNAM: ". . . for 94 years . . . the North has been trying to force the black man down the white Southerner's throat, and it is a miracle that relations between the races in the South have progressed as well as they have."

Mr. Dabbs: "Whatever our dreamed-of Southern society, of slavery or segregation, might have become if left alone, it was not, it could not be, left alone in the dynamic world in which it was established. It would have been changed whether anyone, inside or outside, ever thought about changing it; it would have been changed by general forces moving in the world."

So speaks James McBride Dabbs. For a full, eloquent and knowledgeable answer to Carleton Putnam, readers should give *The Southern Heritage* a complete reading.



McComb, Mississippi September 1952

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT The number of persons actively seeking work through this office at the end of August showed a sharp drop from July, with the lowest number since April 1952. This is due largely to re-hiring by two plants, which have been operating on a curtailed program for some 60 to 90 days. A large number of those workers who were laid off in late June and July have returned to work, and active applications are expected to drop to a still lower level by October. Students re-entering school will account for some decrease in this item.

CLAIMS DECREASING Initial claims showed a similar drop during the month, with continued claims showing some decrease, although not as high percentagewise as initial claims. Further declines are expected during September.

JOB OPENINGS Current job openings are high, with good demand for most types of workers. Expansion in one plant is necessitating considerable activity in supplying needed workers, including sewing-machine operators, and other classifications. Several openings for sales personnel are noted, and a demand for clerical workers is evident. These can be filled from local supply.

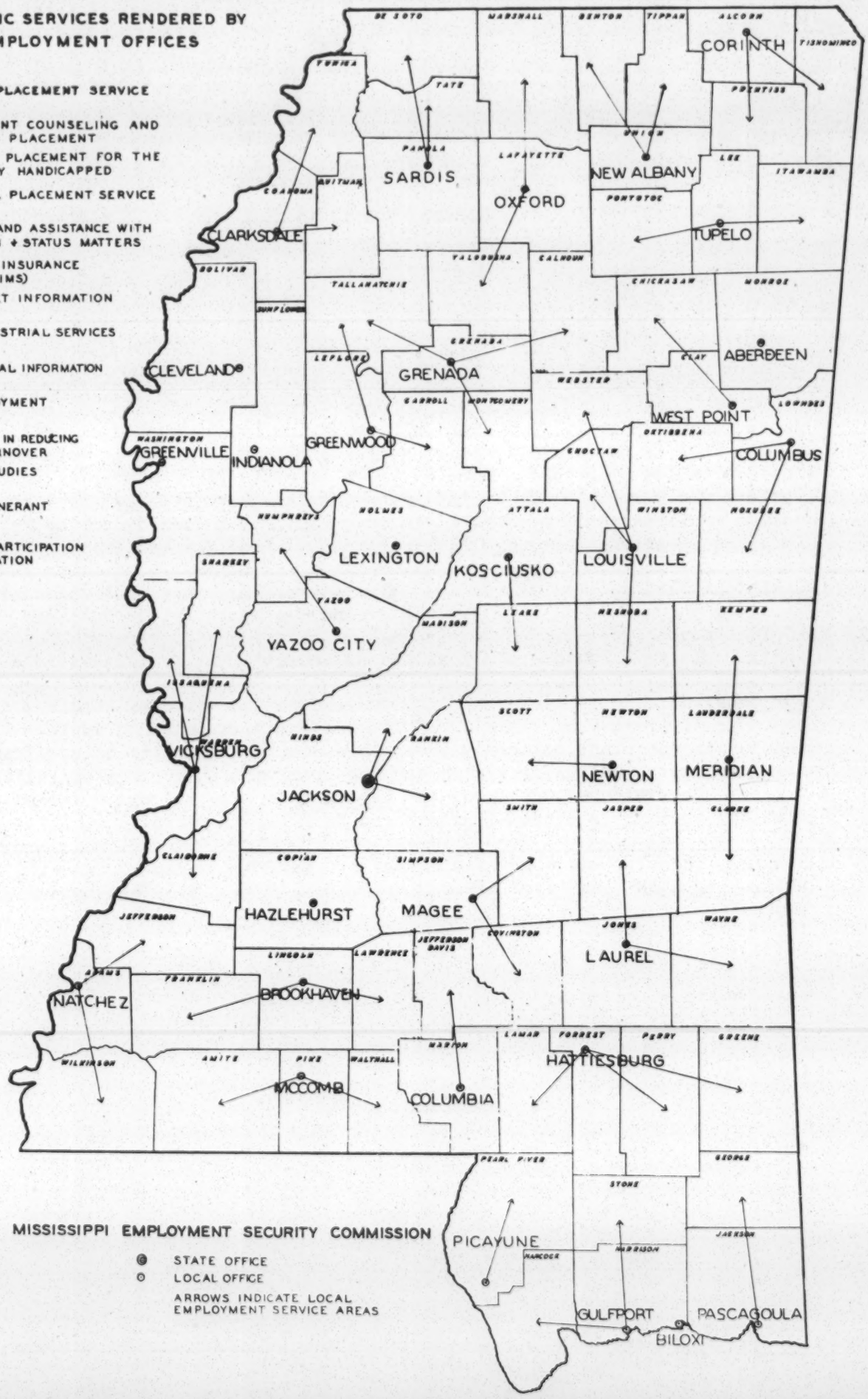
Housing, schools, and other facilities are entirely adequate. Housing is available, with rooms from $20.00, apartments from $30.00 and houses from $40.00.

Mississippi State Employment Service
210 Third Street Telephone 1761

Maps

MAJOR PUBLIC SERVICES RENDERED BY THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

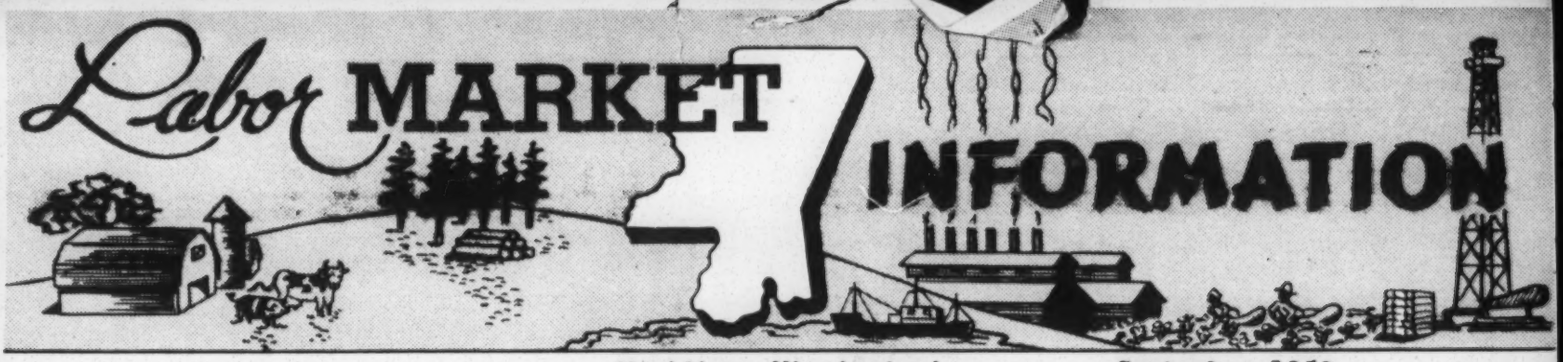
1. INDUSTRIAL PLACEMENT SERVICE
   - A. EMPLOYMENT COUNSELING AND SELECTIVE PLACEMENT
   - B. SELECTIVE PLACEMENT FOR THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED
2. AGRICULTURAL PLACEMENT SERVICE
3. INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE WITH CONTRIBUTION + STATUS MATTERS
4. EMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE (CLAIMS)
5. LABOR MARKET INFORMATION
6. VARIOUS INDUSTRIAL SERVICES
   - A. OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION
   - B. PRE-EMPLOYMENT TESTING
   - C. ASSISTANCE IN REDUCING LABOR TURNOVER
   - D. PLANT STUDIES
7. SCHEDULED ITINERANT SERVICE
8. COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND COOPERATION



MISSISSIPPI EMPLOYMENT SECURITY COMMISSION

- ◉ STATE OFFICE
- ○ LOCAL OFFICE

ARROWS INDICATE LOCAL EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AREAS



Meridian, Mississippi September 1952

CURRENT LABOR MARKET OUTLOOK Total nonagricultural employment in the area was increased by the creation of approximately 193 new jobs in August 1952. This increase was in manufacturing, construction (building and highway) and wholesale and retail trade. The textile industry reports an increase in production and in orders. Wholesale and retail firms report a slight increase in sales in August compared with July.

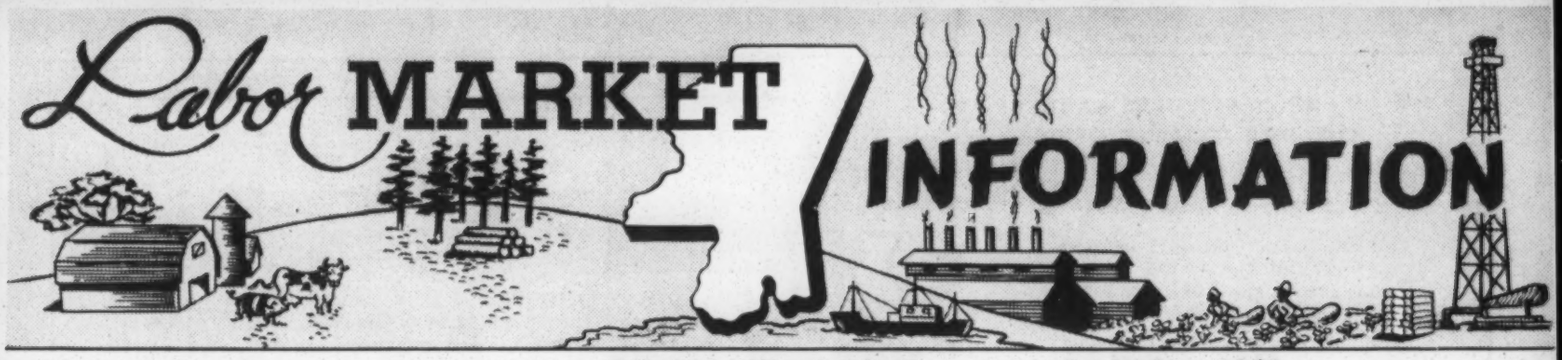
EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK Reporting establishments indicate no significant over-all change in employment within the next thirty days.

UNEMPLOYMENT TRENDS A comparison of the months of June, July and August of 1952, with the same period of 1951, shows a 7-percent decrease in new applications; a decrease of 28.6 percent in orders received; a decrease of 21 percent in referrals; a decrease of 29 percent in placements; and a decrease of 1.4 percent in average monthly employment. Five hundred and fifty new applications for work were taken in August. Three hundred and seventy-four new claims were filed during the same period. These figures show a marked decrease from the July level (24-percent decrease in applications and 49-percent decrease in initial claims). Weekly compensable (payable)claims totaled 2339, reflecting a 35.7-percent decrease from the July figures.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES Except for highly skilled technical workers and some types of clerical workers, the available supply is considered ample for local demands. Job openings received from employers (412), referrals (485) and placements (401), are substantially higher than the same activities in July. Placements in August were made in the following major industry groups: (1) wholesale and retail trade, (2) manufacturing and (3) construction. Twenty-eight handicapped workers (including thirteen veterans) were placed.

If-You-Have-A-Job-To-Fill
Call Mississippi State Employment Service
Telephone 3-1407
1017 - 24th Ave., Meridian, Mississippi

Mississippi State Employment Service



Natchez, Mississippi September 1952

LABOR SUPPLY DWINDLES

The decrease in available labor, which usually occurs during the middle of the summer, has been somewhat slower during this year. In fact, there has been a considerable surplus of labor until the last three or four weeks. This surplus has now decreased considerably, and no large amount of labor exists throughout the area, compared with previous months.

COTTON PICKING NEARING PEAK

It is estimated that the cotton crop throughout the area and in the adjacent area of Louisiana is now approximately 75 percent open, and picking is in full swing. Because of the hot, dry weather, which has existed throughout the summer, cotton has matured and opened a little faster than usual. If the usual pattern is followed, approximately 250 to 300 pickers will be leaving the Natchez area daily to assist with the picking of the Louisiana crop. These workers will commute, and will actually never leave the area. The cotton crop is slightly short of the 1951 crop; and, with favorable weather, picking should be practically completed in the immediate vicinity of Natchez by October 1, 1952.

JOB APPLICANTS DROP SHARPLY

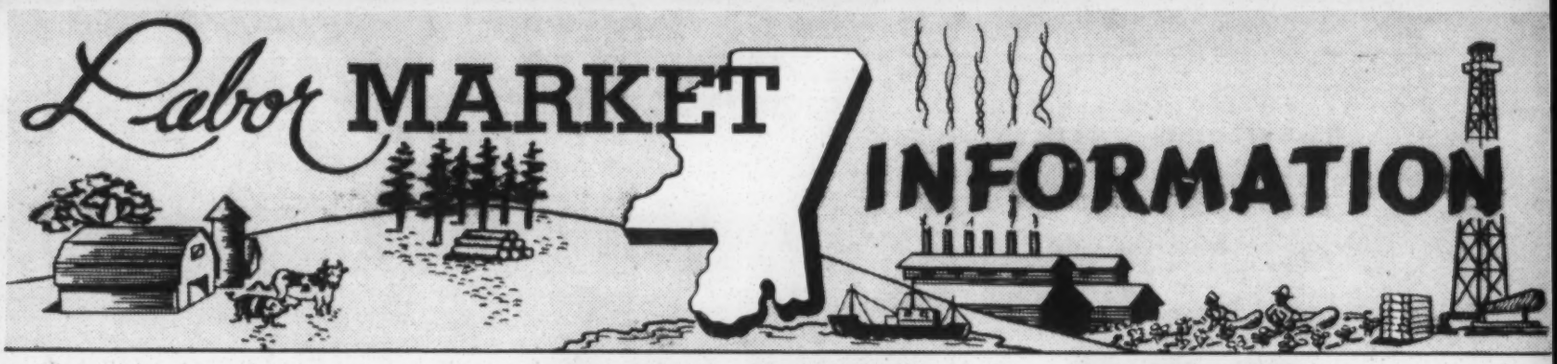
Compared with July of this year, there was a decrease of 17.7 percent in the number of applicants contacting the Mississippi State Employment Service within the last thirty days; and there were 14.6 percent fewer contacts during August 1952, than there were during the same month one year ago. As a result of the decrease in contacts at this office, new applications fell off 38 percent within the last thirty days, and 33 percent compared with the corresponding month one year ago. Furthermore, there were 12.7 percent fewer active applications on file at the end of August than there were July 31 of this year. On the other hand, there were 8.2 percent more active applications on file August 31, 1952, than there were August 31, 1951. Nonagricultural placements increased by 9.7 percent for August over July of this year, but decreased by 19.2 percent compared with August 1951.

DECLINE IN CLAIMSTAKING

August was one of the few months this year that has shown a decline in claims for unemployment compensation. Initial claims filed during August showed a decrease of 29.2 percent from the previous month, and a decrease of 14.9 percent compared with August 1951. Compensable claims also dropped by 10.6 percent during the last thirty-day period, but there were 23.6 percent more compensable claims filed during August this year than for the same period one year ago. Logging and lumbering activities have about gotten back to normal for this season of the year; and that fact, as well as increased hiring on several construction projects, has helped to reduce the claimload.

Mississippi State Employment Service

336 Main Street Telephones 9064-9065



New Albany, Mississippi September 1952

SEASONAL DECREASE IN NUMBER OF JOB APPLICANTS EXPERIENCED

During the past month, the number of job applicants, residing in the tri-county area served by the New Albany local office, decreased approximately 9 percent. There were on file in the local office 293 applications as of August 31, as compared with 328 on July 31, 1952. Current applications for work on file practically coincide with the number on file on the same date last year--293 as compared with 290. It is also to be pointed out that additional decreases in the number of job applicants have occurred since the first of this month. These decreases are seasonal in nature because of the beginning of the cotton harvest. Many farm workers have returned to the farm after seeking industrial employment during the past two months. Too, many off-the-farm workers are presently employed in cotton picking. The seasonal demand for cotton pickers has created a local shortage of service workers.

CLAIMS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE DECREASE

During the past month, there was an over-all decrease of nearly sixteen percent in the total number of claims filed for unemployment insurance. Continued claims decreased from 537 filed in July to 479 filed in August, or nearly 11 percent; while, for the same period, initial claims (indicating new unemployment) decreased from 106 to 63, or nearly 41 percent.

JOB APPLICANTS JOB PROSPECTS

Nearly 33 percent of the current job applicants are women and about 24 percent are veterans. Numerous job openings presently exist for service workers—waitresses, maids, cooks, dish washers, and porters. Other openings are listed for stenographers, general office clerks, salesmen, and unskilled workers.

NEW TESTING SERVICES NOW AVAILABLE

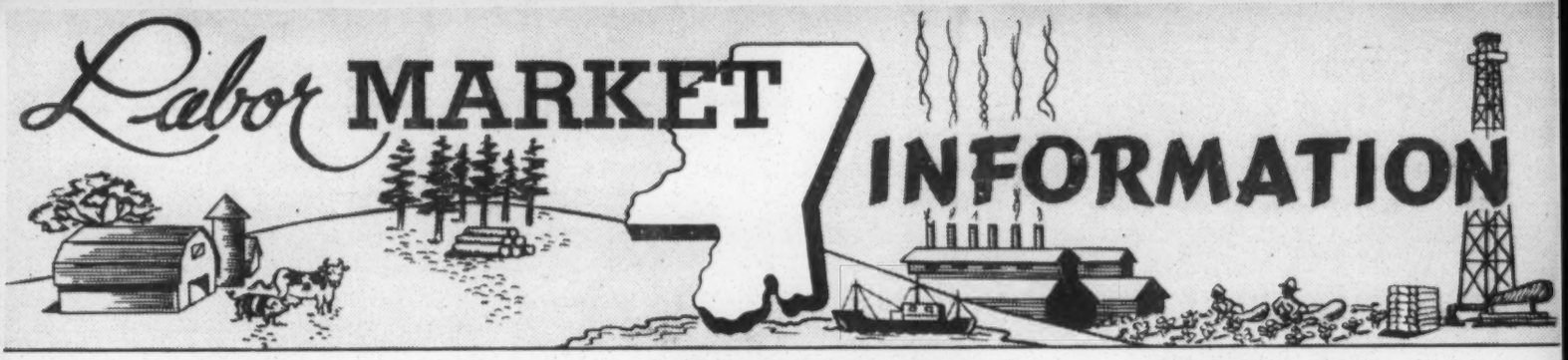
The local office is now equipped to administer a General Aptitude Test Battery. This series of tests is designed to assist applicants in selecting suitable vocational goals, or vocational changes through the measurement of ten basic aptitudes. A proficiency test for stenographers and typists is also available. It is believed that these tests will be of much value to both employers and applicants.

LOCAL OFFICE ACTIVITIES

Following is a summary of selected local office activities for certain months:

Activities	August 1951	July 1952	August 1952
Visits to local office	1202	1231	1058
New applications for work	116	129	64
Active applications on file	290	328	293
Local job placements (nonagricultural)	126	97	112
Total UI claims filed	468	643	542

Mississippi State Employment Service
Rainey Hotel Building Telephone 4031



Newton, Mississippi September 1952

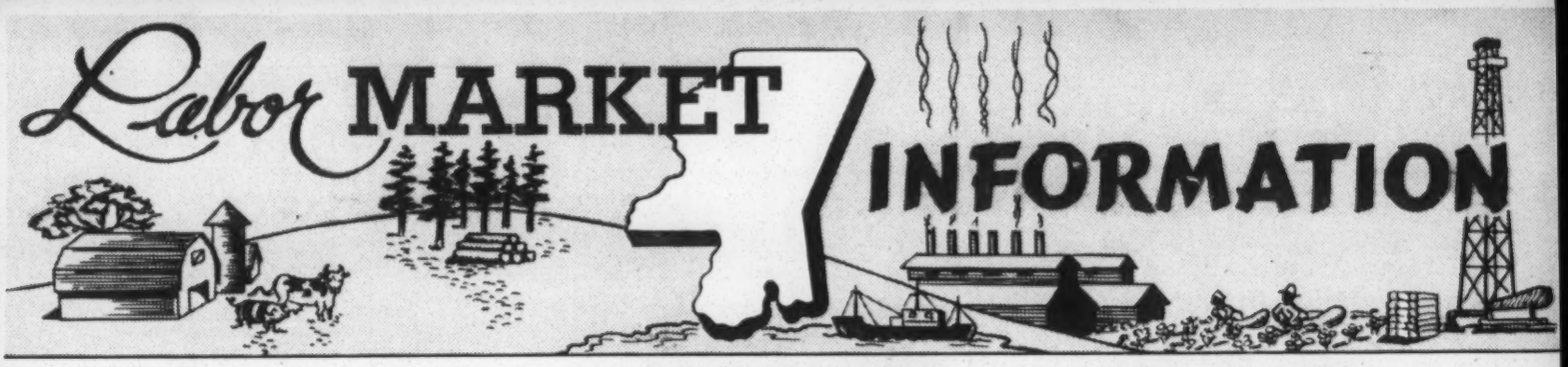
IMPROVED EMPLOYMENT SITUATION Less than six percent of the persons contacting the Newton employment office during the month of August 1952, filed initial claims for unemployment compensation. Initial claims were forty percent lower, and continued claims were ten percent lower in August 1952, than in July 1952. This decrease in unemployment is explained partially by seasonal increases in employment in cotton compresses and oil mills, and related seasonal industries and partially by some increased hiring in lumber and wood products and poultry-processing plants.

A NEW SERVICE TO EMPLOYERS The Newton employment office will soon have facilities available to test high school graduates, and other inexperienced applicants who are entering the labor market for the first time. These tests will determine what specific aptitudes these job seekers possess. For example, one test has been designed to reveal the applicant's aptness to be a successful salesperson. If you are interested in having your applicants for work tested, please contact this office for further details.

THE HANDICAPPED WORKER IS "READY, WILLING AND ABLE" This slogan, "ready, willing and able," will be the theme of the eighth consecutive year's drive to promote the employment opportunities of the handicapped worker. Did you know that in the year 1951 alone, more than 100 million man-hours were added to the Nation's productive effort by men and women who overcame helplessness? Eight thousand disabled workers who were rehabilitated were able to leave relief rolls. Within four years, these men and women will pay back in taxes all the 21 million of the Federal money spent for the entire Vocational Rehabilitation program in 1951. Remember, on the job the correctly placed worker has no job handicap. Won't you give the handicapped worker a chance when your next job opening occurs?

Mississippi State Employment Service

Church Street Telephone 4



Oxford, Mississippi September 1952

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT Taking a decided spurt as the cotton crop opened rapidly, over-all employment in this area was near maximum as the middle of September neared. In addition to the demand for farm labor, a number of construction projects, remodeling and rebuilding projects caused a heavy demand for construction labor of all skill levels.

As of September 11, there was demand for unskilled and semi-skilled construction labor, and for other types of common labor, that could not be filled.

AGRICULTURAL LABOR A heavier demand than has been met this early in several years has grown out of sudden maturity of the cotton crop. Although there has been little day-hauling of labor out of this area, the local planters are still several hundred short of the cotton pickers they could use. Picking prices are fairly stable at around $2.50, with transportation provided.

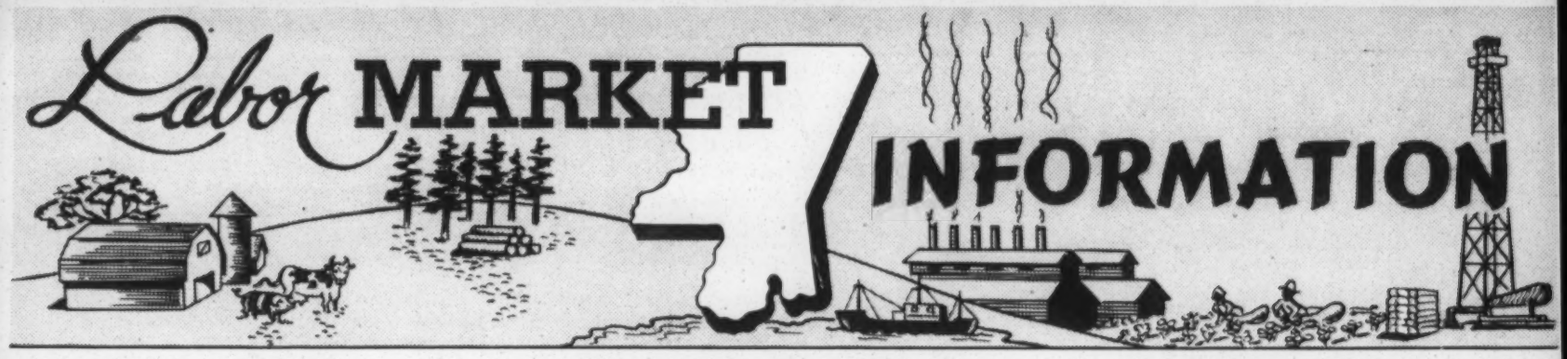
Although the situation is urgent at this time (a heavy rain would cause considerable lowering of grade), indications are that the crop in this area will be picked out far ahead of the usual schedule, and a potential supply of labor for other areas then will become available. To date, ginnings are about 230 percent ahead of ginnings to date last year, with the cotton averaging better grade than had been expected earlier. There is considerable strict middling cotton, with lint up to 1 1/16 inch, and most of the crop, thus far, ginned as good as middling with 1-inch staple.

RETAIL TRADE Retail trade took a late summer slump during the last few weeks, accompanied by continued decreases in prices of livestock and other factors making for continued curtailed trade. Some improvement is expected by retail houses generally as soon as more of the year's cotton money becomes available.

Because of the excessively dry growing season, however, many tenant and sharecrop farmers will do little better than break even on the season's operation; this doubtless will adversely affect retail buying during the winter period.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS Employment will remain high, it now appears, until winter weather shuts down construction projects. Even then, there are several projects underway, or on paper, which will provide work whenever weather conditions permit. There will be more than usual out-migration of farm workers on a day-haul basis to the Delta, it appears-- if the demand for cotton pickers holds up in the Delta through October, by which time most of the local crop will be harvested.

Mississippi State Employment Service
1221 Jackson Avenue Telephone 80



Pascagoula, Mississippi September 1952

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT Nonagricultural employment in the Pascagoula area is still on the rise. The shipbuilding industry is continuing its stepped-up hiring practices, with approximately 90 percent of those hired in August being in skilled and semi-skilled occupations. Employment also picked up in the building-construction industry, as many new housing units were begun last month, and also some commercial buildings were underway. The fishing industry and the paper-pulp industry remained relatively stable during the month.

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK A local garment plant expects to re-employ all its workers who were laid-off and to hire a good many additional workers. Employment in the shipbuilding industry should continue high for another two months and then level off. After October, the fishing season will be over, and this will throw many people in this area in the ranks of the unemployed.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES An acute shortage of production welders and pipe welders still exists. There are also openings for loftsmen, inside machinists, and pipefitters in the shipbuilding industry. Other openings are for an automobile mechanic, maids, and waitresses.

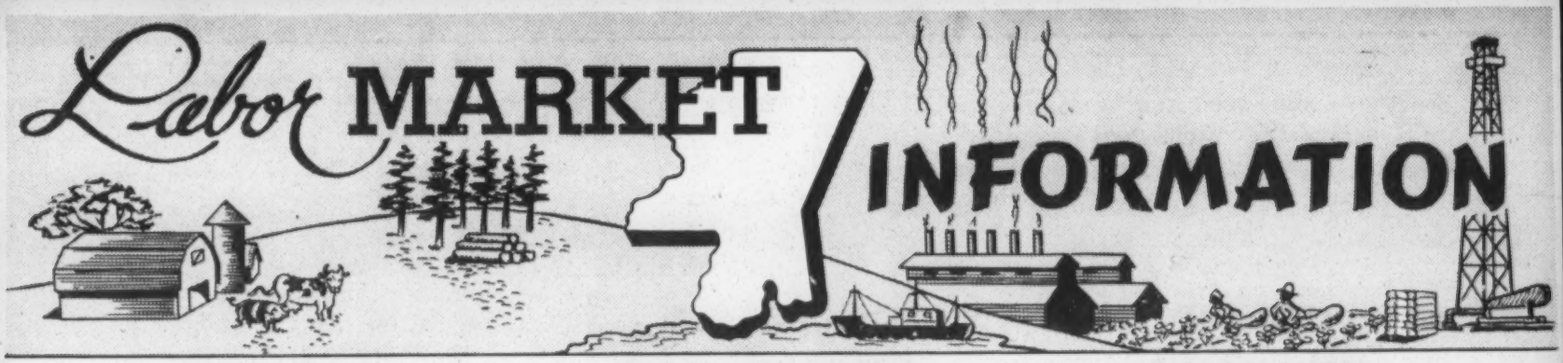
A survey is still underway to determine the number of women in this area with experience in welding or tacking. Any woman with this experience should contact the Pascagoula office of the Mississippi State Employment Service, 216 Krebs Avenue, Pascagoula, Mississippi.

CLAIMS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION Initial claims for unemployment insurance in this area (Jackson and George Counties) were 208, as compared to 184 for July or an increase of 13 percent. This increase was caused primarily by the two-week shut-down of the local woolen mill.

LOCAL HOUSING FACILITIES The housing situation in this area still poses as one of the biggest obstacles to overcome before peak employment can be reached. Ground-breaking ceremonies for the new 122-unit Woodlawn Housing Project took place on August 11, 1952, and the first units are scheduled for occupancy, weather permitting, in about 8 weeks. This should be of some relief to the very bad housing situation that now exists.

Mississippi State Employment Service

216 Krebs Avenue Telephones 726-727



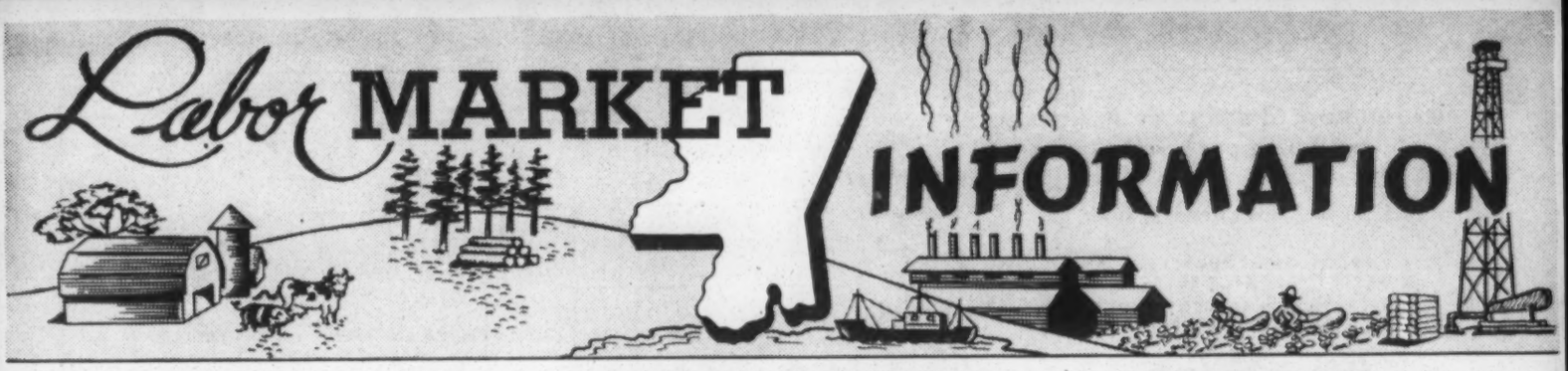
Vol. 4, No. 9 Tupelo, Mississippi September 1952

EMPLOYMENT TRENDS In keeping with the seasonal pattern, unemployment is again on a downward trend; and in many classifications, the demand for labor far outstrips supply. Low unemployment and high employment can be attributed to the harvest needing more labor than usual, and nonagricultural employment increasing at the same time. The garment industry in this area is enjoying one of its fullest years, and, in some instances, over-time schedules have been set up. Construction of new homes has also made a sizable contribution, which, combined with the normal growth of other industries, accounts for the high level of employment in the area at the present time. These conditions can be expected to continue until bad weather affects the agricultural and construction activities, or the agricultural harvest has been completed.

OUTLOOK Expansion of present facilities in the garment industry should afford employment to a good many additional applicants, and retail trade will need additional help for the next three or four months. These factors, combined with the gradual growth observed in some of the younger industries, should help the economic conditions within the area, and thus offer additional employment to the people.

LABOR SUPPLY There are approximately eleven percent fewer applicants, currently seeking work through this office than there was a month ago and twenty-six percent fewer than a year ago. Available applicants, at the present time, do not represent the classifications that most of the demands are in. There is a shortage of cotton pickers and this situation will probably get worse before it gets better. Domestic servants have gone to the cotton field, and thus created a severe shortage of domestic help. This office has been unable to fill the orders of nonagricultural employers who needed strong-bodied common laborers; there is also a shortage of some skilled craftsmen and efficient office help. Another contributing factor to the labor shortage, at the present time, is the number of people who have moved to other areas to work. It is believed that this shortage will be of short duration, and there will again be an adequate, if not surplus, supply within ninety days.

Mississippi State Employment Service
309 Troy Street Telephones 1127-1128



Vicksburg, Mississippi September 1952

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT

There was an increase in both agricultural and nonagricultural employment in the Vicksburg labor-market area during August. Employment in contract construction declined slightly, because of the continued shortages of steel and other essential materials, but there were substantial gains in lumber and related industries, and in the manufacturing of chemicals and allied products. Employment in governmental establishments increased as units engaged in river-bank protection work started their seasonal activities. There was no change in employment in wholesale and retail trade, utilities and communications.

Agricultural employment increased as cotton harvesting got underway in the area during the latter part of the month.

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK

Employment in contract construction, in the field of both industrial and private buildings, is expected to increase within the next reporting period. Construction is slated to begin on the Westinghouse Plant as soon as sufficient steel is available, and a new 50-unit housing project is scheduled for the Vicksburg area. Agricultural activity will continue to increase during the next thirty days.

UNEMPLOYMENT

A mass lay-off of workers at a box-manufacturing plant in the area resulted in an increase in the number of initial claims filed for unemployment compensation benefits. The majority of these claimants, however, were recalled to work before signing for more than one compensable week. Both initial and compensable claims were slightly higher than the number filed during August 1951.

LOCAL OFFICE ACTIVITIES

Reception contacts at the Vicksburg local office and at itinerant points totaled 3,595 during August, a slight increase over the preceding month. For the same month one year ago, a total of 3,228 contacts was recorded.

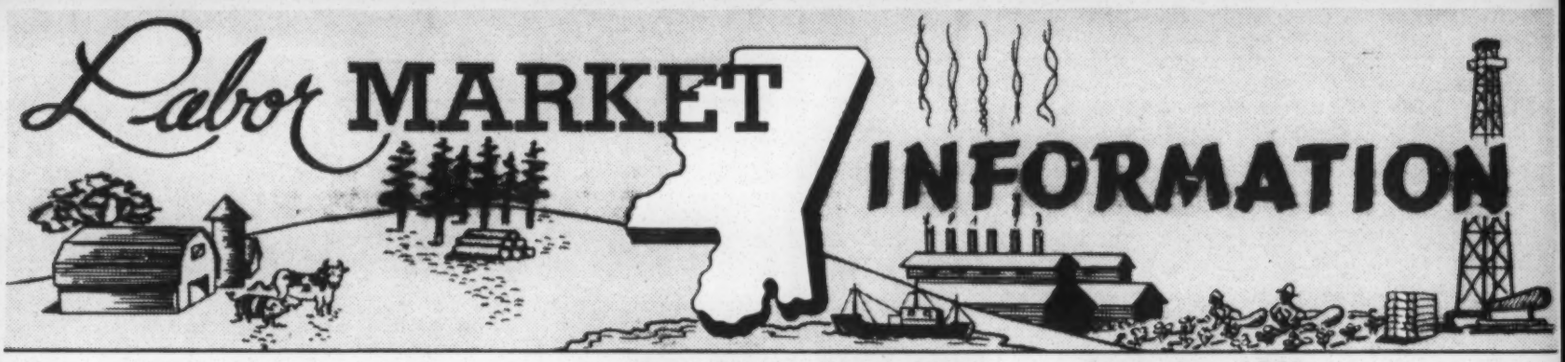
There were 687 persons referred for interviews with prospective employers during August, and a total of 560 of these was placed in nonagricultural employment during the month.

AVAILABLE APPLICANTS

Only 706 applications remained in the active file at the close of the month. Of this number, 235 were women, and 135 were veterans. Experienced workers are available in the following classifications: arc welders, carpenters, painters and truck drivers. There is a temporary shortage of service and domestic workers, because of the large numbers of these who engage in cotton harvesting. There is also a definite shortage of mechanical and electrical engineers in the area.

Mississippi State Employment Service

707 Crawford Street Telephones 1560-61



West Point, Mississippi September 1952

INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT GRADUALLY INCREASING Industrial employment remained at a high level throughout August. Slight increases were registered in the apparel and related-products industry, the food products industry, and the lumber and wood-products industry. Numerous construction projects are underway, but a shortage of structural steel has slowed down some jobs. Cotton gins and compresses are now in full operation.

Employment in retail trade and service establishments remained near the July level; however, sales are up considerably over the comparable period of last year.

AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY It is estimated that about 75 percent of the cotton is now open, with about 30 percent harvested. A better turnout is being experienced than was forecast last month. Several trucks are hauling pickers from West Point and other large towns in the area, and pickers are receiving from $2 to $3 per hundred pounds. A shortage of domestic workers in West Point has resulted. Weather conditions have been most favorable for the harvest, so far.

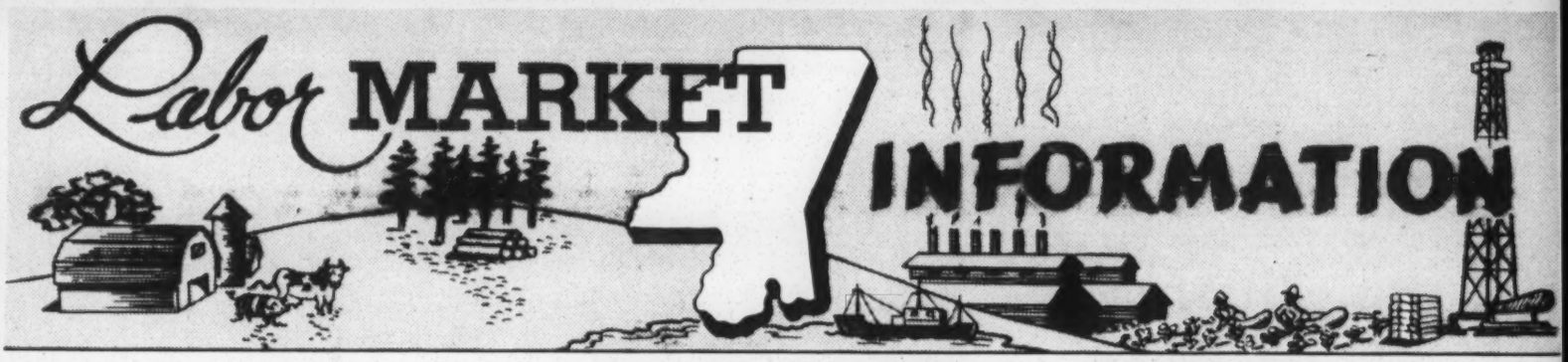
UNEMPLOYMENT Ninety-eight new applications for work were taken by the local employment office in August. At the end of the month, there were a total of 448 persons, of which 258 are female and 41 were veterans, with applications in the active file. The majority of these persons are unskilled, however, a few skilled workers are still available. Employers in need of workers are invited to place orders with us, and let us send you a qualified worker.

Less than half as many claims were filed for unemployment insurance in August as in July.

NEPH WEEK October 5-11, 1952, will be observed as National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week. Surveys show that handicapped workers are more productive at given jobs than nonhandicapped workers. Won't you give a disabled veteran or a physically handicapped worker an opportunity to prove he is worthy of employment? Call or visit your local employment office for information.

Mississippi State Employment Service

37 West Main Street Telephone 748



Yazoo City, Mississippi September 1952

COMPARATIVE ACTIVITY For the quarter June, July and August 1952, placements increased approximately 7 percent over the same period in 1951. Initial claims increased 100 percent, and compensable claims increased approximately 40 percent.

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK Sawmills have resumed full-scale operations, and will gradually hire replacements for full-scale operations. Drilling activities are utilizing such unskilled labor as may be available. Cotton picking is scraping the bottom of the barrel for all local office area pickers, as well as available supply from supply office areas. Cotton picking is 100 percent ready for harvesting and will require only one picking. Farmers are reporting their cotton in excellent condition for picking, and pickers should be able to realize better than average wages under existing conditions.

There is no new construction in the area at this time. The Catholic School and the Negro Housing Project are nearing completion, and only finished workmen and their helpers will be required to finish up these two jobs.

NOTE The staff wishes to express its appreciation to local employers for their cooperation in placing orders with the office in sufficient time for the selection of applicants best suited for the job.

Mississippi State Employment Service

211 South Main Street Telephone 541

The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

VOL. V JUNE, 1944 NUMBER 6

The Political Scene: Confusion and Crisis

Confusion in South Carolina

The political pot began to boil in earnest in South Carolina in February when Representative John L. Long of Union County offered a resolution calling on "damned Northern agitators" to leave the South alone. Long said that he was willing to shed his blood for white supremacy in the South. His resolution was passed by the South Carolina House of Representatives.

Supreme Court Decision

When the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case was announced in April, there were vigorous expressions of disapproval from Democratic leaders in South Carolina. At the state Democratic convention in May, the keynote speaker said: "Fellow Democrats of South Carolina, no decision of the United States Supreme Court in the last fifty years has brought so much doubt, confusion, and humiliation to the white people of South Carolina as has this decision. . . . I should like to see this convention protest against the attempt of the national party to give the colored race the right to participate in our primaries. . . ."

State Democratic Convention

The convention forthwith adopted a resolution declaring "That this party shall continue, as it is now, a party of and for white Democrats only, and that no Negro shall be admitted to membership in our party." Expressing fear that the national Democratic convention will be inclined to go on record as favoring (1) abolition of the poll-tax requirement for voting, (2) federal interference with segregation laws and customs, (3) federal control of education to permit racially mixed public schools, (4) federal anti-lynching legislation, and (5) a Negro nominee "for the Vice-Presidency and even the Presidency," the convention instructed its delegates to "oppose fully to the last minute any attempt or effort on the part of the national Democratic convention to favor any one of those things mentioned before as objectionable to the white Democrats of South Carolina." The delegates to the national convention were uninstructed.

As a hint of further action if the national convention does not go to their liking, the South Carolina Democrats also resolved to meet again on the second Wednesday following the adjournment of the national con-

(*Continued on Page* 4)

Revolt in Texas

In Texas the revolt of the anti-Roosevelt Democrats has reached serious proportions. Perhaps the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas white primary case, *Smith vs. Allwright*, was too bitter a pill for the party leaders there.

Convention and Counter Convention

The anti-Roosevelt forces in Texas got busy long before the state Democratic convention met. Without much hullabaloo, they captured a large number of local conventions, and when the state convention was held last month they had a substantial majority of the delegates.

The pro-Roosevelt forces, finding themselves outvoted on crucial points, broke away to hold a convention of their own. They elected a slate of delegates and instructed them to vote for Roosevelt at the Chicago convention. Later they appealed to the State Democratic Executive Committee to certify a slate of pro-Roosevelt presidential electors for printing on the July primary ballot. Failing there, they took the matter to the Texas Supreme Court, but got nowhere.

Uninstructed Electors

The regular convention voted to send uninstructed delegates to the national convention, and, just to show that it meant business, voted to instruct its presidential electors to support the Democratic nominee in the electoral college only if the national Democratic convention makes certain concessions. Specifically, these Texas Democrats want the convention to restore the two-thirds rule, to take a stand for states' rights and against federal "interference" in Southern affairs.

The full import of this maneuver remains to be seen. It may be that even if the national convention turns a deaf ear to the Texas demands the Texas Democrats will fall into line for the sake of party and national unity. However, if there is a close election in November, and if Texas carries through on its threat not to support the party nominee in the electoral college, the election of the President might be thrown into the House of Representatives, and the result would almost certainly be a bitter national controversy.

A Georgia White Woman's Plea

(Mrs. Dorothy Q. Rainey is a member of the Georgia State Democratic Executive Committee. She sent the following letter to the chairman of the Committee two days before the meeting of the Committee in Atlanta on June 22. The letter was published in the Atlanta JOURNAL *of June 20, 1944.)*

I am sincerely disturbed by the published reports that a subcommittee of the Georgia Democratic Executive Committee has recommended the barring of all Negroes from the coming primary. I feel that this action is not merely contrary to the recent overwhelming decision of the Supreme Court and therefore of the fundamental law of our country but also contrary to the sound policy which we shall follow without legal compulsion.

I know of no white Southerners of intelligence and high character who do not wish to encourage our Negro fellow Southerners to lives of thrift, responsibility, and integrity—that is, to lives of good citizenship. To say to a Negro that no matter what his competence and no matter what his personal worth, he is not to be permitted to have a part in the processes of citizenship seems to me a cruel and shameful thing. For my part I am not willing to insult him in this fashion and to challenge his resentment against the white people.

I am aware that the course of action suggested by the committee is dictated not by fear of a certain group of our white Southerners. For these white Southerners, whose thinking is stepped in poverty, in ignorance and in prejudice, I feel a deep concern and pity. I am not, however, willing to accept their dictates in deciding whether I myself shall live up to the finest tradition of the South and of my country and to the universal teachings of Jesus.

As far back as 1880, Governor Alfred H. Colquitt listed among the most valuable results of his administration "kindly relations between the white and colored races due to a liberal spirit in the encouragement of popular education and equal justice in the protection of all races in every right of citizenship to the fullest extent of executive authority." He argued eloquently for "full and impartial justice."

Should the State Democratic Executive Committee decide to follow the course of "wisdom, justice, and moderation" with

(*Continued on Page* 4)

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, JUNE, 1944

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

This is a critical year in American politics, and it is being made doubly critical by the threatened revolt of the "regular" Democrats in several states of the South. The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas primary case has apparently brought to a head the festering anti-Roosevelt, anti-New-Deal and anti-fourth-term sentiment in the deep South and has precipitated a Democratic revolt in South Carolina, Texas, and Mississippi.

The most spectacular phase of this rebellion is the Texas Democratic convention's threat that the Democratic Presidential electors may refuse to support the party nominee in the electoral college unless the national Democratic convention yields to certain demands of Southern Democrats. In other words, the revolters are going to the Chicago convention in July prepared to do some fancy political horse-trading—or perhaps black-mailing would be a more accurate term. They want the two-thirds rule restored, they want a declaration for more states' rights, they want assurance that Uncle Sam will not interfere with their handling of the race problem, and they want a Southerner—or anybody but Wallace—for Vice-President.

Now it remains to be seen whether these rebellious Democrats mean business or whether they are merely making a dramatic gesture of defiance before yielding to the inevitable. Our guess is that they mean business, and that this thing has possibilities of producing a bitter and devastating national controversy.

The next scene in this little drama will take place at the Democratic convention in Chicago. It is barely possible, of course, that the regular Texas delegation may not be seated. The credentials committee *could* say, "Since your state convention has already declared that its electors are not obligated to support the party nominee in the electoral college, you don't belong here." If the delegation is seated, it will have won the first round, and the fight will go on from there. If the pro-Roosevelt delegation elected by the rump convention in Texas is seated, then the Democratic party in Texas is split wide open; if indeed it is not already split. Unless the "regulars" called a new convention to iron the matter out, the pro-Roosevelt forces would have to organize a party, conform to the election laws, and put forth a slate of electors pledged to support the party nominee in the electoral college. In fact, they may have to do this anyway in order to make sure that a vote for Roosevelt is really a vote for Roosevelt.

But assuming that the "regular" delegation is seated at the national convention, then what? The nomination of Roosevelt can be taken for granted. The Texans and their allies might be willing to settle for the Vice-Presidency, but Wallace has been growing in political stature and popularity, and he is not going to be easily beaten out of the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. It is highly doubtful whether the two-thirds rule can be restored, and it is almost certain that the platform will not contain such pronouncements on states' rights and race relations as will ease the pains of the revolting Southerners. In other words, the rebel Democrats may go home with little to show for their efforts.

Will the revolters then, in revenge, carry through on their threat to desert the party nominee in the electoral college? Assuming that the unpledged Texas Democratic electors win in the November election and go to the electoral college with the avowed intention of voting for any candidate they please, what then? Obviously, if there is a landslide vote for either the Democratic or the Republican candidates, the Texas electoral vote will not matter one way or the other. But if there is a slim Democratic majority, then the 23 electoral votes of Texas or the 40 votes of Texas, Mississippi, and South Carolina can throw the choice of the electoral college to the Republican candidate or they can block the electoral college and throw the election into the House of Representatives. There each state would have one vote, a vote determined by the majority of its representatives. New York, for example, has 22 Democrats, 22 Republicans, and one American Labor Partyite in the House, and so, if New York's vote were decisive, the honor of electing a President would fall upon Vito Marcantonio, only representative of the American Labor Party. Likewise, if the electoral college cannot agree on a Vice-President, the election of that official would go to the Senate. Thus we might have a Democratic President and Republican Vice-President, or vice versa. Whatever happens, the ensuing confusion and bitterness would make the Jackson-Adams affair of 1824 and the Hayes-Tilden dispute of 1876 look like child's play.

What an intelligent way to be spending our energies when we need to put the last ounce of our strength and unity into winning the war as soon as possible! And what a way to thwart the will of American voters!

If progressive Southerners can find any consolation at all in this sorry beat-Roosevelt-at-any-price conspiracy, it is this: the revolting Democrats may unwittingly do the best job of splitting the Solid South and making way for popular government that has ever been done. In a party split, such as seems to be inevitable in Texas, the Negro voter is sure to play a stronger role than usual in the general election, and that is certainly not what the rebel wing had in mind.

Yes, one wonders whether the revolting Democrats know their American history and whether they have asked themselves what might happen in addition to what they hope will happen. The electoral college system was devised largely to keep the South, with its large non-voting slave population, from being overshadowed by the North, and it has continued to give the South an unearned advantage in national Democratic affairs. The surest result of such a debacle as we have suggested above is a great popular demand for an amendment to the Constitution providing for the direct election of the President and Vice-President by popular vote. Such an amendment might have a fair chance of passing. If it were adopted, there is only one way in which the South could retain anything like a fair share of power in national politics, and that is to get out the vote regardless of race, creed, or color!

A Challenge to the Democratic Party

(*The Atlanta Daily World, June* 21, 1944)

. . . The issue whether Negroes shall or shall not vote in the Democratic Primaries is clearly known. It is an issue between a slave's existence and that of a free individual. It is, as Vice-President Wallace pointed out about the present war, a struggle between a free and a slave world.

There is nothing to fear about the Negro vote in Georgia, because there is nothing to fear about peace-loving Negroes of the state. The Negro vote, like Negro citizens, will and must be used to further the righteous ends and ambitions of the whole people of Georgia. There is ample provision in the state constitution respecting the qualifications of electors sufficient to prevent control of the Democratic Primary by an ignorant or venal voter, whether white or black.

Finally, let it be said, the thousands of intelligent Negro Democrats over the State who plan voting on July Fourth will break no tradition in the South. Though new in this State, Negroes have voted and continue to vote, both in Tennessee and in North Carolina. And they vote as Democrats. To rule affirmatively, the State Executive Committee will vote to uphold the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, our highest authority. . . .

We sincerely hope the Democratic Committee, as the controlling political party of the State, will live up to its duty and grant this simple request for elemental justice to Negro Democrats.

What the People Say: Letters To the Papers

Negro Democrats

(*The Charleston News-Courier, May* 21, 1944)

Editor: The News and Courier is insistently trying to raise a hullabaloo of dissension in Democratic ranks by appealing to racial prejudices. The News and Courier had better find some sensible, valid reason for excluding Negroes from the Democratic party—certainly a better reason than their advocacy of a fourth term for Roosevelt. The Negroes have a right to vote, and their exclusion from the Democratic primaries will certainly not exclude them from voting in the presidential election.

Yes, the writer is a true New Dealer, but not as the New Deal is appraised by The News and Courier. The writer is not ashamed to say that he is a friend of the Negro; he does not believe in spectacular appeals to race prejudice.

ROBERT S. BAILEY

St. George, S. C.

Negro Votes

(*The Atlanta Constitution, June* 22, 1944)

Editor: Many people seem to like the idea of Negroes voting. I for one most assuredly do not. I realize the fact that some Negroes are across the seas fighting, and working in defense jobs. But I know many white boys at the age of 17 who are also fighting. They are not given the privilege of voting.

While some Negroes are in the fight there are still many more who are walking the streets in zoot suits. Why can't they be put to work or sent across?

WESLEY G. BAILEY, II

Atlanta, Georgia.

Would Revive Talmadge

(*The Atlanta Journal, June* 22, 1944)

Editor: I think that we have had enough New Yorkers in the White House. It is now time for us Southerners to elect someone from our own section to the presidency.

Presidential candidates from the North and West may claim to be friends of the South, but after they take office, whether they be Republican or Democrat, they treat us like undesirable stepchildren. They all maintain freight rates that are unfair to the South; and they continually try to enact federal legislation to abolish the poll tax, a tax that helps to maintain our schools and roads. At the present time the New Yorkers in the White House are attempting to perpetrate their greatest crime. They are trying to destroy one of the South's greatest institutions, the white primary.

I think that the white supremacy South should make every effort to elect a real Southerner to the White House, so as to bring about the proper development of this section.

I suggest that the South endorse its greatest citizen for the presidency, Eugene Talmadge.

J. B. STONER

Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Strangely Ironic

(*The Atlanta Journal, June* 11, 1944)

Editor: Is it not strangly ironic that the front page of Wednesday's *Journal*, filled with news of the invasion of Europe by which we hope democracy will be preserved, should carry one discordant item indicating how little we value democracy at home: "State Group Bans Negroes in Primary?"

Obviously there is no democracy when a group of citizens are banned from participating in the only election which has any meaning on the basis of that theory of the "master race" which we so despise in the Nazis yet cherish in ourselves.

Why should we not join Virginia, North Carolina and other Southern states in following the democratic practice of allowing all Democrats to vote in the primaries regardless of race?

I speak as a Southern white woman who cherishes all that is fine and noble in Southern tradition and must therefore cry out against the base hypocrisy of paying tribute to democracy with the lips while destroying it in action.

ALMA METCALFE

Decatur, Georgia.

Asks for Tolerance

(*The Atlanta Journal, June* 18, 1944)

Editor: After reading Alma Metcalfe's letter I was elated to learn that real Americans in spirit and deed still exist in Georgia despite the cloud of intolerance that has gathered over our heads. I have read many letters like Alma Metcalfe's in your column and I read them with a pride that contrasted greatly with the disgust I felt whenever I read the inane and unjust alibis of the bigots. I believe if a census was taken among Georgians that Americans would far outnumber the prejudiced groups here. Why can't this be done so that the people who believe in justice can see to it that our colored citizens can vote in the primary? That is the only democratic solution. The voice of real America should not be silenced in these crucial times by the puny intolerance of some Georgians. Another white citizen.

MRS. ROSE WATTS

Atlanta, Georgia.

Don't Thwart Democracy

(*The Atlanta Journal, June* 19, 1944)

Editor: I, too, want to join Mrs. Rose Watts in adding my voice in appreciation of the letter recently appearing in *The Journal* under the name of Alma Metcalfe, protesting the recent decision to bar Negroes of Georgia from participating in the state primary. As Mrs. Metcalfe pointed out, it was indeed ironical that this decision appeared in our papers on the very day of the great Allied invasion of France.

We are sending our boys, Negro and white, into those battles to preserve the democracy that we love so much. I have a boy in this struggle, too, and I can fully appreciate the great sacrifices these boys and their families are making. All over the world the downtrodden peoples of the earth are crying out for their rights as free men and we in this great nation of ours have a destiny to perform in showing to the world the true spirit of democracy, free from discrimination because of race, color, or creed.

Can we afford to ask Negro boys to lay their lives on the altar of democracy and then deny to their people the right as citizens to participate in the primary? Can we expect good citizenship to emerge from such discrimination? And isn't the aim of democracy to set a pattern that is conducive to good citizenship?

The divine idea of freedom and justice is permeating human consciousness today as never before. Let it not be said of the citizens of Georgia that they were guilty of any move to thwart it.

This too comes from a Southern-born white woman.

MRS. A. G. SPIVEY

Atlanta, Georgia.

Time Will Heal

(*The Atlanta Journal, June* 22, 1944)

Editor: In answer to the timely article entitled "Don't Thwart Democracy," by a Mrs. A. G. Spivey, who ends her article as "A Southern Born White Woman."

Your letter, Mrs. Spivey, was greeted with heart-felt interest. I can assure you that your name can be placed on the roll of the true democracy. Many Negroes, if they were able to read The Journal, would, without a doubt, smile deep down in their hearts, and therefore issue forth a prayer to Almighty God, asking that his wonderful blessings be bestowed upon you, yours and thousands in America like you.

I am a so-called Yankee Negro; but I am also an American, true throughout my entire body. I live and breathe true democracy for every American, regardless of race, creed or color. Whether I am north or south of the Mason and Dixon line, I am an American. Naturally I have encountered many obstacles on the broad highway of life, but time, and time alone, will heal all racial, social and educational indifferences.

CORPORAL HENRY R. ROGERS

Lawson General Hospital

Atlanta, Ga.

The Atlanta Police Department's Crime Bureau's report for the month of May states that 12 rape cases were reported. Eight of these complaints were judged unfounded or baseless. Of the remaining four cases, police reported that two were cleared up and two remained unsolved.

Standing Committees of the Southern Regional Council

Four of the five standing committees authorized by the Board of Directors at its meeting on April 28 have been appointed. The personnel of the Committee on Public Relations is not yet complete. The other committee appointments are as follows:

Committee on Membership: Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Benjamin E. Mays, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Frank McCallister, R. L. Foreman, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia; Louis E. Burnham, Birmingham, Alabama; King Vivion, Nashville, Tennessee.

Committee on Finance: W. W. Alexander, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Wilson M. Brown, Richmond, Virginia; Charles S. Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee; Walter J. Matherly, Gainesville, Florida; L. D. Milton, Atlanta, Georgia.

Committee on Publications: Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, Virginia; William E. Cole, Knoxville, Tennessee; Virginius Dabney, Richmond, Virginia; A. W. Dent, New Orleans, Louisiana; Mildred Mell, Decatur, Georgia.

Committee on Fellows: Horace M. Bond, Fort Valley, Georgia; Clark Foreman, Black Mountain, North Carolina; George S. Mitchell, Atlanta, Georgia; Thomas S. Staples, Conway, Arkansas; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Georgia; James T. Taylor, Durham, North Carolina.

According to the Dallas *Morning News*, the Chairman of the Democratic County Committee of Navarro County, Texas, has instructed his precinct chairmen to allow Negroes qualified as voters to participate in party primaries, under terms of the recent United States Supreme Court decision.

Confusion in South Carolina

(*Continued from Page* 1)

vention in order "to especially consider the platform of the National Democratic Party as adopted at the approaching convention."

A New Party

Meantime, Negro Democrats in South Carolina, seeing that there was no hope of participating in the regular party councils, organized the Progressive Democratic Party, open to all voters regardless of race. Late in May they held a convention and elected delegates to the national Democratic convention. These delegates will contest the seating of the "regular" delegates. The convention adopted a platform pledging the Progressive Democrats to work "for the elevation of all our citizens, whatever their color or race, from the depths of political and economic despair. . . . ," and promised to offer a full slate of candidates in the November general elections.

Senator Maybank has termed the leaders of this party "agitators and trouble-makers" and has said that he is certain that the party delegates will not be seated by the Democratic convention in Chicago in July.

Voices of the South

(*New York Post, May* 10, 1944)

The Texas politicians, and their brethren in other Southern States, are taking it hard. Listening to them one might get the impression that the whole South feels as they do. But it doesn't at all.

From Atlanta in the deep South comes the voice of the Southern Regional Council, made up chiefly of people the politicians would be happy to have to dinner, telling them to keep calm; the Constitution of the United States won't ruin the South.

And telling them, too: "We cannot honestly wage a war for freedom and democracy in foreign lands when we deny to our own Negro citizens the rights and privileges which are justly theirs."

That is the voice of the modern South and it will prevail.

The chairman of the Democratic State Committee in Arkansas stated recently, "Election judges should allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary elections this summer, provided that they possess a poll tax receipt and otherwise appear qualified."

North Carolina has become the first Southern State to eliminate the differences in salaries of Negro and white school teachers. A plan was adopted several years ago to equalize the teachers salaries over a period of years, but recently the State Board of Education voted to remove the differential with surplus funds expected to be on hand during the 1944-45 school term. No legal suits have ever been brought in North Carolina to achieve equalization.

A Georgia White Woman's Plea

(*Continued from Page* 1)

regard to Negro voting, it will find ample support in the counsel of the bravest and best of Georgians and Southerners.

It is now clear that if America remains a democracy, operating under laws of fair play and equal opportunity, the Negro who is qualified to vote is going to be given the vote. Is it not just as clear that white Southerners who have regarded themselves as true friends of the Negro will make an intolerable blunder if, by denying him association with themselves in the Democratic Party, they drive him into the camp of their enemies? Our record as individuals and as a group is now being made not just in the eyes of the Negro, but in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of history.

Since almost certainly I am not going to be able to attend the meeting on Thursday, I ask that you read this letter to the committee as my plea to them to take action that will make allies and not enemies of the responsible people of both races in the South. We have enough problems to solve without fighting each other.

MRS. DOROTHY Q. RAINEY
Atlanta, Georgia.

Plea of the Atlanta Negro Citizens Committee

(*On June* 22 *the Negro Citizens Committee sent the following letter to the Georgia State Democratic Executive Committee which was in session that day.*)

The State Democratic Executixe Committee
Atlanta, Georgia
Dear Sirs:

Because the Negroes of Georgia are not only concerned with the full possession of their constitutionally guaranteed right as citizens of this free Republic, but also because they are zealous of the highest welfare and good name of their state, they, through this committee, urgently request your body to reconsider the recent decision of your sub-committee that, wholly on the basis of race, Negroes will not be permitted to vote in Georgia primaries. We do not need to remind you that this attitude is in direct conflict with the principles upon which our beloved country was founded. . .

We remind you of what every true American knows, that no free country, or part of it can long exist half free and half slave. It is difficult for us to believe that the dominant political party in the sovereign State of Georgia will insist upon continuing a policy which will virtually reduce to political serfdom almost a third of its population. A segment of the population, moreover, that for over a century has given lavishly of blood, sweat and tears, for its posterity and its good name. The argument that the admission of Negroes to the unrestricted use of the ballot, would be a threat to the orderly administration of Government in the State of Georgia is fallacious—a product of prejudice and unfounded fear. America joins hands with liberty-loving men the world around, in a global struggle to free man everywhere from tyranny and oppression. Can it consistently spend, without stint, both gold and human lives in extending the boon of freedom to other peoples, while it denies it to her own citizens? If it is safety for our cherished institutions which has been the motivating force in your action, may we remind you that it is far safer in a democracy for the humblest man to have a ballot in his hand than a wrong in his heart. . . .

We hope that you will see fit generously to grant the opportunity to participate in the process of government of our state to those qualified Negro citizens whose choice is the Democratic party. We respectfully urge you, therefore, in regular session assembled to reconsider the decision of your sub-committee with the hope that barriers set up against Negroes, wholly on the basis of race, in the Democratic Primaries will be discontinued. We do this in the interest of interracial good will, the highest Americanism, and the welfare of our great state.

Very truly yours,
C. L. HARPER, *Chairman*
Negro Citizens Committee

Dr. Willis J. King, President of Gammon Theological Seminary and Member of the Southern Regional Council, has been named a bishop of the Methodist Church to serve in Liberia.

Mat Resis. Group - Hate Literature

FRONTIER

Advancing Democratic Nationalism

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A research and policy formulation group of the
DEMOCRATIC NATIONALIST PARTY

SURVIVAL ISSUE

FOLK - IDEA - NATION

THE UNITED STATES TODAY

150,000,000	Whitefolk
19,000,000	Negroes
8,000,000	Jews
3,000,000	Unclassified non-Whites
180,000,000	

If our buildings, our highways, and our railroads should be wrecked, we could rebuild them. If our cities should be destroyed, out of the very ruins we could erect newer and greater ones. Even if our armed might should be crushed, we could rear sons who would redeem our power. But if the blood of our Whitefolk should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of non-Whites, then the present greatness of our Nation would be gone forever. The maintenance of our American civilization would be as impossible for a non-White America as would the redemption and restoration of the Whiteman's blood which has been mixed with that of the non-White.

FREEDOM FROM COMMUNISM

JV 3-30-81

OUR AMERICAN DESTINY

It is our American Destiny to bring about the unity of the Whiteman's World. The life-or-death threat of aroused non-whites affords the challenge which will close the ranks of the Whiteman's World.

In the days ahead, of heavy threats demanding heroic replies, our Whitefolk brothers and sisters of distant lands will look to us for leadership. The Whiteman of Australia must know that we are with him. The Whiteman of South Africa must know that his destiny is a part of our destiny.

Geography and space must be pushed aside and the Whiteman must be viewed as a living and breathing biological organism, ever-expanding by procreation.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONALISM

Out of the chaos and crisis of modern society emerges a dynamic, revolutionary idea with a positive approach towards the creation of a new national order. Against the subversive doctrines of the Left, we offer DEMOCRATIC NATIONALISM, with its unique, yet fundamental outlook on contemporary national and world affairs.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONALISM is an integral philosophy which embraces and revolutionizes in folk terms every aspect of American life. Its idea is a basic design for the organic preservation and the moral and material elevation of the Whitefolk of North America.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONALISM challenges our Whitefolk to fulfill a mission, to march forward in the opening of new frontiers. It encourages our Folk to work for a national moral reawakening in order to build a Whitefolk Community, bound together by a deep spiritual consciousness of a common past and a determination to share a common future.

The INSTITUTE FOR BIOPOLITICS is the practical instrument for the realization of the DEMOCRATIC NATIONALIST philosophy. The INSTITUTE FOR BIOPOLITICS does not propose to leave the vital interests of our Whitefolk to the whim of chance and the will of subversive elements in our midst. It proposes rather to mobilize our Folk in Revolutionary Unity for total biopolitical struggle.

FREEDOM FROM LIBERALISM

Delineation of the Nation

1. We demand the union of all Whitemen of the North American continent into a common Folk Community.
2. Only members of our Whitefolk may be citizens of the Nation.
3. No Communist or Liberal may be a citizen of the Nation, because of advocacy of the mongrelization of our Whitefolk.
4. No Humanist or Pacifist may be a citizen of the Nation, because of disloyalty to the Nation.

Folk Policy

5. The Government shall promote Whitefolk integrity through the complete and officially enforced segregation of all non-Whites in the Nation.
6. We demand that all intermarriage between citizens of the Nation and non-Whites in the Nation be outlawed.
7. We demand the creation of a National Repatriation Commission to bring about the emigration and resettlement of non-assimilable Whites and non-Whites through financial and economic assistance.
8. Immigration shall be restricted to select Whitefolk from lands of ethnic consanguinity.

Civil Rights Policy

9. All citizens of the Nation shall share equal duties and enjoy equal rights and privileges.
10. The right to vote on the Government and legislation of the Nation shall be the privilege of citizens of the Nation only.
11. Only citizens of the Nation may be candidates for public office, and be employed in departments and agencies of the national and local governments.
12. Only citizens of the Nation may engage in jurisprudence, and be eligible for court and jury duty.
13. Only citizens of the Nation may bear arms and serve as members of the armed forces of the Nation.
14. All persons engaged in activities of entertainment and educational and cultural expression must be citizens of the Nation.

Economic Policy

15. The workers, farmers, industrial and agricultural technicians, engineers, managers, and businessmen, as citizens of the Nation, shall work together as a team and be represented by their own members in the Government — they will subordinate their individual and group interests to the greater interests of their Whitefolk as a whole.
16. The Government shall secure private enterprise by guaranteeing equality of economic opportunity for all citizens of the Nation.
17. We demand a fair price for both producer and consumer, and the safeguarding of both against speculation and profiteering.
18. As science increases the power to produce, we demand that the purchasing power of the consumer be raised proportionately.
19. The Government shall alone exercise its constitutional right to issue debt- and interest-free currency, based on the national production of goods and renderance of services.

Social Policy

20. The Government shall secure the unending improvement of the health and living conditions of the citizens of the Nation.
21. We demand the total elimination of flood and dust-bowl conditions under a long-range program to conserve, utilize, and develop the water, soil, forest, mineral, and nuclear resources of our North American continent.
22. We demand the development of proper recreational facilities for the Whiteyouth of the Nation, beginning with the establishment of youth centers in every community.
23. We demand the complete reorganization of our educational system, so that every individual citizen of the Nation is afforded full opportunity for self-expression, self-realization, and thorough integration into the life of his Folk Community.

Foreign Policy

24. We demand that the sovereign interests of our Nation be secured by firm and sound bilateral diplomacy.
25. A strong and effective system of national defense shall be created to meet any international eventuality.
26. We demand the formal incorporation of Canada, Greenland, and the adjacent North Polar Regions into our Nation.

Political Policy

27. We demand a reorganization of all governmental departments to eliminate duplication, waste, and corruption, and to insure efficiency, economy, and sound administration.
28. We demand the elimination of all ideology and influences from every phase of our political and cultural life which tend to cause the degeneration of our Folk Community and the disintegration of our Nation.
29. To realize all the foregoing essentials, we demand the creation of a strong Government, armed by our Folk with the power to act in effecting its united will.

FREEDOM FROM PACIFISM

LUNCH-COUNTER DESEGREGATION IN CORPUS CHRISTI, GALVESTON, AND SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

by Kenneth Morland

Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College

SRC-15
May 10, 1960

Introduction

San Antonio was the first city in the South to receive publicity for the desegregation of its lunch counters on March 16, 1960, and announcements of Galveston's desegregation on April 5 followed. However, Corpus Christi had made some steps toward desegregation as early as 1950, and the Woolworth counter was desegregated in November, 1958. All of the remaining downtown Corpus Christi lunch counters were desegregated without any publicity on March 28, 1960.

The way in which desegregation came about in each of these cities was different. In Corpus Christi the early desegregations were the result of requests by Negroes for equal service and the granting of those requests by individual managers. The recent desegregation resulted from the objection of an NAACP leader to the refusal of Kress's to serve a Negro, and from the consequent agreement by the managers of four large downtown stores, after several conferences with the Negroes, to desegregate. In San Antonio religious leaders took the initiative in helping store managers and protesting Negroes to work out a solution. Only in Galveston were there overt demonstrations in the form of sit-ins, and a mediating group composed of prominent white businessmen and lawyers, as well as religious leaders, brought about an agreement between managers and Negroes.

Since the story of lunch-counter desegregation in each town is different, it is necessary to trace the development in each separately. Then, generalizations from these three case studies will be derived. But one result can be reported at this point: desegregation of lunch counters is working well in each city, and there is general community acceptance of the change.

Corpus Christi

Corpus Christi is a fast-growing city on the Gulf of Mexico in south Texas. In each ten-year period since 1920, the population has about doubled, and informed persons estimate that there are now about 175,000 residents, made up of 7% Negro, 33% Latin-American, and 60% Anglo. As a rapidly growing city, it has a comparatively large number of young people, a factor cited by some community leaders as a reason for the ready acceptance of change in lunch counter service. Public schools, including Del Mar Junior College, were integrated in 1955, and public recreational facilities, including golf and swimming, were integrated a year later. The local NAACP took the lead in asking for desegregation, but there was little opposition and even some encouragement by white civic leaders.

Steps in the Desegregation

The first lunch-counter desegregation came in 1950 in the H. E. Butt grocery stores, the largest of which have lunch counters. When a Negro customer was refused service, he asked to speak to the store manager, who referred him to the general manager, who suggested that he talk to the owner, Mr. Butt. The Negro was told by the owner that he could be served, and an order was issued to the store managers that all customers, including Negroes, were to be served at the counters in the same way. However, it was not until 1952, according to one report, that all store managers fully complied.

The next step in lunch-counter desegregation took place in the fall of 1958. Negro and white classmates from an integrated school stopped in Woolworth's, sat at the lunch counter, and requested service. When the Negro children were refused, the whites walked out with them. Later an adult Negro member of the NAACP called on the manager of the store to inquire of his policy toward serving Negroes. The manager replied that he was willing to have Negroes served seated at his counter, and since

that time Negroes have eaten there without restriction. However, apparently not all Negroes knew about this privilege, for weeks later some were still standing to eat or were taking food out. A Negro dentist and former state NAACP president told the writer that he asked the Negroes who were standing why they did not sit down. When they reported that they did not know they were permitted to, the dentist went to see the manager who assured the Negroes that they could sit if they wished.

In a lengthy interview with the manager, the writer was told that managers of Woolworth stores were allowed to run their stores as they see fit. The manager said that he felt it silly and unfair to allow Negroes to purchase in other parts of the store and to treat them unequally at the lunch counter. So without consulting the managers of other stores or anyone else, he allowed Negro customers to be served. He was sure that desegregation was coming sooner or later and that his action helped Corpus Christi avoid the difficulties that have developed in other Southern cities. While he had received some "kicks" from other merchants and from a few white customers, he told them that he had to run his store according to his best judgment. He noticed no loss of business from whites or Latin-Americans because of the integration.

The final phase in the desegregation of lunch counters began March 15, 1960. The manager of Kress's had been allowing a Negro employee to eat at one end of his lunch counter, but when this employee invited a Negro friend to eat with him, the friend was refused service. The Negroes reported this to an NAACP leader who then telephoned the manager and arranged a time when they could discuss the matter. In the meantime the Kress manager called together the managers of other stores in which there were sizable lunch counters: Walgreen's, Grant's, and Lichtenstein's (a fashionable department store with a tea room on the fourth floor). After several conferences among the managers and talks with the NAACP leader, the managers agreed

on March 25 to desegregate their lunch counters. They requested that no formal publicity be given to this decision but rather that Negroes be informed by way of the "grapevine." Several Negro ministers announced the decision in their churches, and word was passed from Negro to Negro.

Results

None of the managers reported any real difficulty with the desegregation. Negro customers have not been numerous, and have been generally polite. In casual conversation with several lunch-counter waitresses, white patrons, and taxi drivers, the writer found ready acceptance of desegregation. But it was evident that not all prominent white citizens of the city knew about the desegregation. For example, when asked by the writer, the pastor of one of the leading Protestant churches replied that he did not know whether any of the lunch counters were desegregated. This is clear evidence that the matter has been kept quiet.

Factors Contributing to Desegregation

The following factors appear to be important in the success of lunch-counter desegregation in Corpus Christi:

(1) The general attitude of the community has been permissive toward integration. While there has been no overt drive toward desegregation by white community leaders, only gentle prodding by the NAACP was required to induce the whites to grant equal treatment.

(2) White opposition, in the form of a White Citizen's Council, has been weak and led by low-status persons. When the Council objected during the Christmas season of 1956 to having one of the wise men in a public representation of the manger scene depicted as black, the objection was ridiculed by churchmen and civic leaders. When the Council demanded that the newly-built public swimming pool be restricted to white use, the Park and Recreation Board, after hearing the NAACP

argue for its use by all, decided in favor of non-segregation.

(3) The fact that about one-third of the population is Latin-American made the integration of counters more readily accepted. Apparently most Latin-Americans do not have the prejudice against the Negro felt by many Anglos. And the Latin-American is more likely to have contact with the Negro, in residential areas and at lunch counters. In casual conversation with about ten or twelve Latin-Americans, the writer found no hint of non-acceptance of desegregation but rather a pride in its accomplishment. Also, since Latin-Americans have been integrated into most aspects of community life in Corpus Christi, the integration of Negroes was easier for the whites to take.

(4) Negro leadership has been effective. While not aggressively and overtly pushing for equality, it has, nevertheless, accomplished a great deal. The Negro dentist mentioned earlier has, for example, by working quietly and persistently, won the respect and confidence of white leaders. If desegregation is to be brought about in other areas of community life--restaurants, hotels, movies, the University of Corpus Christi (Southern Baptist)--it will require the same caliber of Negro leadership and initiative.

SAN ANTONIO

San Antonio is a city of half a million people, with a racial composition estimated by informed persons to be 9% Negro, 42% Latin-American, and 49% Anglo. An important part of the economy of the city is its military installations: Fort Sam Houston, headquarters for the Fourth Army; and the Air Force bases at Brooks, Kelly, Lackland, Medina, and Randolph fields. These installations are integrated, and San Antonio lunch counters have for some time served uniformed Negro soldiers and airmen, especially when accompanied by white military personnel. Public golf courses were desegregated in June, 1954, and all other public recreational facilities, including swimming pools, in March, 1956. Desegregation of public schools began in 1955 and by 1960 all grades were desegregated. The six colleges in the area, both municipal and private, have Anglo, Latin-American, and Negro students.

Steps in the Desegregation

When the sit-in demonstrations spread over the South during February, 1960, three independent developments began in San Antonio. (1) The executive director of the Council of Churches (an organization of 150 Protestant churches of all prominent denominations except the Southern Baptists) started talking with religious and civic leaders to see if any action could be taken to avoid overt demonstrations in the city. Public officials, including the mayor, felt that it would be best if they did not participate directly, and they urged that representatives of the various faiths take the lead. The executive director of the Council of Churches then brought together white representatives of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant churches, along with the executive director of the Community Welfare Council. They began to meet toward the end of February to discuss the problem. (2) The managers of downtown San Antonio stores with lunch counters met and agreed informally on a policy of not serving Negroes if they demanded service. (3) The NAACP opened

discussions on what course of action it might take to bring about lunch-counter desegregation. On March 7, 1960, a 17-year-old college freshman, president of the San Antonio Youth Group of the NAACP, began sending letters to downtown stores requesting equal service for Negroes. On March 13, at a mass rally of 1,500 Negroes, the NAACP decided to mail a formal "ultimatum" to downtown stores requesting desegregation of lunch counters by Thursday, March 21.

This action brought the three separate movements together. The religious leaders, chaired by the head of the Council of Churches, arranged a meeting with the store managers for Tuesday, March 19, promising that any decision about lunch counters would be that of the merchants themselves and that no publicity would be given to the meeting. This proved to be an all-day session, and ended with an agreement among almost all of the managers that they would desegregate their lunch counters the next day, March 20. A turning point in the meeting came when the manager of a national chain store urged that the counters be desegregated. He declared that to solve a moral problem was, at the same time, to solve a business one, for, he said, strife disrupts business and creates ill will. He pointed out that business had fallen off from 45 to 60% in some of the stores in his chain where demonstrations had occurred. He further pointed out that it was silly for whites to complain of lunch-counter desegregation as too personal when in his store they tried on hats and girdles that Negroes had tried on before them.

The store managers secured three commitments from the mediating committee in regard to the proposed desegregation. The first was that responsible Negro leaders be informed about the new policy and requested to move slowly in taking advantage of the desegregation. The second was that the Negroes agree to take no action for 30 days against any store that was not ready to desegregate on March 20. The third was that the mediating committee do everything possible to convince white church members that

desegregation was in the best interests of the entire community. (See letter attached--Attachment A.) The mediating committee immediately began carrying out these requests. The chairman called together four leading Negro citizens, all of whom were associated with the NAACP, to explain the new policy and to ask for suggestions toward implementation. These said that they would be glad to pass on to the Negro community the requests of the store managers that Negroes move slowly at first. At a mass meeting of the NAACP on Thursday, March 21, Negroes hailed the agreement and were urged by their leaders to be especially courteous and neat when they ate at the lunch counters.

Results

Managers of the stores reported no difficulty and no loss in sales following the desegregation. They received a few telephone calls complaining of the action, and a few persons closed their accounts. But they also received words of commendation from many white persons, and some Negro customers expressed their appreciation.

On the first day, reporters and cameramen were on hand. Cameras were hurriedly set up when two Negro men entered the Kress cafeteria. But the white patrons showed far more interest in the newsmen than in the two Negroes, and when one white woman asked about the excitement and was informed that there were Negroes in the cafeteria line, she remarked that she thought they had always been served in that cafeteria. Newspaper accounts of the first few days of desegregation reported that few Negroes sat at the lunch counters. The following two incidents, reported by members of the mediating committee, illustrate the attitude of some Negroes toward their use of the facilities. A Negro shoeshiner was asked if he had eaten at one of the desegregated counters yet. The reply was that he would eat there only when he could be properly dressed, not when he was in his work clothes with shoe polish on his hands. Five Negro youngsters standing outside Woolworth's debated whether they would really be served if they sat down. A member of the mediating

committee who happened to be standing near assured them that they would. He suggested, however, that all five not sit together. Two of the youths then went in together, were served, and when they left the store the other three went in.

The Future

An interracial commission has been set up, with the executive director of the Community Welfare Council as its chairman. Its purpose is to consider quietly other types of desegregation. Managers of hotels, motels, and restaurants will be invited in to discuss with the committee the possibility of desegregating their facilities. Still one difficulty remains,however, in the completion of the desegregation of eating facilities in those stores where Negroes are invited to shop but are not allowed to sit to eat. Joske's, the only large, downtown store that asked for more time to consider desegregation, did announce the desegregation of its basement cafeteria facility at the end of the thirty-day period. However, the store refused to desegregate the more fashionable eating places on its first and second floors, arguing that its basement facility was more comparable to the lunch counters and cafeterias in the desegregated variety and drug stores. The Negroes are not happy about this arrangement and have talked in terms of sit-ins and boycotts at Joske's. However, the white members of the interracial committee are urging the Negroes not to resort to overt demonstrations for fear they might undo much of what has been accomplished. Apparently a great deal of pressure is being brought to bear on the moderate Negro members of the committee by the more aggressive Negroes. At the time of this writing it is not clear how this issue will be resolved.* But there is no question about the ultimate goal of the Negro

* Subsequently, picketing in Joske's was begun, and one fight has occurred. It is reported that the demonstration does not have the undivided support of the Negro community. At any rate, the demonstration is not regarded as a reversal of the progress made; in fact, several places not a party to the first agreement have since quietly desegregated.

leaders; it is to make San Antonio a completely "open" city.

Factors Contributing to Desegregation

The following factors were pointed out by San Antonians as being of importance in bringing about lunch-counter desegregation:

(1) The presence and success of integration in the large military bases, and in the public recreational facilities and schools, helped to show the city that desegregation could "work."

(2) The large Latin-American population, about 42% of the total, feels less prejudice toward the Negro than does the white. As one of the Negro leaders said to the writer, "You know, the Latin-Americans accept us more readily than do you whites." Furthermore, some of the Latin-Americans have dark skins, and whites have grown accustomed to seeing them eating at the counters. Politically, the Negroes hold the balance of power between the other two races, and some persons interviewed suggested that this was a factor in bringing about desegregation.

(3) Channels of communication between Negroes and whites have been developed through interracial membership of such civic committees as those for housing, libraries, and city planning. Through the past several years, the members of these committees have learned to understand and respect one another. It was from the membership of these committees that the Negro representatives were chosen to explain to other Negroes the proposed change of policy agreed to by the merchants.

(4) The vigorous leadership offered by white ministers helped in reassuring the managers and in explaining their point of view to the Negroes. For a number of years, forthright condemnation of enforced racial segregation had been made from Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish pulpits, thus defining segregation as a moral issue. It is difficult to see how the problem could have been worked out without the effective direction given by the mediating committee of ministers.

(5) The pressure of the NAACP precipitated the meeting which led to the

desegregation agreement. Such pressure helped to crystallize the fear that had been felt because of the sit-ins and other demonstrations over the South. However, whites and Negroes interpreted the effect of the NAACP "ultimatum" differently. Some of the white persons involved claimed that it almost wrecked negotiations with the managers, while the Negro leaders were sure that desegregation would not have been agreed to by the managers unless they had been under such pressure.

(6) Favorable press coverage helped to show this conflict as a human rights struggle, and the press did not treat the situation in such a way as to arouse racial antagonisms. The meeting of the religious and business leaders was given no publicity so that those present would feel free to speak their minds.

GALVESTON

Galveston is located in southeastern Texas on the eastern end of an island thirty miles long and three miles wide in the Gulf of Mexico. Many of its inhabitants think of it as "different" from the rest of Texas because it is separated from the mainland. Its population in 1960 is estimated by the Chamber of Commerce to be 70,000, with a racial composition 33% Negro, 15% Latin-American, and 52% Anglo. One of its largest "industries" is the University of Texas Medical School, which is integrated. Public buses are desegregated, and, while most Negroes live separately from the Latin-Americans and Anglos, there is no rigid residential segregation. Some Negro families are scattered among non-Negro families. The public schools are segregated, although the school board had planned to begin integration at the first grade level in September, 1957. The plans were halted by a Texas law, which went into effect on August 22, 1957, requiring a local referendum before desegregation of schools. To integrate by order of a school board would result in a loss of all state funds for education and fines up to $1,000 for violators. Although the Galveston school board attorney believed the law unconstitutional, he suggested that the city not try to contest it by having state funds cut off.

Steps in Desegregation

On Friday, March 11, 1960, around noon, a group of 25 Negro students from Central High School began sit-in demonstrations at Woolworth's. The students had a holiday because of a teachers' convention. Their resolve to claim equal service had grown, according to the youngster who organized the demonstration, out of discussions in their American history class. They carried copies of the United States Constitution and chanted, "We'll take a seat and sit for a week." When the manager of the store turned off the lights and cooking burners and announced the counter closed, the students went to the counters at Walgreen's,

which were promptly closed, and from there to McCrory's, and then to Kress's. The sit-ins continued on Saturday, and most of the next week after school hours. Police kept close watch over what was a fairly tense and threatening situation. The managers of the stores consulted informally among themselves and agreed to ignore the Negroes rather than close the counters.

During one of the demonstrations in his store, the Woolworth manager asked the students who their spokesman was, and a 16-year-old junior came forward. He assured the manager that the sit-ins were entirely the idea of the students and that no organization or adults were behind them. The manager then requested that the leader secure the help of responsible Negro adults who might talk the situation over with the managers of the stores. The Negro youth went to the wealthiest and most influential Negro in Galveston, a real estate dealer, who suggested that a white lawyer, who had chaired the school board committee recommending desegregation of public schools, be asked to explain to the managers what the Negroes wanted. The high school boy then called on the lawyer who, rather than talking with the managers by himself, decided to set up a mediating committee of influential whites.

This white mediating committee proved to be of crucial importance in working out a solution. It was composed of eleven persons: three lawyers; the owner of a radio and television station; a clothing merchant; the wife of a cotton broker; the owner of a furniture store; and four ministers, representing the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths. This committee met without publicity and agreed on two basic principles: (1) they would attempt to provide needed leadership in order to keep irresponsible forces from moving into the situation; and (2) no publicity would be given their attempt to mediate the conflict. The committee then asked the managers of the stores involved to meet with them.

After a lengthy conference, almost all of the managers agreed to desegregate their counters, provided certain

conditions could be met: (1) responsible adult Negro leadership would have to be organized to communicate the new policy to the Negro community; (2) some assurance would be given that no further demonstrations would be held for at least a month, giving those stores that could not decide on desegregation immediately time enough to consider it; (3) a promise that Negro high school students would wait two weeks before using the counters, and that Negro adults would not overflow the counters; (4) extra police help would be available as the counters opened; (5) the ministers on the mediating committee would make a public statement supporting desegregation. A detailed statement of these conditions was later written and put into the hands of each manager, mediating committee member, and Negro committee member. (A copy of this statement is attached--Attachment B.)

The mediating committee then called the high school youth and the real estate dealer, requesting that a responsible Negro committee be set up. This was done within four hours and was composed of Negro businessmen, school teachers, labor leaders, doctors, dentists, and representatives from the Negro students. The white mediating committee met with the Negroes and conveyed the willingness of the managers to desegregate if they could be assured the conditions would be met. The Negroes readily agreed and promised to try to their utmost to persuade the entire Negro community to comply.

When the mediating committee relayed the Negro promise of cooperation to the managers, the final agreement to open the counters on Tuesday, April 5, was made. On the prior Sunday, Negro ministers urged their congregations to move slowly in their use of the counters, and on Monday, April 4, the full statement of agreement was announced over the public address system to the Negro students at Central High. Then, on April 5, the Galveston Tribune carried the headline, "City Lunch Counters Integrated," giving the city the first official news of the decision. Contained in the newspaper account was the following statement, agreed upon by the mediating committee and the managers:

After conferences held between Galveston store managers and Galveston leaders of all religious faiths, and civic and business leaders of the community, the managers of practically all the Galveston stores having lunch counters have decided that it is in the best interest of the entire community to open their lunch counters to all of their patrons. This decision has already been put into effect.

Religious leaders of Galveston have joined in commending all persons and interests involved for the example they have set by solving their mutual problem quietly and moderately in the spirit of good citizenship. The store proprietors in turn have expressed their appreciation to those who provided the mediation that led to this amicable solution.

The next day the following statement appeared in the Galveston News, written by Mr. T. D. Armstrong, Negro real estate dealer and adult leader of the Negro group:

The Negro citizens of Galveston are thankful that this community problem has been solved in a quiet and moderate spirit of good citizenship, functioning on the community level as suggested by President Eisenhower.

We are especially grateful to the mediation which led to the solution being provided by white civic and religious leaders on their own initiative. We intend to see that our conduct in using this new privilege will prove us worthy of our responsibility as good citizens in a city of good will.

Results

Both the Negro adults and students complied fully with the conditions set down by the merchants. Few Negroes sat at the counters during the opening days of desegregation, and when they did, not more than two of them sat together. The Negro high school students scrupulously avoided the counters during the first two weeks, and they did not demonstrate against stores that did not desegregate. Some of the store managers received complaints from white customers because of the desegregation, and four accounts were closed in one drug store and two in another. However, in one case, the husband phoned in the closing of the account and the wife came to the store the next day and reopened, apologizing for the hasty decision of her husband. None of the merchants felt that they had lost trade during the first weeks of desegregation. At one drug store, which has 40 lunch-counter seats, the manager compared the total sales for April 1-19, 1959 with those for the same period in 1960. He found that his lunch-counter

sales were about the same, while the sales in the rest of his store were several hundred dollars higher in 1960.

Most of the people with whom the writer talked at lunch counters, in taxi cabs, on buses, and on the street, accepted the desegregation readily. Typical of remarks of approval were: "If Negroes purchase in one part of the store, it is only fair that they should be able to purchase in all parts." "I'd rather sit by a clean colored person than next to an unbathed white." "It wasn't right for the Negro to have no decent places to eat downtown." "God made us all, and it isn't right for some to try to act like they're better than others." "We have a good spirit in this town." Other statements of reluctant approval were: "It had to come, and there wasn't much we could do about it--but I hope we don't get to intermarriage." "The Negroes just wanted to prove they could do it." "Now that they can eat at the counters, they don't bother to do so." "They don't bother me, for I never sit near them." None of those talked to casually knew very much of how the desegregation was brought about. They remarked that they knew some influential committee was at work on the problem, but they did not know who composed the committee or how things were working out. One who disapproved said that the whites must have given in to the Negroes, and he did not know where it would all end. The head of the chamber of commerce received a long distance call or two from out-of-town persons who said they would not vacation in Galveston again. He also received a call from Governor Collins of Florida who wanted to find out how Galveston managed to desegregate its facilities so quietly and successfully.

The ministers of all faiths and races have set up an informal group which a steering committee can call together at any time. There is no question but what there will be efforts by Negroes to desegregate other facilities. Negro leaders feel now that there are channels through which they may make appeals, rather than having to resort to overt demonstrations.

Factors Contributing to Desegregation

(1) As was true of the other two cities, background factors were important to the success of the desegregation. The school board was ready to begin a program of school integration, with apparently no strong objection from the community. The presence of the integrated University of Texas Medical School and of integrated Latin-Americans provided a favorable atmosphere for the desegregation.

(2) Influential white leadership arose and took charge of the situation. These were persons of good will who worked quietly and with genuine modesty to effect a solution. Because of their positions in the community, they could speak with assurance to both the merchants and the Negroes and thus were excellent mediators. Furthermore, they gave vigorous and unequivocal support to the decision once it was made. Special credit for the success of the mediating committee goes to the lawyer who called the group together and to the minister who chaired the sessions.

(3) The store managers acted in a restrained manner. They did not order the demonstrating Negroes out of the store or have them arrested, and they were willing, furthermore, to learn their point of view. One manager took the lead in asking the Negro students to arrange to have adult Negroes represent them. Another manager, born and reared in East Texas, stated at a crucial point in the meeting of managers and mediating committee that he would be willing to desegregate his lunch counters if the others would. His decision helped to sway his fellow managers, for he had lived in Galveston longer than any, and they felt he knew the local situation well. His statement is credited by mediating committee members as turning the tide. Of course, the managers feared that continued demonstrations would disrupt trade, and they wanted to avoid them. But they also spoke of wanting to be fair to their Negro customers. The managers had foresight enough to allow time before the decision to desegregate went into effect to talk to their employees. Some waitresses objected, but the managers were able to reason with

them. No employee resigned when the new policy was announced.

(4) Negro leadership was highly effective in making sure the terms of the agreement were carried out. Church services, lodge meetings, school sessions, and informal gatherings were used to urge Negroes to be careful in taking advantage of lunch-counter desegregation. All of the white persons involved in the negotiations stated emphatically that the responsible, circumspect behavior of the Negroes was a big factor in the success of desegregation.

(5) The clear support of the white ministers on the mediation committee stressed the religious and moral aspect of the issue. The cooperation among the three faiths was itself evidence of good will and a reflection of unity.

(6) Favorable reports on the results of the desegregation of lunch counters in San Antonio reassured the merchants. By chance, the regional director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith had just arrived in Galveston after spending several days in San Antonio. He was consulted by the committee and was able to point out that things were working well in that city and that none of the stores with desegregated counters had encountered difficulty.

(7) Publicity was kept to a minimum. During the time of the mediation, few persons in the community knew what was going on. Those present in the meetings felt free to speak frankly without fear of being quoted. None of those in leadership positions attempted to gain anything personally from the situation. They repeatedly stressed to all concerned that it was a community problem that required a community solution.

(8) Prompt police action prevented any possible disorder. The police did not allow any crowds to gather in the stores nor on the sidewalks.

GENERAL SUMMARY

(1) It can be seen that each of the three cities followed a different pattern in desegregating lunch counters, and it would seem likely that each community of the South, depending on its size, racial composition, and traditions, may proceed somewhat differently. In other words, no single approach can be used. However, of the three cases studied, Galveston, with 33% Negro, is the most like other Southern cities.

(2) When the chips were down, influential white citizens in each city took a firm stand for desegregation. In Galveston, this was done through direct participation in the mediation by lawyers, ministers, and businessmen. In San Antonio, only the religious leaders involved themselves directly, but they had the tacit support of other influential persons. In Corpus Christi, the managers themselves agreed to desegregation without a mediating group, but they felt sure that white community leaders supported them. It is to be noted that public officials stayed out of the negotiations. When approached by other white leaders, the officials felt that mediation should be established on a less formal basis.

(3) Religious leaders were important to the success of desegregation in Galveston and San Antonio. In both instances the managers asked for and received public support from these leaders, and their support gave strong reassurance to the managers.

(4) Those managers who took the lead in deciding for desegregation put the decision on a moral basis, in line with American values. In each of the three cities, one of the managers, at a crucial point in the negotiations, stated the solution in terms of democratic ideals and expressed his willingness to desegregate. Of course, the economic factor was also involved in the decisions, for the managers reasoned that the alternative to desegregation would be worse for

their business than desegregation. Examples of what had happened to businesses in other cities helped to convince them that they should desegregate.

(5) Negroes in each of the cities revealed a willingness, even an eagerness, to comply with the terms requested by the managers. In Galveston, the high school students who started the sit-ins gladly waited two weeks to show good faith, and in San Antonio and Galveston the Negroes readily agreed to a moratorium on acting against those lunch counters that did not feel that they could desegregate at the time of the decision. And, for the most part, Negro patrons of the lunch counters have been almost overly careful to avoid offending whites. In all three cities the Negroes acted with a strong sense of responsibility in making sure the desegregation was successful.

(6) In each case publicity was kept to a minimum. Everything said during the meetings was held in confidence, no member of the press was present, and reports to the press were cleared with the group. Even after the decision to desegregate was put into effect, the leaders were careful to limit the type of publicity permitted. In both Galveston and San Antonio, reporters and photographers from nationally circulated magazines wanted stories and pictures of the individuals involved in the mediation. But the leaders pleaded with the representatives from the magazines not to give the decision this sort of publicity, for they believed it could do a great deal of harm to focus the glare of publicity on something that was working well. They stressed to the reporters that this was a cooperative, community decision, rather than the work of individuals. The magazines complied. For example, in the April 18, 1960, edition of Life, the only publicity given to the Galveston desegregation was a picture of four religious leaders, representing both races and the three faiths, with a "Welcome to Galveston" sign in the background. Those depicted are referred to as "catalysts in the quiet negotiations."

(7) It was freely admitted by the white leaders that without some direct pressure by Negroes, desegregation would have been highly unlikely. The Negroes were even surer of this. The type of pressure varied from requests over the telephone, to mass rallies demanding action, to actual sit-in demonstrations. No steps toward desegregation were taken until Negroes in each of the cities asked for it. In Galveston, one of the managers said that if he and the other managers had attempted desegregation on their own, without the crisis caused by the sit-ins, the white community would have been up in arms. But once the sit-ins started, desegregation became a defensible solution.

(8) The success of the desegregation, in terms of the smoothness and calmness with which it was generally accepted, surprised most of those involved. The managers said that they had expected far more trouble, and far more resentment by white patrons. However, as one manager expressed it, "Most of our fears were creations of our own minds." Regardless of how whites felt about lunch-counter desegregation before such desegregation took place, many of them expressed pride in the accomplishment, once it was done.

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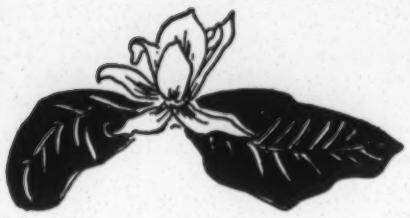

McCarthyism under the Magnolias

by WILMA DYKEMAN & JAMES STOKELY

"AT A TIME when the South might well use a renewed vision of Robert E. Lee's virtue or Andy Jackson's vigor," a young Southern liberal said recently, "it seems a shame that we should choose to start reviving the spirit of Joe McCarthy."

An embattled social scientist in Atlanta summed up the situation during a conversation: "One trouble outsiders have in understanding our present difficulties is the culture-lag in the South. McCarthy never caught on down here back in his heyday, but as the last-ditch fight for segregation grows more desperate, all his ugly techniques are revived. At the end of the decade we're in the throes of an experience the rest of the country put behind it in the early Fifties."

One recent example came, perhaps with some appropriateness, in the legislative halls of the nation's capital. When Representative Dale Alford, newly elected Congressman from Arkansas, presented his maiden speech in the House in February, the proposed subject of his discourse was only slightly less sensational than the whirlwind eight-day paste-in campaign which had won him victory over veteran Representative Brooks Hays in last November's election.

Voicing alarm "at the complacency of some officials toward the menace of the Communist conspiracy . . . to make this great nation of ours part of a one-world government, operated from Moscow," Representative Alford then announced he would reveal the close alliance between Communism and "racial agitation" in the South.

The speech was founded largely on intricate webs of association and denunciations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the bi-racial Southern Regional Council, "renegade journalist" Harry Ashmore, "the Warren-Myrdal Supreme Court," and several less prominent individuals and groups. Its "revelations" were often without relevance.

Perhaps the whole performance of equating a controversial issue with Communism and then identifying as fellow travelers those people interested in confronting the issue seems anachronistic to Americans outside the South, where McCarthyism is only a bitter memory. But to many people in the South it is a significant thermometer reflecting the epidemic already in their midst, and a barometer suggesting the proportions of attacks yet to come.

As McCarthyism moves South under the magnolias, most of those against whom the search for subversives appears to be directed are not political Communists as much as racial non-conformists, people who seek a reasonable way of abiding by the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation of the public schools, while those who would subvert the law by defiance and maneuver designate themeselves the super-patriots and inquisitors. By their words the investigators are seeking out Southerners "soft on Communism;" by their acts they are singling out Southerners "soft on segregation."

Of course, the very fact that they feel this necessary indicates the absence of a monolithic South, and reveals that there are many Southerners who abhor the present dilemma and are willing to work for a solution. But the nature of this crisis, with its pull from the past and its emotional undertow, makes it especially susceptible to McCarthyism. In a time of tremendous change at the regional level (involving integration), and deep apprehension at the national level (involving Communism), where these regional racial tensions coincide with our national survival fears, there is created a no-man's land of uncertainty and suspicion. In such an atmosphere, threats and innuendo serve well to intimidate and immobilize creative thought and action on controversial problems.

In October, 1954, Circuit Court Judge Tom P. Brady of Mississippi made an address to the Indianola Citizens' Council. The judge gave a lengthy historical picture of the rise of the vertebrates, the various migrations, nations, and wars of mankind, and such "facts" of eugenics and biology as that "the Negro's brain pan seals and hardens quicker than the white man's." Seeking to explain how the Supreme Court had overlooked all this history and biology in its recent decisions, he cited the influence of the NAACP and the 87 "Communist-front organizations" behind it.

A year later the attempt to identify black leadership and the red cause received added impetus from Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia. In a talk entitled "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP," which was given saturation distribution as a printed pamphlet throughout the South, Cook sought to prove that through affiliations of some of its officers with other organizations, some of which were listed in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and because the Communist Party had an identical stated aim of "full racial equality," the NAACP had "allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states."

He closed with a warning which was both the most explicit and implicit of any as to what "do-gooder" community leaders might expect if they continued to participate in interracial groups. "Investigations currently are being made . . . the results of which will greatly embarrass those

WILMA DYKEMAN and JAMES STOKELY, native Southerners, are a husband-and-wife writing team whose recent book on the South, "Neither Black Nor White," won the 1958 Hillman Award and has now been issued in a paperback edition.

good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups . . . before they, their friends, and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean."

Such speeches, widely disseminated throughout the South by the segregationist Citizens' Councils, were only the prelude. In March, 1957, a special Louisiana state legislative committee (sometimes called the "watchdog" committee on segregation) held a three-day hearing in Baton Rouge to find "the causes of racial unrest in the South." As the testimony unfolded, however, it seemed that these causes had already been determined. The committee, headed by state Senator William Rainach, did not appear to seek from its six "cooperative" witnesses information as much as confirmation.

The Rainach Committee hearing marked the first appearance on the Southern scene of some of the old pros of the investigative road shows, refurbished now to play the Southern circuit. Manning Johnson, a Negro from New York and self-confessed former Communist, was the star. In 1954 Johnson was the principal denouncer in the loyalty investigation of United Nations Undersecretary Ralph J. Bunche. His accusations were discredited. He himself testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board that he believed "some things are more important than the truth," and in 1956 the Board expunged from the record of certain of its hearings what it called "tainted" testimony given by Harvey Matusow, the late Paul Crouch, and Manning Johnson.

Yet Johnson, who was reported to have earned up to $9,096 over a two-year period as a professional former Communist witness, appeared in Louisiana to castigate Judge William Hastie, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt ("somebody should muzzle her and put her in a cage"), Martin Luther King, Jr. ("I think Reverend King could stand a thorough investigation"), the respected Southern Regional Council, and the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

It was in testimony concerning these two organizations that Johnson's and the committee's irresponsibility became most evident. Having falsely asserted that the Southern Regional Council was founded by a Communist, Johnson compounded falsehood with guilt-by-association and reached from Louisiana over into Mississippi to discuss the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. He had no startling "revelations" about this state group but did take time to read into the record the names and addresses of the officers of the biracial organization.

The reason for publicizing these names and addresses was not made clear, but results came promptly. One board member named, along with the Catholic Bishop of Mississippi and other eminent clergymen, was the wife of a well-known Greenwood, Mississippi, cotton dealer. Six days after Johnson's testimony the dining room of their home was ripped by a bullet blast. A reporter later concluded, "It was not intended to kill but just to frighten."

These public proceedings did not nail down any specific Communist individual or group against which Louisiana and the federal government could move to lessen racial difficulties in the South. Assessments of guilt were conveniently general, emphasizing "racial nationalism," NAACP "dictation" to the Supreme Court and the President, and destruction of individual liberty by the "Communist timetable of world conquest."

Several subsequent investigations have arrived at similar conclusions. Hard on the heels of the disastrous developments in Little Rock, in October, 1957, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, moved into Memphis to study "Communism in the Mid-South." At the end of the two-day hearing, with 14 witnesses, seven had invoked the Fifth Amendment and one, a Little Rock housewife who had made news earlier that autumn by comforting one of the Negro girls in the school crisis, had been accused of affiliation with the Communist Party in 1945. The statement of conclusions, however, was still general: "Communist activity in the Mid-South is highly conspiratorial, deeply cloaked in secrecy." Without specific elaboration these deductions left room for intimidation, without risk of libel, when they asserted that the targets of the Red network were churches, parent-teacher associations, colleges, high schools, and labor organizations.

Three months later, in February, 1958, an investigation of racial agitation in Florida was undertaken by a joint legislative committee in Tallahassee. Senator C. E. Johnson, sponsor of segregation bills at two previous legislative sessions, was chairman. The star witness on this occasion was J. B. Matthews.

Billed as a one-time investigator for the late Senator McCarthy's Committee, it was not pointed out that Matthews had lasted as staff director for McCarthy less than a month. Although he asserted flatly that "Communists or Communist influence were directly involved in every major race incident of the past four years since the Supreme Court 'legislated' on the subject of integration," reports were forced to state that Matthews' further testimony was "general in nature."

The Tampa *Tribune* suggested that the committee's sessions had been "largely devoted to old charges and an intense study of the obvious." It stated that the committee's treatment of the treasurer of the Tallahassee Council on Human Relations "was repugnant to the American concept of fair play," and voiced the hope that in the future the committee might "have evidence which is current, and which is related to Communism."

The Human Relations Council treasurer to whom the paper referred was a respected furniture dealer, James Shaw. The episode involving him highlighted the most unsavory feature of such investigations and one frequently forgotten by many citizens. Equated in the public mind with a trial, these hearings are not bound by the rules of actual courts of law, and their arbitrary development of one point of view may make a mockery of justice.

Shaw was subpoenaed to present the financial records of the Tallahassee Human Relations Council to the committee. When he did so, he was refused the right to make a statement, although one member of the committee wished to hear him. Shaw later told the press: "I wanted to say that I presented the records under protest because I feel that being subpoenaed to bring them here created implications and insinuations about me and my organization. They could have called any officer of the organization and we would have been glad to turn over the records to them. Anyone could have attended any one of our meetings and realized there was nothing to investigate."

His summary of the council's aims and methods must seem modest enough to anyone removed from the total resistance atmosphere of much of the South today: "This organization is not secret. Most of our meetings have been held at the courthouse. One of the purposes of it is to create a line of communication between Negroes and whites. We have not done very much but we have tried to ease the tensions that have been created by statewide political campaigns."

The increasing all-out effort to discredit just these individuals and groups working to "create a line of

communication" and "ease the tensions" became even more evident during a recent investigation conducted in Arkansas. Attorney General Bruce Bennett, who examined witnesses for the state committee, said the hearing would serve "as an educational program more than anything else," and added, "most of our case will be tried at the bar of public opinion." He indicated that those called to testify would be friendly to the committee's purpose, which indeed proved to be true.

Manning Johnson and J. B. Matthews were the principals among these witnesses. Johnson repeated his summary of Communist history and strategy and restated his antagonism to the NAACP which he had voiced at the Rainach Committee hearing in Louisiana. Matthews went even farther than he had during his appearance before the Florida committee. He named as Communists four former residents of Arkansas, two of whom had left the state years before, two of whom had been in Little Rock until recently. The rest of his testimony was largely an effort to link together those groups interested in integration and smear them and their members with one sweeping assertion of witting or unwitting aid to Communism.

This was the same Matthews who wrote back in 1953: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." Virginia's Senator Harry F. Byrd promptly declared that Matthews "should give names and facts to sustain his charge or stand convicted as a cheap demagogue willing to blacken the character of his fellow Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain." Following a statement by President Eisenhower, Matthews resigned as staff director of the McCarthy Committee. It is not a history designed to inspire confidence in later accusations of Communist infiltration. Nevertheless, the committee proceeded with its televised probe featuring the testimony of these two men.

Since the hearings in Arkansas in December and Representative Alford's February speech to the House, Attorney General Bennett has branched out in his activities. In March he helped instigate and guide a legislative probe in the adjoining state of Tennesseee.

This exploration concerned the Highlander Folk School, founded and directed by Myles Horton, a native Tennessean. This school has been controversial since its establishment in 1934 by the very nature of its interests: labor organization and, more recently, racial integration. Endorsed by such national figures as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Reinhold Niebuhr, Monsignor John O'Grady, Harry Golden, and former TVA Chairman Gordon Clapp, the school had come under close federal scrutiny when its tax-exempt status was restored over a year ago. But federal clearance did not satisfy Arkansas' Bennett, who flew to Nashville to testify that in his opinion the school is subversive. "Run 'em out! Run 'em out!" he advised the committee members, referring to leaders of the school.

Many Tennesseans resented his advice, recalling a thought-control bill he had introduced in his own state's legislature, making it unlawful "to encourage nonconformance with the established traditions, customs, and usage of the state."

The Chattanooga *Times* commented: "We are neither patrons nor partisans of Highlander Folk School . . . . But unpopularity is not a sufficient reason for official harassment or intimidation. When one man's right to argue an unpopular course is assailed, another's right to advocate the opposite is threatened." Fourteen University of the South professors, who live only five miles from Highlander, in nearby Sewanee, came out in a public statement supporting the school and its "democratic ideals." The Nashville *Tennessean* battled against what it called a "witch hunt," warning that Tennessee did not need or deserve "the distinction of reviving McCarthyism."

Interspersed with the activities of these various official committees have been numerous other investigations, legislative proposals, printed and verbal attacks designed to obscure the black and white problem with the red menace. The NAACP has been under constant fire but other groups gaining increased attention include labor organizations, teachers, the clergy, and interracial councils. (It may be significant for the future that Manning Johnson, one of the favorite "friendly witnesses" of these hearings, wrote an article denouncing the NAACP in a recent issue of the violently anti-Semitic *Common Sense*.)

"The NAACP? Oh, you mean the National Association for the Advancement of the Communist Party." At filling stations and small-town stores in many parts of the South there is ready evidence of the easy acceptance of a scapegoat.

Yet J. Edgar Hoover, in his recent *Masters of Deceit,* a source widely quoted throughout the South on other aspects of Communism, and even praised by Representative Alford in that very speech he made to show red influences in the NAACP, came to the conclusion that NAACP leaders have consistently thwarted the Communist Party's "vigorous efforts" at infiltration. In 1953 Hoover stated: "The American Negro is not hoodwinked by these false messiahs."

Early in 1957 a bill was introduced in the Tennessee legislature providing that a teacher may be fired "if while within the buildings, he shall make pronouncements or engage in or promote discussions for the purpose of influencing students or other persons with reference to the problem of the integration of the races." This particular measure to gag the teachers died, but the spirit behind it did not.

Last year, when 63 Louisiana State University professors signed a Louisiana Civil Liberties Union petition opposing segregation bills which would permit closing of public schools, a legislative inquiry of the professors was launched. Members of the House were reported to feel that "Communism and integration walk hand in hand," and anyone, particularly university faculty members, who opposes legislation aimed at keeping Louisiana schools racially pure "must have subversive tendencies."

In December, 1958, University of Arkansas President J. T. Caldwell felt it necessary to "repudiate unequivocally the imputation that the University of Arkansas has been penetrated by Communists and express the fullest confidence in the members of our faculty." And when the Arkansas Education Association, a statewide organization of white teachers and school administrators, stated as policy a few months ago, "We can never compromise our conviction that the public school system is not expendable," the 21-member Legislative Council was so outraged that it suggested the Education Association members were innocent victims of subversive influence—and ordered an investigation by the Committee on Subversion in Education.

The National Council of Churches has borne much of the brunt of the smear attack on churchmen. One South Carolina editor has said the NCC "will shower respect on anarchists, Communists, and atheists but deny respect to Southerners whose only crime is that they believe in traditional American states rights."

One of the most consistently attacked organizations in the South recently has been the dignified and reasonable Southern Regional Council. This is understandable because it works by, with, and for Southerners of both races in a discussion and research effort to undergird integration with solid fact and lasting effectiveness. Its voice is calm, its work is

constructive, and its effect is cumulative. Unfortunately, much of its energy lately has been diverted in stamping out the leaf fires sparked by irresponsible incendiarists.

The SRC, under its knowledgeable young director, Harold Fleming, is filling a unique need in the region. Pitted against it is the testimony of —again—the ex-Communist, Manning Johnson, whose appearances before the Louisiana Rainach Committee provided the source for the subsequent attacks against SRC. A month after this hearing, in April, 1957, *The Firing Line,* published by the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, reported that Johnson's testimony "reflected the Council was formed by James E. Jackson, a Southern organizer of the Communist Party." The source of Johnson's information, in turn, was a boast in *The Daily Worker* on the many accomplishments of the said Jackson. But even the *Worker's* fantasy had not reached as far as Johnson's, for it claimed only that Jackson had "participated in the formation and building of the Southern Regional Council."

It is, of course, a matter of public record that the Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944; its distinguished incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution,* Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

The SRC was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which had been founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. Even so conservative and segregationist a newspaper as the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* felt moved in August of last year to clarify the issues in relation to the SRC: "As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a 'co-founder of the Southern Regional Council,' there is nothing to support this . . . he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The *Daily Worker's* statement that he was a 'founder' is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet."

In May, 1957, *The Firing Line* made another allegation which was to be widely circulated in segregation circles and at last repeated by Representative Alford in his recent speech. "Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization."

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is no longer in existence, but it once included in its "interrelationships" many prominent Southerners besides some who were later to be in the SRC. In 1938, at the Southern Conference meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, among those who were part of the proceedings were Governor-elect Burnett Maybank of South Carolina, Alabama's Senator John H. Bankhead, Bishop Robert Lucey of Texas, Governor Bibb Graves of Alabama, and others of equal prominence and reputation. In 1945 the Conference staged a dinner in Washington, D. C., honoring Justice Hugo Black. The toastmaster on this occasion was then Senator, later Vice-President Alben W. Barkley. At the speaker's table was the Honorable James F. Byrnes. Among the sponsors of the dinner were Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, and President Harry S. Truman. Surely guilt by association cannot include all these men.

SRC Director Fleming said not long ago: "The tragedy is that these self-appointed experts on 'subversion' show no understanding whatever of the real Communist movements. It thrives on white supremacy and noisy defiance of desegregation rulings. The Communists wouldn't trade one Governor Faubus for 10,000 new recruits to the Party. By contrast, there are no more effective anti-Communists than those Southerners who are working for orderly compliance with the law of the land. Ironically, these are the very people whom the segregationist vigilantes falsely label 'reds' and 'subversives.' "

Eleven prominent Southern church officials said in a statement in early April: "The time has come for the public to be made aware of the resurgence of McCarthyism in the South. If there is in fact a Communist threat, then Dr. Alford and others like him have a responsibility to report their knowledge to the FBI; if not, they have a duty to check their facts. Otherwise, they themselves are doing the real service to Communism, which battens on confusion, false charges, and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country."

Where inequities exist in our country, it is, indeed, not the Communist Manifesto but the American Constitution that fosters unrest and makes citizens work for change. The McCarthy cry of "Communist" in a time of transition is appealing for two reasons: it is simple and it is emotional. It reduces a complex situation, with many ramifications and subtleties and need for sober logic, to one single outside cause, and stirs a rope-and-fagot reflex.

Most citizens, along with the U.S. Senate, finally came to their senses about the sickness of McCarthyism. Slowly, as Southerners themselves work to replace emotional resistance and bigotry with reason and respect for the law of the land, McCarthyism can be uprooted under the magnolias.

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HEADLINES and PICTURES

September, 1946

A MONTHLY NEGRO NEWS MAGAZINE

THE MERRY-GO-ROUND

ON THE EVE OF VIOLENCE

By
EARL BROWN

The colored people of Georgia have a new kind of religion—voting. This is the only word that can describe their fervid interest in the state primary last July. Three months before, fewer than 15,000 Negroes were registered in the entire state, but a week before election day more than 200,000 of them had registered and were ready to vote. After

Voters Line Up in Atlanta According To Color

the registration officials (Talmadge henchmen) had used every trick known to man to purge a great majority of the Negroes from the voters' lists and after many of them had been threatened with death and other dire consequences if they voted, more than 100,000 of them enthusiastically cast their ballots on vote day.

One hundred thousand are a huge number of votes in Georgia. In fact, they were about one-third of the total vote cast in any election in the state until the last one and one-seventh of the total vote cast in it. The abolition of the white primary and the state poll tax and the lowering of the voting age to 18 caused the vote in Georgia to more than double. Paradoxically, Georgia now has the most liberal suffrage laws of any state in the union.

All of the colored voters plumped against Governor-elect Eugene (Red Gallus) Talmadge. If they hadn't, he would have won by a landslide of popular votes instead of losing by 9,000. Only the undemocratic, machine-rigged unit vote system saved him from defeat by a solid batch of Negro votes.

The political upsurge of Negro citizens in Georgia did not just happen. With boundless enthusiasm but with an equal amount of sagacity they planned their first participation in the erstwhile Georgia white primary with as much intelligence as any big city boss ever plotted an election. Indeed, people nowhere ever mapped their political action more successfully or demonstrated more determination and courage to vote than the colored citizens of Georgia in the recent primary. Moreover, it takes courage for any Negro to vote in that state.

The most laudable thing about the Negroes voting in Georgia, was the fact that the masses of them were as anxious and resolved to vote as their leaders were to have them to. A few weeks before the election 300 colored farmers, field hands and other workers were summoned to appear before the board of registry at the courthouse in a backwoods Georgia county to state why their names should not be removed from the voters' list. All 300 of them showed up at the courthouse together as soon as it was opened on the day set for the "purge." Befuddled, the board decided to hear only 12 cases and to order the others to return the next day. In case they did not return, the board had planned to strike their names from the list "without benefit of trial". Next day, however, the other 288 were waiting at the courthouse when the board members arrived. They were heard; and only a few of them were "purged."

Negro leaders in Atlanta, and elsewhere in the state organized what amounted to an underground, state-wide movement to get the colored people to register and vote. They kept their activities as quiet as possible in order to keep reprisals against them at a minimum and not to injure the chances of the candidates they were supporting. They formed the Atlanta Democratic Club in that city, and they organized the Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs throughout the state. They put up their own money, searched the census tracts in Atlanta, and other cities to find out where Negroes lived, then sent workers to call on them to register and vote. They held classes in schools and churches to instruct citizens how to vote. Six hundred of the 4,000 pupils at Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta, registered and voted. College professors from Atlanta University and other schools worked side by side with day laborers in a common campaign to get every Negro voter to the polls. They had one desire: to vote to unshackle themselves and their race politically.

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, sapient executive secretary of the Atlanta Urban League and a leader of the Negro political movement in Gergia, told how the colored people of that state felt about the election in a few words: "This is our greatest fight for freedom in the South since the War of the Rebellion," she said. Every one I talked to in Georgia, agreed with her.

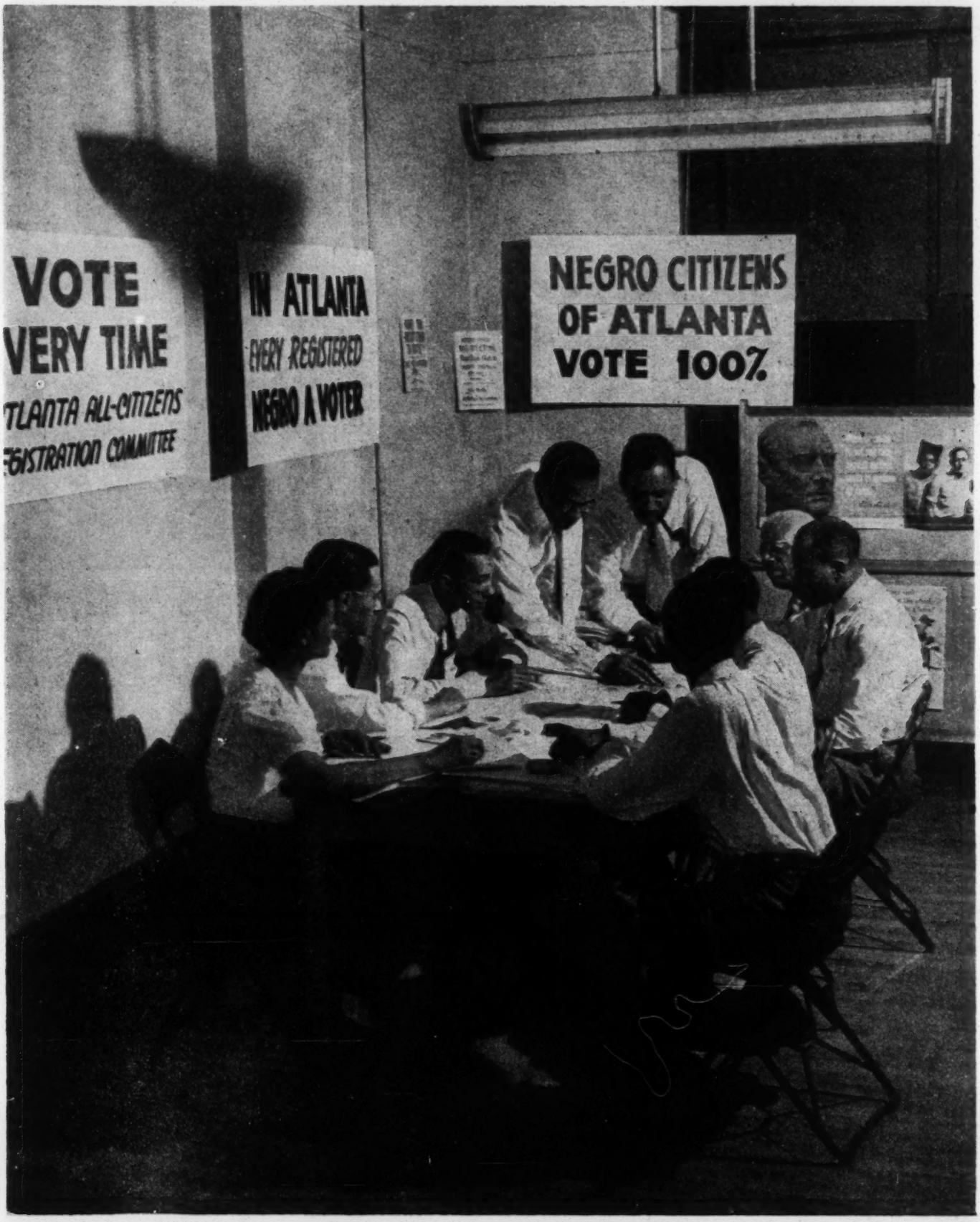
A week before the election 50 delegates of the Association of Democratic Clubs—all leaders in their villages, towns, and cities—met in Atlanta, to compare notes about what was happening to Negroes in their communities. With complete knowledge of the situation back home and with grim determination, the delegates poured out their tales about how bigoted, unscrupulous state and county officials were "purging" the name of Negroes from the voters' lists. In every instance, however, the delegates explained what they and others had done to prevent the officials from disfranchising the colored voters. In some they were unsuccessful, but in others they were successful.

They also related how white lawyers in a few Northern counties in the state volunteered their services free of charge to defend Negroes summoned before registry boards to state why their names should not be dropped from the lists. In Macon, the board itself resigned in protest against Negroes being "purged," stating that it felt it was unfair to challenge only Negroes and drop their names. The "purge" was stopped and the board went back to work.

Talmadge may have been defeated if James V. Carmichael, his chief opponent, had been a stronger candidate and a better campaigner. Nobody was for him, but many were against Talmadge. In fact, the C.I.O. actually endorsed former Governor E. D. Rivers for the nomination, and switched to Carmichael later in the campaign. George Googe, Southern director of the A.F. of L., told me a day before the election that he favored Rivers over Carmichael.

The groups which supported Carmichael because they were against Talmadge were the Negroes, the C.I.O.-P.A.C., the A.F. of L., the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Governor Ellis Arnall and his followers, and those comparatively rare Georgians who were against racial bigotry and anti-unionism and who had the courage to fight them. All these groups were loosely connected and functioned against Talmadge though they were not for one another. Their campaign amounted to only a whispering one, since they feared that if they came out publicly for Carmichael they would only give Talmadge more political ammunition with which to fight Carmichael. It is still thought to be political suicide in Georgia, for any candidate to accept the support of Negroes and labor.

Nevertheless, some candidates for state and national offices did seek their support. Former Governor Rivers attended a political meeting in the Negro section of Atlanta, and openly asked Negroes for their support. His financial backers were reported to have spent

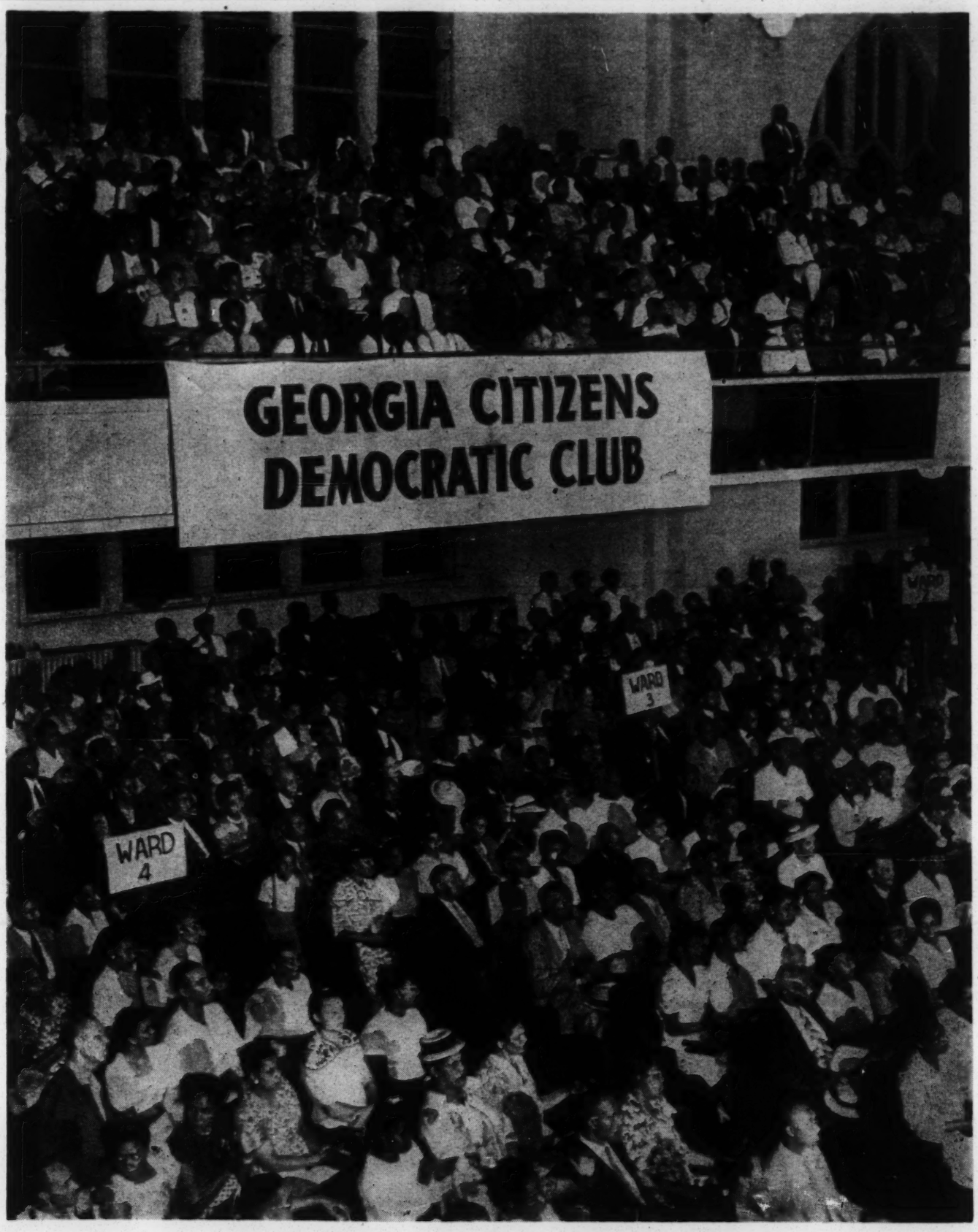


Planning Strategy To Get Out The Negro Vote.

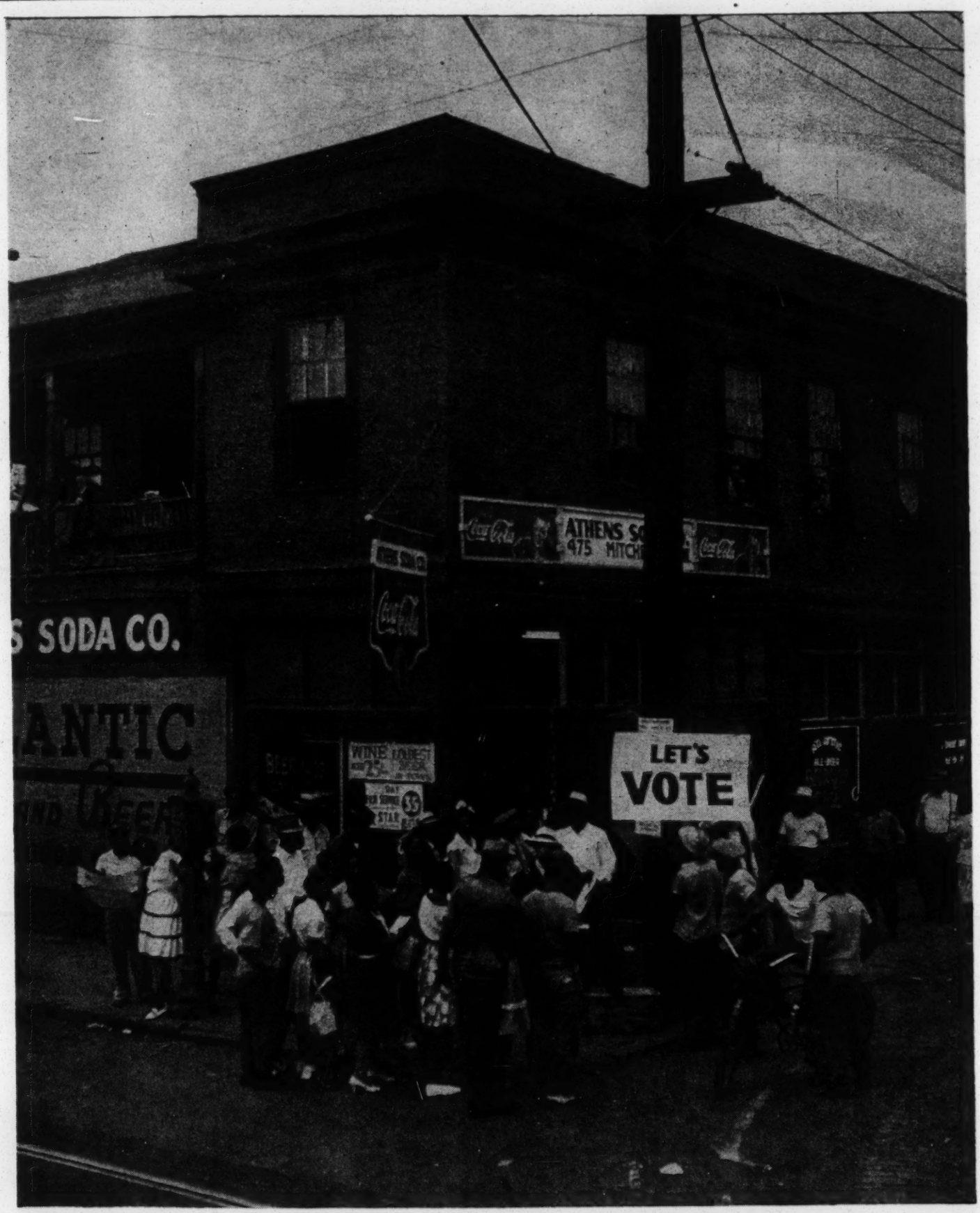
Georgia's Two Leading Candidates For Governor Offer . . .

. . . An Interesting Contrast — But Rabble Rousing Won

Class At Atlanta University Hear Professor Discuss Campaign.



Huge Crowd Comes Out To Meeting of Democratic Club In Atlanta.



Negroes In Atlanta Crowd Around To Read Throwaways On Voting.

thousands of dollars among Negroes for their votes. Candidates for Congress and the State Legislature appeared at Negro rallies and met with Negro leaders in off the record sessions to explain their racial opinions. It is quite common for white candidates for political office to appear at Negro rallies and otherwise meet with Negroes in the North, but in Georgia this is super-revolutionary.

Talmadge won because of the tremendous amount of hate he stirred up against Negroes in his campaign speeches and because he again enjoyed the financial and other support of big business in the state. It would be difficult to determine which of these factors was more important in his election, but in all probability it was the latter. It was indeed frightening to hear Talmadge, who has no superior as a manufacturer and purveyor of race hate, inveigh against the Negro. He employed anti-Negro bilge as the theme of every one of his speeches, inciting the illiterate, oppressed, poor whites against colored people by telling them, among other things, that if he were not elected Negroes would take over the state, mistreat white women and do many other things sane people know that they would not do.

Talmadge probably would not have been elected if he had not had the support of big business. Among the businesses in the state which again plumped for him financially and otherwise were the Georgia Power company, subsidiary of Commonwealth and Southern utilities company; the Bank of Georgia; the railroads; the Coca Cola company; the textile companies; oil companies; big planters—practically all of the big industrial, financial, and agricultural interests backed him. Of course, many of the big business concerns in Georgia, such as the Georgia Power company, are owned by Wall Street corporations.

It is important to know this in order to understand politics in any Southern state. For big business in Georgia and the rest of the South will move heaven and earth—even back a man like Talmadge—to maintain racial discrimination and segregation and their monopoly over the economic life of that section. The denial of the suffrage privilege to Negroes in the South is among the foremost things the owners and operators of industry conspire to do in order to help them keep their strangle hold on it. Demagogues like Talmadge, Bilbo, and Rankin do the dirty, race-baiting work for the industrialists, trading the socio-economic lifeblood of their section for political office and whatever pap they can chisel from it.

Talmadge has stated that he will abolish the primary election in Georgia, in order to prevent Negroes from voting. This he may well do, but any cessation of Negro voting in the state will be only temporary. In fact, he may not be able to disfranchise the Negroes at all. He knows this. Most people in the state know it. For the Negroes' determination to vote and otherwise participate in Georgia politics is too forceful a thing for any man to abolish. Furthermore, white candidates have already evinced a strong desire to win the support of the Negro voters, and now that they know the value of these votes to them they will not willingly see them slip out of their hands. These office-seekers know that all ballots are the same once they are in the box.

Talmadge himself is reported to have accepted a campaign contribution of $1,000 from James Holley, former president of Georgia State College for Negroes and a staunch Talmadge backer. Having been president of the college during Talmadge's former term as Governor, Mr. Holley is said to have strong desires to regain the position. At any rate Talmadge has spoken highly of Mr. Holley, who, he says, is a good "nigger". It is believed, meantime, that if Talmadge thought that he had to win the Negro vote to be elected to office, he would accept it enthusiastically. In fact, it was stated during the primary campaign that he actually sought the support of Negro voters in some sections of the state.

SUIT CHALLENGES TALMADGE NOMINATION

A suit filed in Federal Court in Brunswick, Georgia last month charges that the county unit primary election system in that state is in conflict with the 14th Amendment. The suit was filed on behalf of Mrs. Robert Lee Turman, prominent in the Atlanta League of Women Voters and Cullen B. Gosnell, head of the political science department at Emory University by Charles S. Reid, former Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, and John L. Tye, Jr. an Atlanta attorney.

A companion suit was filed on behalf of Earl P. Cook, student at Georgia Tech, charging that the 5th Congress District Race was unconstitutional. In it Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin received the popular majority but her opponent, Judge James C. Davis, carried the county units. Mrs. Mankin challenged the result and both candidates will appear on the general election ballot in November. Mr. Cook's suit was filed by Alex W. Smith, of Atlanta, former president of the State Bar Association.

RACIAL VIOLENCE AFTER WORLD WARS I AND II

Most Negroes and friends of the Negro mindful of the upsurge of racial hate and violence which followed the end of World War I were fearful of the post-war period to follow World War II. In the year from the signing of the Armistice in November, 1918 to November, 1919, race riots were reported in 26 cities and the Klan, reorganized in 1915, began to swell its numbers. In the two year period from 1919-1921 there were 212 lynchings.

In the year that has passed since V-J Day the country has witnessed race riots at Columbia, Tennessee, and Athens, Alabama; Five lynchings in Georgia, and two in Mississippi. The moribund Klan has been revived and is reaching out into most of the states of the Union from its Atlanta, Ga. headquarters. News of its incorporation in Alabama appeared recently.

More than ever before, however, the Klan is meeting with resistance from the powers of Government. New York and California have outlawed the hooded order and New Jersey and Kentucky are following suit. On a national scale the

Aftermath Of Hate Campaign

Relatives look sorrowfully at the body of Willa Mae Dorsey, one of the four victims of the mob slaying near Monroe, Georgia.

Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice aided by the F.B.I. is investigating the Klan in seven states: New York, Michigan, Tennessee, Florida, California, Mississippi and Georgia. In addition the Georgia Klan is being sued for $257,763 in back taxes by the Collector of Internal Revenue. Prominent individuals have spoken against the Klan including Drew Pearson who traveled to Georgia to denounce intolerance from the lawn of Georgia's State Capitol.

In many ways present racial stresses have their counterparts in those of the years following the First World War. Commenting in 1938 on the years of World War I, in his book, "The Black Man In White America", Dr. John G. Van Deusen wrote: "The excitement of the war years produced a crop of race riots which, in number and atrocity, were beyond precedent in the United States." With this background of violence and bitterness returning soldiers found the South primed to protect "white supremacy". Early in 1919 Ex-Senator Vardaman of Mississippi called Negro soldiers 'French-woman-ruined' and stating that "the mob is the only protection of the white man's home' called on 'the bravest of the brave' in his state to organize 'since there is no doubt that hell will be to pay in this country in the near future.'

These threats and warnings have their counterparts today in the mouthings of white supremacists, Eugene Talmadge, Senator Bilbo and Klan Kleagle, Dr. Samuel Green.

Their Only Crime Was An Accident of Birth

L. to R.: Roger Malcolm, Dorothy Malcolm and George Dorsey, three victims of the Monroe mob.

"Georgia's Situation Far From Hopeless'—Clement

Editor's Note: **The following statement by Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University, and responsible spokesman of Georgia indicates what many Negroes are thinking after the recent outbreaks of violence there.**

In spite of the horrible crime committed in Walton County, the situation in Georgia is far from hopeless. There are more liberal white people in the state than were before. They are outspoken. They are strong advocates of equal justice for all men. They are willing to stand up and be counted and their influence will be felt. The decent citizens of this state, Negro and white will work together for the establishment of full democracy. We are determined that liberty and justice shall prevail.

Rufus E. Clement.

Dr. Rufus Clement

KLAN'S HEAD TALKS TO WRITER

The Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Dr. Samuel Green of Atlanta Ga., took time out from his duties as obstetrician to talk to Harry T. Brundidge and is quoted at length in an article, "The Klan Rides Again", by Mr. Brundidge in *Cosmopolitan* Magazine. After stating that white, Protestant supremacy was threatened the Grand Dragon continued.

"The whole country has been flooded with Jewish refugees, and the Catholic Church membership grows by leaps and bounds, even in the South where fathers rather see their daughters dead than married to a papist. Protestants are beginning to understand the real significance of the naming of all those new Cardinals—it's a step! And the 'uppity niggahs'! Since the war they're even trying to abolish Jim Crow laws, with their talk of equal rights. Already the poll tax has been abolished in Georgia, and in other Southern states. Northern agitators are threatening Southern economic conditions. But I'll tell you this —no CIO or AFL carpetbagging organizers, or any other damned Yankees are going to come into the South and tell Southerners how to run either their businesses or their niggahs, nor shout that the niggah is equal to the white. The white man was born supreme. No provision of the Constitution, no Supreme Court decisions, no Act of Congress, no state law is going to make the niggah the equal of the white, or permit him to vote in white elections—poll tax or no poll tax. We won't tolerate any alliance between niggahs, Jews, Catholics and labor organizers either. We didn't want to be reconstructed, and we don't want to be organized! The Klan rides again and the bars are down—all the way down!"

Mr. Brundidge quotes from the minutes of some of the Atlanta Klan meetings and includes one excerpt from 'Approved Activities' in which a policeman is praised for slaying a Negro, the thirteenth he has killed in line of duty.

The Klan records also reveal, according to Mr. Brundidge, that "many chiefs of police, chiefs of fire departments, mayors, city councilmen, county and city judges, throughout the South and the Midwest, have petitioned the Klan for charters and organizers." Mr. Brundidge states that he saw in a Klan office "a two-foot-high pile of petitions, requesting organizers and charters, not only from communities in every state in the South, but Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Idaho, Texas, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Connecticut, Rhode Island and even Alaska."

Mr. Brundidge concludes the article with suggestions as to how the Klan can be fought. In addition to prosecuting the hooded order for back taxes which is being done in Georgia he states that under Section Fifty-One, Title Eighteen Chapter Three of the United State Code more effective action could be taken against the Klan. This section reads: "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege . . . secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States or because of his having exercised the same, or if two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises, of another with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured . . . they shall be fined not more than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than ten years, and shall, moreover, be thereafter ineligible to any office, or place of honor, profit, or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

A MONTH'S RECORD OF RACE HATE

Four lynchings near Monroe, Georgia.

Lynching of Macio Snipes near Eatonton, Georgia. Snipes was the only Negro who voted in his district in the recent election.

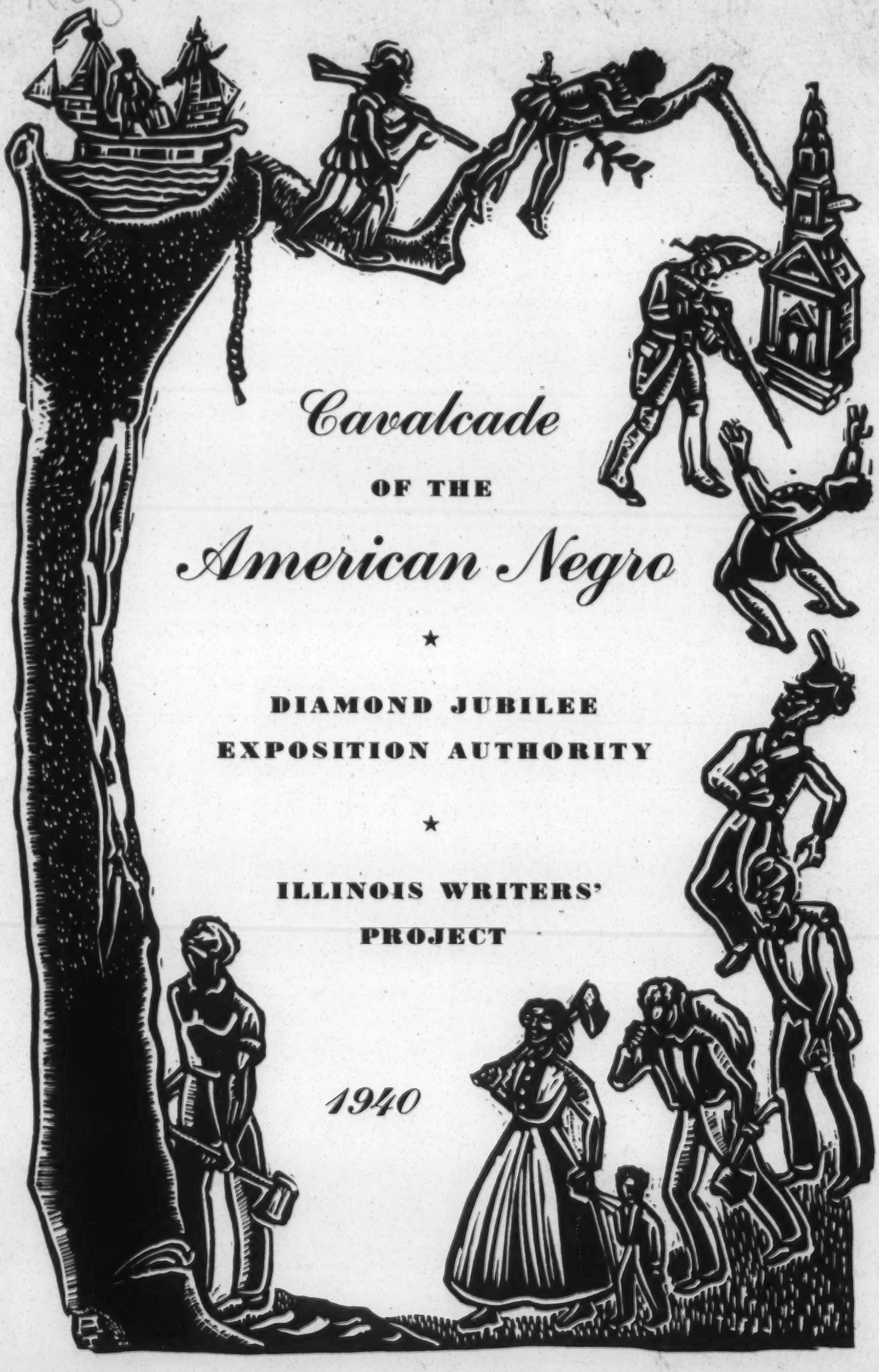
Race riot in Athens, Alabama, resulting in the wounding of over fifty Negroes.

Lynching of two Negroes in Mississippi.

Admission by Bilbo over the radio that he is a Klan member; that he intimidated Negroes in his recent campaign.

Lynching of John C. Jones in Minden, Louisiana.

Negroes



Cavalcade

OF THE

American Negro

★

DIAMOND JUBILEE
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ILLINOIS WRITERS'
PROJECT

1940

Negroes

NEGRO WORKERS

AND THE

NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS

Washington, D.C.

September 16, 1941

NEGRO WORKERS AND THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM

Summary

In spite of the increasing difficulty of finding experienced skilled and semiskilled workers, many employers continue to refuse to hire available Negroes for production work. Specific instances that have already come to the attention of the employment service indicate that the failure to use available skilled and semiskilled Negroes has accentuated the shortage of experienced workers in certain occupations and slowed up production.

Failure to use locally available Negroes has not only delayed production in certain instances, but it is compelling employers to recruit labor from distant areas, with two serious consequences: it is intensifying existing housing shortages, and it is increasing the amount of labor turnover. Moreover, the failure to use Negro labor exaggerates the shortage of labor and results in competition for white labor and, what is perhaps more important, results in the under-employment of vocational training facilities in some communities where there is a shortage of white applicants for training.

As the defense program moves from its present preliminary phase to full production, enormous demands are going to be made on the unemployed reserve. The very sharp reduction during the past year in the number of unemployed job seekers gives some indication of the effects of the armament program in its early stages, before the full effects have been felt.1/ During 1941 and 1942 the volume of unemployment will be still further reduced. It may be conservatively estimated that from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 additional workers will be needed by the end of 1942 as the result of the defense program, and the general increase in business activity. Although current estimates place the number of unemployed at between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000, these totals include some workers, possibly a great many, who are seasonally employed, temporarily laid off, physically handicapped, superannuated, unemployable, unsuitable for the type of employment offered, or unwilling to move to the area in which they are needed. It is already possible to say that in certain urban-industrial areas where defense production is concentrated there will be a shortage of able-bodied white male labor before the end of this year, and in some of these areas there may even be a general shortage of labor.

1/ The data below gives the various estimates of the change which has occurred in the number of unemployed from June 1940 to June 1941.

Index	June 1940	June 1941	Decrease	Percent Change
American Federation of Labor	9,273,000	5,333,000	3,940,000	-42.5
Congress of Industrial Organizations	10,173,000	6,305,000	3,868,000	-38.0
Works Progress Administration	8,600,000	5,900,000	2,700,000	-31.4

Negroes constitute a far more important proportion of the unemployed labor reserve than is commonly recognized; this is true both in the South, where they form from one-third to one-half of the unemployed labor reserve, and in many northern urban-industrial areas, where they form from one-fourth to one-third of the most employable reserve. Consequently, the failure to use Negro labor presents an important problem in certain areas, and the continued refusal to hire or train them for defense production is likely to generate increasingly serious labor market problems. When to the discrimination against Negroes are added restrictions against other groups, for example, persons of German or Italian descent, naturalized citizens, persons of certain religious denominations, Mexicans, Orientals, aliens, and older workers, the combined effect of the restrictions substantially reduces the available labor supply which can be drawn on by industry.

The experience of 1917-18 shows that prejudice against the employment of Negroes tends to be relaxed in the face of a general shortage of white male labor. If employers hire Negroes as the defense program develops, instead of waiting until a general shortage compels them to use Negro labor, it will do much to facilitate the orderly and efficient mobilization of the labor force, to speed production, and to minimize the undesirable and costly effects of discrimination.

Responsibility for the failure to use Negro labor in defense or other industries cannot be laid exclusively on employers. The traditional prejudice of white workers, both organized and unorganized who are not accustomed to working with Negroes, frequently influences employer policy. There are innumerable instances, however, in which the opposition of white workers to the employment of Negroes has been overcome when employers have consciously sought to enlist the cooperation of the white workers in an intelligent and enlightened way.

Importance of Negro Workers in the Unemployed Labor Reserve

It is the official labor market policy of the government for the present emergency to use the local labor reserve insofar as possible to meet the local demand before widening the areas of recruitment beyond the commuting area to the State, the region or the Nation. The underlying reason for the emphasis on this order of recruitment is the desire to minimize some of the serious difficulties which developed during 1917-18 when the failure to follow a systematic plan of recruitment resulted in unnecessary competition for labor, unnecessary migration, labor turnover, and housing shortages, which seriously disrupted the Nation's labor market and interfered with production. It was hoped that in the present emergency employers would adhere to this order of recruitment and that the employment service with its facilities for orderly control and direction would be used to effect a more intelligent and rational mobilization of the labor force.

The success of such a policy depends on the willingness of employers to make full use of the available labor supply in each community, which in certain areas would mean extensive use of Negro labor. The importance of Negroes in the total labor force is sometimes overlooked, and their disproportionate importance among the unemployed, largely due to the displacement of Negroes by white workers during the depression years, has made them a factor of the first magnitude in the labor reserve in many areas. Furthermore, the residual unemployed labor reserve rapidly becomes even more heavily weighted with Negro workers as a result of preferential hiring of white workers during a period of reemployment, partly on racial grounds and partly because white workers, by and large, are more likely to have acquired training and experience in the skilled and semiskilled occupations that are in demand. This is true not only in the South but in the industrial areas of the North as well.

Table I shows the relative importance of Negro gainful workers in 1930, 1/ in the major occupational groups for the Nation as a whole, but these figures do not fully reveal the vastly greater significance of Negroes in the total labor force and in the unemployed labor reserve of many of the major urban-industrial areas. (Table II)

Table I

Number and Proportion of all Gainful Workers who were Negro by General Division of Occupations: 1930

General Division of Occupations	Total	Negro		Approximate Ratio of Negroes to Total
		Number	Percent of total	
All Occupations	48,830,000	5,503,000	11.3	1 in 9
Agriculture	10,472,000	1,980,000	19.0	1 in 5
Forestry and Fishing	250,000	32,000	12.7	1 in 8
Extraction of Minerals	984,000	75,000	7.6	1 in 13
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	14,111,000	1,025,000	7.3	1 in 14
Transportation and Communication	3,843,000	398,000	10.3	1 in 10
Trade	6,081,000	184,000	3.0	1 in 33
Public Service (not elsewhere classified)	856,000	50,000	5.9	1 in 17
Professional Service	3,254,000	136,000	4.2	1 in 24
Domestic and Personal Service	4,952,000	1,576,000	31.8	1 in 3
Clerical Occupations	4,025,000	41,000	1.0	1 in 100

Source: Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Vol. V. Table 2, p. 74.

1/ Occupational data for 1940 are not yet available. It is unlikely that the 1940 data will be materially different.

Table II

Gainful workers 1/ in 1930 who were Negro, and available job seekers registered with public employment offices April 26, 1941, who were nonwhite, 2/ for the United States, and selected States and cities

State and City	Gainful workers: 1930			Job seekers: April 26, 1941		
	Total	Negro		Total	Nonwhite	
		Number	Percent of total		Number	Percent of total
United States	48,830,000	5,503,000	11.3	4,059,403	500,910	12.3
Alabama	1,026,295	432,349	42.1	101,169	28,604	28.3
Birmingham	113,245	48,999	43.3	17,739	7,126	40.2
Delaware	98,104	15,887	16.2	9,066	3,034	33.5
Wilmington	47,270	6,856	14.5	5,161	1,781	34.5
Illinois	3,184,684	171,073	5.4	260,121	41,749	16.0
Chicago	1,558,858	129,467	8.3	159,631	34,159	21.4
Indiana	1,251,065	53,332	4.3	145,467	12,652	8.7
Gary	42,513	7,740	18.2	7,274	2,326	32.0
Indianapolis	164,433	22,057	13.4	30,540	6,097	20.0
Kentucky	907,095	106,572	11.7	66,219	6,968	10.5
Louisville	138,303	27,086	19.6	10,021	2,571	25.6
Maryland	672,879	136,014	20.2	29,521	8,302	28.1
Baltimore	362,072	78,886	21.8	15,203	5,213	34.3
Michigan	1,927,347	82,249	4.3	170,075	18,533	10.9
Detroit	689,489	60,297	8.7	75,779	14,447	19.1
Missouri	1,457,968	114,825	7.9	131,355	17,797	13.5
Kansas City	194,739	22,848	11.7	22,857	3,265	14.3
St. Louis	386,083	50,546	13.1	45,086	11,016	24.4
New Jersey	1,712,106	107,114	6.3	109,384	14,864	13.6
Camden	50,132	5,351	10.7	7,163	1,268	17.7
Jersey City	139,919	6,315	4.5	9,346	686	7.3
Newark	199,068	20,467	10.3	16,745	3,670	21.9
New York	5,523,337	239,305	4.3	535,582	42,402	7.9
Buffalo	239,210	6,714	2.8	24,144	1,033	4.2
New York City	3,187,459	193,773	6.1	378,529	39,891	10.5
Ohio	2,615,764	145,379	5.6	233,678	36,938	15.8
Akron	106,400	5,029	4.7	11,672	1,459	12.5
Cincinnati	203,003	24,498	12.1	36,647	9,293	25.4
Cleveland	394,842	36,170	9.2	45,129	10,681	23.7
Columbus	129,251	16,611	12.8	18,941	3,748	19.8
Toledo	127,274	6,716	5.3	18,016	2,414	13.4
Youngstown	64,056	5,856	9.1	8,515	2,104	24.7
Pennsylvania	3,722,103	214,319	5.8	292,896	29,371	10.0
Philadelphia	889,850	118,890	13.4	48,873	14,585	29.8
Pittsburgh	278,591	26,121	9.4	27,060	4,962	18.3
Texas	2,206,767	389,755	17.7	158,692	26,203	16.5
Dallas	122,857	23,252	18.9	19,068	2,788	14.6
Fort Worth	71,826	12,442	17.3	15,163	2,763	18.2
Houston	137,398	35,938	26.2	17,534	3,621	20.6
San Antonio	97,738	10,259	10.5	11,116	789	7.1
Virginia	880,211	258,066	29.3	44,898	16,173	36.0
Norfolk	60,306	23,220	38.5	3,427	2,026	59.1

1/ The data for gainful workers are not strictly comparable with those for job seekers, because of the eleven-year interval and because the geographical area is not always identical. The shift of Negroes from the South to the North, particularly to certain industrial urban areas, was in some cases very marked. Bearing these qualifications in mind, it is possible to make a limited comparison of the two sets of data.

2/ The color classification of job seekers in April 1941 is on the basis of "white" and "nonwhite." Nearly all workers classified under "nonwhite" were Negroes. Available job seekers as of April 26, 1941 refers to those who have registered with the employment offices between March 1 and April 26, and who were without a job and regarded as employable. About 400,000 additional registrants were regarded as not available because they were employed or were unemployable.

Source: Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Vol. V; April 1941 Inventory of Registrants at Public Employment Offices.

Job Opportunities for Negroes in the Defense Program

The experience of Negroes during the rapid expansion of job opportunities, which began in the spring of 1940, can be described in the following terms:

1. In Construction.--Throughout the country there was a heavy demand for unskilled labor needed for the construction of airports, military cantonments, barracks, arsenals, manufacturing plants, etc. Negro unskilled labor shared substantially in these employment opportunities and benefited by the wage rates paid on these projects, which were generally higher than wages usually earned in unskilled work.

The extraordinary demand for skilled construction workers, particularly carpenters (one of the building trades in which Negroes have established a substantial foothold) resulted in many job opportunities, particularly for union members. There is evidence, however, that in some localities, in spite of the acute shortage of carpenters, Negroes were not employed. 1/ In skilled building trades occupations other than carpenters and cement finishers, and to some extent, bricklayers and masons, there is no evidence that discriminatory practices were being noticeably relaxed.

2. In Manufacturing Industries which have Customarily Employed Negroes.--In certain manufacturing industries notably iron and steel, industrial chemicals, sawmills, foundries, meat packing, and to some extent shipbuilding, where it is customary for many employers to hire Negroes for skilled and semiskilled as well as for unskilled work, the industrial expansion has opened many job opportunities to Negro workers. However, there is a good deal of evidence to show that even in industries in which Negroes have by custom been accepted, many establishments which have never employed Negroes in the past were refusing to employ Negroes for skilled and semiskilled work. This policy of exclusion to a large extent has helped accentuate the acute shortage which has developed in some areas in the foundry industry, for example.

In Delaware a shortage of skilled and semiskilled foundry workers developed early in the defense program. While Negro foundry labor could have been supplied, in part from local sources and in part by clearance from other areas, most employers who in the past had not made a practice of employing Negroes, continued to refuse to hire them for skilled and semiskilled work. A similar shortage in Wheeling, West Virginia was reported beginning in November, when foundry workers were needed in steel mills, railroad shops and foundries. Here, too, the shortage

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1/ Carpenters' unions in New York City, for example, were reluctant to refer Negro members to Southern States and in general confined them to Northern projects. There was a division of opinion on this policy among Negro members themselves, some of whom were reluctant to accept jobs in the South. Those who were willing to go were generally dissuaded by union officials. As a compensating factor, however, the exodus of white carpenters from New York City resulted in a somewhat wider employment of Negro members at home.

was due in part to the failure of certain employers to use available Negro foundry workers. The owner of one large foundry in this city toured eastern Ohio communities offering higher wages to employed white foundry workers, if they would come to Wheeling. A shortage of skilled and semi-skilled foundry workers was also reported in Louisiana, North Carolina, Georgia, Illinois, Michigan and Connecticut. This shortage is not only directly traceable to the failure of certain employers to use Negro labor, but in part, it is the result of the failure of employers to upgrade and promote Negro labor to the skilled occupations. While the practice of upgrading workers is a common method of overcoming labor stringencies, this practice is frequently not extended to Negro workmen even in those industries in which they are extensively employed.

Apart from the industries listed above in which Negroes have more or less of a foothold (usually in the less desirable jobs or in the unskilled occupations), most of the opportunities for work have come from a handful of individual establishments whose policy it is to employ Negro labor in skilled and semiskilled as well as unskilled jobs.

3. In Defense Industries.--In certain of the most important industries associated with national defense, particularly aircraft, tank and armament manufacturing, powder manufacturing, shell-loading, machine tool, and machine shop, in which acute shortages of skilled and semiskilled labor have developed, there is little evidence that employers who have in the past refused to hire Negro labor are now turning to this source of supply. A comparison of Negro and white placements made by the employment service between October 1941 and March 1941 in selected skilled and semiskilled occupations in important defense industries is given in Table III.

Table III

Placements of workers in selected essential skilled and semiskilled occupations important to national defense, by color, October-December 1940 and January-March 1941. 1/

Selected defense occupations	October-December 1940			January-March 1941		
	Total	Non-White 2/	Percent nonwhite	Total	Non-White 2/	Percent nonwhite
Aircraft.....	2,269	1	.05	8,769	13	.1
Building Construction...	13,121	722	5.5	69,637	2,061	3.0
Electrical Equipment....	1,716	18	1.0	1,066	5	.5
Metal Trades 3/.....	24,524	231	.9	34,834	245	.7
Optical Goods.....	101	1	1.0	213 4/	1	.5
Shipbuilding.....	759	39	5.1	1,499	25	1.7

1/ The two quarters are not comparable, since a considerable number of occupations were added beginning in January.
2/ Nearly all "nonwhite" placements are Negro placements.
3/ Includes "foundry and forging, machine shop and machine tool, metal processing and forming."
4/ Includes instruments, watches and clocks.

Source: Division of Research and Statistics, Bureau of Employment Security.

Of 11,000 skilled and semiskilled jobs in aircraft, only 14 went to non-white workers; of nearly 60,000 placements in the metal trades occupations, including foundry and forging, machine shops and machine tool, and metal processing less than 500 went to non-white workers. Only in building construction and shipbuilding did Negroes receive a somewhat higher proportion of the skilled and semi-skilled placements.

Not only are non-white workers not receiving many skilled or semiskilled jobs in a great many defense establishments, but they are receiving very few jobs of any type, even unskilled. Table IV shows all male placements[1] made by the public employment offices between October 1940 and March 1941 in 20 selected defense industries.

Table IV

Placements of males by public employment offices in 20 major defense industries, October 1940 through March 1941

Industry	All male placements		
	Total	Nonwhite	
		Number	Percent of total
Total	154,673	6,151	4.0
Aircraft and parts	27,651	68	.2
Automobiles and automobile equipment	10,889	272	2.5
Clocks and watches	677	0	0
Electrical machinery	13,100	75	.6
Hardwood distillation, charcoal, and naval stores	158	21	13.3
Industrial chemicals	10,322	1,218	11.8
Industrial rubber goods	515	2	.4
Iron and steel and their products	30,103	1,472	4.9
Lighting fixtures	944	30	3.2
Machinery (except electrical)	29,674	624	2.1
Miscellaneous chemical products	1,665	89	5.3
Motorcycles, bicycles and parts	100	2	2.0
Nonferrous metals not elsewhere classified	5,982	112	1.9
Petroleum refining	4,998	482	9.6

1/ The number of "non-white" women placed in 20 selected defense industries between October 1940 and March 1941 was 146 compared with 23,675 white placements.

Table IV (Cont'd)

Industry	All male placements		
	Total	Nonwhite	
		Number	Percent of total
Primary alloying, and rolling and drawing of nonferrous metals (except aluminum).....	1,672	19	1.1
Professional and scientific instruments, photographic apparatus and optical goods.....	1,409	26	1.8
Railroad equipment	2,795	100	3.5
Ship and boat building and repairing.	10,674	1,500	14.1
Surgical, medical, and dental instruments equipment, and supplies	759	22	2.9
Tires and inner tubes.....	586	17	2.9

Source: Division of Research and Statistics, Bureau of Employment Security.

Only in shipbuilding, hardwood distillation, charcoal and naval stores, industrial chemicals, miscellaneous chemicals, and iron and steel products were non-white workers receiving a more or less proportionate share of the job opportunities. Of over 27,000 male placements in aircraft, only 68 or .2 percent were non-white. Of over 13,000 in electrical manufacturing, only 75 or .6 percent were non-white. Of nearly 30,000 in machinery (other than electrical) only 624 or 2.1 percent were non-white.

Compared with these percentages, it is estimated that Negro males in April 1941 formed about 12.4 percent of the total unemployed male reserve and about 12 percent of the skilled, semiskilled and unskilled workers,--the pool of manual labor on which manufacturing industries draw for workers. (See Table V)

Table V

Male Job Seekers Registered in the Public Employment Offices, by Occupational Group, by Color, April 1941

Occupational group	Men		
		Nonwhite	
	Total	Number	Percent of total
All occupations.....	2,991,642	370,258	12.4
Professional and managerial.....	116,128	4,933	4.2
Clerical and sales.....	245,184	6,113	2.5
Service.....	229,233	68,689	30.0
Agricultural, fishery, and forestry.	272,786	37,777	13.8
Skilled.....	671,086	26,515	4.0
Semiskilled.....	614,347	56,007	9.1
Unskilled.....	758,219	162,126	21.3
Unassigned 1/	84,659	8,098	9.6

Source: Division of Research and Statistics. Bureau of Employment Security.

The extent to which anti-Negro discrimination in employment is operating and the type of jobs in which Negroes are finding opportunities for employment is clearly revealed in Table VI, which compares placements between October and March in selected skilled and semiskilled occupations important to national defense, (Column I), in selected defense industries (Column II), and in all manufacturing industries (Column V), with placements in construction (Column IV) and service (Column VI).

Of 215,427 placements made during the six months in selected skilled and semiskilled occupations, Negroes received but 4,443 or 2.1 percent. In 20 selected defense manufacturing industries Negroes received but 7,382 jobs of 221,600 placements or 3.3 percent. In all manufacturing industries Negroes received 35,432 jobs of 539,355 placements or 6.6 percent. In the construction industries Negroes received a very substantial proportion of the job opportunities, 22.7 percent, but it must be remembered, most construction jobs are short-duration jobs. The service industry, traditional province of Negro employment, was the only industry in which job openings were expanding, relatively. In October 31.4 percent and in November 30.6 percent of the job openings went to Negroes, and thereafter the proportion of Negro placements in the service industries rose each month--a reflection of the exodus of white workers from the service field

1/ Includes unemployables, recent students, persons without work experience, and unspecified.

Table VI

Placements of nonwhite workers in selected occupations or industry divisions, by month, October 1940-April 1941

Month	Placements						
	Selected skilled and semiskilled occupations 1/	Twenty selected defense industries 2/	All industries	Construction	Manufacturing	Service	All other
(Column)	(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)	(VI)	(VII)
Total	215,427	221,600	2,676,976	565,600	539,355	881,380	690,641
Nonwhite	4,443	7,382	534,350	128,274	35,432	288,146	82,498
Percent nonwhite	2.1	3.3	20.0	22.7	6.6	32.7	11.9
1940							
October	16,856	27,647	407,494	82,354	74,818	129,269	121,053
Nonwhite	287	1,503	78,685	16,077	5,665	40,611	16,332
Percent nonwhite	1.7	5.4	19.3	19.5	7.6	31.4	13.5
November	16,575	25,615	364,799	80,554	73,458	113,518	97,269
Nonwhite	415	758	73,363	20,440	5,593	34,787	12,543
Percent nonwhite	2.5	3.0	20.1	25.4	7.6	30.6	12.9
December	14,183	26,126	377,697	82,336	68,866	114,639	111,856
Nonwhite	432	1,063	69,527	19,331	5,209	35,004	9,983
Percent nonwhite	3.0	4.1	18.4	23.5	7.6	30.5	8.9
1941							
January	3/ 44,706	30,743	363,163	93,182	69,993	124,447	75,541
Nonwhite	880	935	76,593	21,662	3,954	41,055	9,922
Percent nonwhite	2.0	3.0	21.1	23.2	5.6	33.0	13.1
February	44,546	31,278	344,335	88,096	72,647	111,434	72,158
Nonwhite	933	984	70,779	19,484	4,083	37,444	9,768
Percent nonwhite	2.1	3.1	20.6	22.1	5.6	33.6	13.5
March	39,305	37,085	376,308	68,849	84,411	127,061	95,987
Nonwhite	741	1,054	76,556	16,501	4,821	43,277	11,957
Percent nonwhite	1.9	2.8	20.3	24.0	5.7	34.1	12.4
April	39,256	43,106	443,180	70,229	95,162	161,012	116,777
Nonwhite	755	1,085	88,847	14,779	6,107	55,968	11,993
Percent nonwhite	1.9	2.5	20.0	21.0	6.4	34.8	10.3

1/ These occupations include most of the occupations important to defense production, but some of these placements were made in industries other than the "twenty selected industries" in column II. For a list of the twenty industries, see Table IV.
2/ The quarterly totals here would differ slightly from those in Table IV, which were preliminary.
3/ The number of skilled and semiskilled occupations was considerably increased in January and a few professional and technical occupations were added. This, in part, explains the great increase in placements beginning in January.

Source: Division of Research and Statistics, Bureau of Employment Security.

to the more desirable jobs and their replacement by Negroes, and of the greater reluctance of white workers to take jobs in the service industries. 1/

A study of the monthly State reports describing labor market developments from September to June revealed in spite of increasing difficulties in finding labor in certain occupations employers were averse to hiring experienced and available Negro workers. The most recent reports, those for April, May, and June indicate that a somewhat less restrictive attitude on the part of some employers has been noticed in Pennsylvania, New York City, Buffalo, Northern New Jersey, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and to some extent in Michigan, but it still cannot be said that color restrictions have been substantially relaxed.

Prior to March the placement data in Table IV indicate that only a handful of Negroes were hired in all the aircraft plants in the country. Since March a slight change is evident. A Cincinnati aircraft company announced that it would employ and train 1,000 Negro workers, more than half of whom will be used in the foundry division. An aircraft company in the New York metropolitan area, another in Buffalo, a third in St. Louis, indicated they had hired a few skilled Negroes and trainees. In Cleveland, as a result of a press campaign, an aircraft parts manufacturing company which will employ a total of 3,000 to 4,000 workers, announced that Negroes would be employed in proportion to their relative importance in the city's population. This will give employment to from 300 to 400 Negroes. An airplane instrument company in New Jersey was reported to have relaxed its former color restrictions at the skilled level. In the aircraft plants in Baltimore and in the Middle West, except in St. Louis, and on the Pacific Coast, there is no evidence that the policy has been substantially changed. In most of the other defense industries or establishments in which it has not been customary in the past to employ Negroes, particularly machine shop and machine tool, electrical machinery, tanks, munitions and ordnance, and rubber, instances in which Negroes have been hired are still rare.

1/ The placement figures in Tables III, IV, and VI do not, of course, reveal the extent to which industry is hiring Negroes or non-white workers outside of the employment service. Many employers, particularly the large employers who have extensive personnel departments of their own, do not generally use the employment offices to any great extent, and many more Negroes (as well as white workers) have been hired than would appear from the data. Employment service placements, however, are a sufficiently large proportion of all job openings filled to be representative of general conditions. The disproportion of Negro placements in skilled and semiskilled jobs in most of the defense industries, and in all manufacturing industries, which is reflected in these figures is unquestionably typical of hiring outside the employment service.

4. In Government Establishments.—Government-owned or operated shipyards are providing many employment opportunities for skilled and semiskilled as well as unskilled Negroes. In September 1940, the last date for which information is available, between 5,000 and 6,000 skilled and semiskilled Negroes were employed in the Navy yards, and the number has increased considerably since September. Government arsenals are also hiring Negroes, but not as extensively as the Navy Department. Outside of Navy yards the practice of government establishments appears to be little better than that of many private establishments.

Sources of Discrimination

The failure to use Negro labor cannot be exclusively attributed to employers. Instances have come to the attention of the employment service in which employers were prepared to hire Negro workers, but the policy was opposed by the officials or members of certain unions. This has been true of both A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions. Frequently, too, unorganized workers are opposed to the introduction of Negro labor. In some instances the failure to employ Negroes is due to the arbitrary action of foremen and subordinates, and company officials are unaware of the situation.

Some employers explain their refusal to hire Negroes on the grounds that their white workers will refuse to work with Negroes and will either lay down their tools or quit to work elsewhere. Instances in which both organized and unorganized white workers have protested against the introduction of Negroes are pointed to, and sometimes the position is taken that the loss of white workers may be greater than the number of Negroes who can be added, so that the consequences of employing Negroes may not increase production, but reduce it. In answer it must be pointed out that there are many instances in which white and Negro labor works together in the same establishment, and frequently in the same shop and on the same job, and that employers who have consciously sought to enlist the active cooperation of white workers in the solution of this problem have often found it possible to overcome the traditional opposition of white workers. Often employers have met the problem by establishing separate departments or units for Negro workers.

To a large extent the opposition of white workers to Negroes in the past sprang from the fear of being displaced by Negroes who would work for lower wages. With the fixing of wage standards and the extension of unionism, Negroes can no longer be used to undermine labor standards, and this has removed the basis for much of the opposition to the introduction of Negroes. Union officials, particularly in a period of expanding job opportunities such as the present, have

frequently cooperated with management in an attempt to work this problem out. Fundamentally, the problem of management and labor leaders is to interpret to white workers the consequences of discrimination: how it undermines national unity, delays the defense effort in a period of great national emergency, causes unnecessary in-migration which in turn causes rents to rise and the cost of living to go up, and all of the other ramifications which have been mentioned above.

Importance of Skilled and Semiskilled Negro Labor

It is true that Negroes have in the past found it almost impossible to obtain work in many skilled and semiskilled occupations and consequently there are only a few thousand Negroes available in the occupations now most in demand. However, other factors must be considered which throw a different light on their relative importance in the skilled and semiskilled labor supply.

First, a large number of Negroes have traditionally been employed as "helpers" in the skilled occupations, but the customary labor policy of not promoting Negroes has prevented them from rising to skilled and semiskilled jobs. As "helpers" many of them have gradually become qualified mechanics. The continued failure to upgrade and use these workers, therefore, becomes an important consideration when the country is straining every effort to find skilled labor.

Second, the difficulty which skilled Negro workers have faced in finding employment at the skilled level has driven them to take employment as laborers and service workers. During the recent press and radio campaign conducted by the employment service, workers experienced in defense occupations who were currently employed in other trades were asked to register at the employment offices. The Harlem office in New York City has reported that in response to this plea a surprising number of employed Negro laborers have come in to be registered, and have revealed former experience in skilled and semiskilled occupations in which there is at present an acute shortage.

Third, the practice of some employment offices of registering Negroes, not according to occupational background and experience, but according to job opportunities (which are almost inevitably in unskilled or service occupations), further tends to obscure their importance in the skilled and semiskilled occupations. The following examples of this are not uncommon. In the public employment office of a New England city, where the shortage of skilled machinists and aircraft workers has been acute for several months, one unemployed Negro, a graduate of Tuskegee Institute and trained in machine shop work, who had worked as a machinist at a government arsenal, was classified as a "handy man"; another who had graduated from an aviation course and had two years of experience as an aviation mechanic's helper was classified as a "porter"; a third who was an experienced single spindle drill press operator and

lathe operator who had turned gun stocks for a government arsenal, and in addition had worked for many years on Cadillac motors, was classified as an "auto mechanic."

When all such factors as these are taken into account, Negro labor emerges as a much greater potential source of skilled and semiskilled labor than is apparent in the statistics of the Census or in the inventory of unemployed job seekers. When it is remembered that in many cases a handful of skilled workers, if available to employers, would enable them to hire a very much larger number of semiskilled and helpers, it cannot be said that the supply of skilled Negro labor is too small to affect seriously the production effort.

Examples of the Importance of Negroes in the Unemployed Labor Reserve

Although Negroes constitute but 12.3 percent of the registered job-seeking reserve for the nation as a whole, they are vastly more important in many of the major urban-industrial areas of the country. Philadelphia and Baltimore offer typical examples of the significance of Negroes in the unemployed reserve. Philadelphia is typical of a northern city in which Negroes, while at first glance they do not loom large in the population, are found on close examination to constitute an extremely important part of the available local labor reserve. Baltimore, on the other hand, with a large proportion of Negroes in the labor force, illustrates how a drain on the supply of white workers soon leads to a shortage of white labor locally available for employment or for training and makes the employment of Negroes the only alternative to large-scale, otherwise unnecessary, importation of whites.

Philadelphia

While in the country as a whole Negroes formed 11.3 percent of the gainful workers, or about one in nine, in Pennsylvania only 5.8 percent of the gainful workers were Negro, or about one in seventeen. 1/ However, the State-wide average obscures the Negro concentration in urban-industrial areas. In Philadelphia, Negroes constituted 13.4 percent of all gainful workers, or about one in eight, compared with 3.4 percent for the remainder of the State, or about one in thirty-three.

The incidence of unemployment among Negroes, however, is far heavier than among white workers. In April 1940 while Negroes formed about 15 percent of the gainful workers in Philadelphia, approximately 24.8 percent of the registered unemployed or about one in four were

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1/ This compares with about one in twenty-three in New York, Michigan and Indiana, one in eighteen in Illinois and Ohio, about one in sixteen in New Jersey.

colored workers. By April 1941, that is to say, during the first year of the defense program, the employer preference for white workers raised the proportion of Negroes in the registered unemployed labor reserve to 29.8 percent. The number of registered white workers, both male and female, in this 12-month period fell from 64,100 to 42,600, while the number of registered Negro job seekers decreased from 21,100 to 18,100. 1/

The labor demand in Philadelphia from March 1941 through the end of the year is estimated at 168,000 openings: 89,000 in defense and nondefense manufacturing industries and 79,000 in miscellaneous nonmanufacturing occupations. Approximately 110,000 openings call for men, and 58,000 openings for women. It is estimated that the total labor reserve likely to be locally available during this period will be 102,000 workers: 61,000 men (42,000 white and 19,000 Negro) and 41,000 women. (29,000 white and 12,000 Negro).

Even on the assumption that all workers in the labor reserve in Philadelphia will be employable (regardless of age, citizenship status, color, experience, and so forth), it is likely that there will be a shortage of 66,000: 49,000 men and 17,000 women. Because not all unemployed workers are employable, the shortage is certain to be considerably more. In fact, the supply of locally available male labor is not even adequate to meet the demand for men by the manufacturing establishments, which is estimated as 70,000.

It is evident from these estimates that large-scale in-migration is inevitable. It is not likely that any great number of workers can be drawn in from the labor supply in the immediate area surrounding Philadelphia. Labor market surveys of the adjoining counties (Delaware, Chester, Montgomery, and Bucks, and Camden in New Jersey) indicate that the supply in these areas is barely adequate to meet the demand, and there will be no surplus of labor available for Philadelphia.

In spite of the fact that Negroes form such an important part of the local labor reserve there is little evidence that Negroes are sharing in the job boom. While certain Philadelphia establishments (foundries and shipbuilding for example) have always made it a practice to employ Negroes, and a few others have recently begun to hire skilled and semiskilled Negroes when white workers were not obtainable, most employers continue to refuse to consider Negro Labor in spite of an increasingly acute shortage of experienced labor. The reluctance to employ Negro labor extends to Negro trainees as well, and this of course has its effect on the willingness of Negroes to undertake training, as well as on the inclination of the vocational authorities to train Negroes in large numbers when there is so little demand for them.

1/ The figure of 60,700 job seekers in April 1941 is based on the active file count on April 30, 1941. This is 11,900 more than the inventory count on April 26, (see Table II) since it includes all registered workers, (those without jobs, those with jobs, and unemployables) while the inventory count includes only those actually available for referral.

What is happening in Philadelphia is typical of other areas. When the supply of white labor is depleted or so picked over that only the least employable remain, reliance is placed on in-migration or importation of white workers, and the local supply of Negro labor is more or less ignored. Negroes are left to wait for openings in those occupations in which they are by custom accepted.

Meanwhile the concrete effects of the refusal to employ Negroes is manifest in (a) the perpetuation of a heavy relief load, disproportionately Negro, in spite of an unprecedented expansion of local job opportunities; (b) the stimulation of in-migration, a considerable part of which is unjustified and unnecessary at this stage of the expansion; and (c) an exodus of labor from the rural to the urban areas which depletes the supply of agricultural labor. In the event that heavy in-migration overtaxes the housing facilities in the area, rents will begin to rise, which will necessitate demands for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living. Moreover, the unnecessary in-migration will compel the government to make even greater expenditures for housing than would otherwise be necessary. It is factors such as these which stimulate inflation and raise the cost of the defense effort. In the future loom the complicated and difficult problems of demobilizing the labor force in the post-emergency period.

Baltimore

All that has been said about Philadelphia holds true in Baltimore, except that the continued failure to utilize local Negro labor makes the problems in this city even more serious. About 22 percent of gainful workers in 1930 were Negro (compared with 13.4 percent of gainful workers in Philadelphia) while 32 percent of the unemployed job seekers as of April 1940 were Negro (compared with 24.8 percent in Philadelphia). By April 1941, Negroes formed 34.3 percent of the registered unemployed in Baltimore (compared with 29.8 percent in Philadelphia). Among male registrants, the reserve upon which the greatest demand is being made by local industry, Negroes constituted 39 percent (compared with 29.9 percent), and among male registrants in the age group 21 to 44, Negroes formed 42 percent of the total (compared with 33 percent).

The reluctance of certain of the major Baltimore manufacturers engaged in defense production to employ Negro labor in any capacity not only has exaggerated the shortage of skilled and semiskilled workers, but has resulted in an acute shortage of white males suitable for training in the national defense vocational courses. It has been stated that there are few white male workers, except 1941 school graduates, available locally for the training courses,

in spite of a local need for about 17,000 trainees. Nor can the situation be materially relieved by recruiting from the balance of the State, since Negroes form much the same proportion of the unemployed reserve throughout Maryland. In the face of this, certain Baltimore employers have been searching the country for workers, and negotiations have been undertaken with other States with a view to supplying trainees for Baltimore employers, or directing white workers to Baltimore to be trained there. In either case, unnecessary migration with the attendant problem of housing and other social consequences, will have been caused.

Faced with the dwindling supply of white male labor suitable for training, the vocational training authorities have established a few courses for Negroes, although there is no employer demand for colored trainees. About 100 were enrolled in these courses, but some of these courses were not related to any local defense needs. If Baltimore employers could be persuaded to accept Negro trainees, it is estimated that from 3,000 to 4,000 male Negroes under 45 years of age would be available in Maryland from among the unemployed labor reserve alone, which would reduce the necessity for migration from outside the State by perhaps one-fifth to one-quarter.

One of the major consequences of the failure to train locally available unemployed Negroes is that vocational training facilities have remained partially idle in spite of an urgent demand for trainees. Facilities for training between 1,000 and 2,000 additional trainees were available in Baltimore during the spring of 1940, but remained idle largely because of the shortage of white applicants.

Another consequence of the failure to use local Negroes, which has been noticed in the Baltimore area, is the increased rate of labor turnover. Workers in large numbers have been recruited from all over the country. As opportunities opened in or near their homes, many of these trainees have returned to their own localities. It is unnecessary to point out that the use of local labor would have materially reduced the rate of turnover, and the cost of "breaking in" these workers.

Training of Negroes for Defense Work

The difficulty in placing Negro labor, has, of course, affected the vocational training program. While Negroes form about 11 percent of the total force of gainful workers, and about 12 percent of the unemployed reserve, of 115,000 trainees in the preemployment and supplementary vocational courses established under the national defense program, in December 1940 only 1,900 or 1.6 percent were Negro. By

March the training of Negroes was somewhat extended: of 175,000, about 4,600 or 2.6 percent were Negroes. 1/ However, the training courses which are established for Negroes frequently do not offer training in the occupations for which there is the greatest demand, but in those in which Negroes traditionally find employment. It is not uncommon to find that while the local demand calls for machine shop, sheet metal, riveting and welding trainees, the courses opened for Negroes are in woodworking, bricklaying, and auto servicing, which may or may not be in demand.

There is abundant evidence that many local authorities if they are not dissuading Negroes from enrolling in defense training courses, are not encouraging them to enroll, in spite of the provision of the supplementary Appropriations Bill, which established the national defense vocational training program, that

> "No trainee under the foregoing appropriations shall be discriminated against because of sex, race, or color; and where separate schools are required by law for separate population groups, to the extent needed for trainees of each such group, equitable provision shall be made for facilities and training of like quality."

In their attempts to coordinate training with employers' demands, local training authorities have hesitated to use their limited facilities to train Negroes where employers would not hire them. More recently, in the face of threatened shortages of trainees, there has been some tendency to provide training for Negroes, with the expectation that employers will increasingly tend to relax their color specifications as the labor shortage becomes more acute. On the other hand, in some areas training facilities are not fully utilized because of the shortage of white applicants for training.

There are, however, some communities where Negroes are being encouraged to enroll in the vocational courses. In Philadelphia, for example, the vocational authorities, the WPA and the NYA all favor a policy of encouraging Negroes to train in defense occupations, in spite of current difficulties of placement.

1/ The national defense vocational training program includes many types of training other than preemployment and supplementary training. There are the CCC, NYA, OSY (Out of School Rural and Non-Rural Youth), the regular public school vocational program, apprenticeship programs, etc. In some of these, notably the CCC, NYA, and the OSY, the proportion of trainees who are Negro is higher.

In the failure to train Negroes, despite current placement difficulties, there is the greatest danger of dislocating the labor market and intensifying unnecessary migration. For the absence of available Negro trainees as the labor stringencies become more acute will inevitably drive employers to other areas in search of labor. If, however, a supply of trained Negro labor were to flow from the defense training courses, employers would be more and more inclined to use the local Negro supply, as their difficulties of recruiting in other areas mounted. 1/ The official policy of the Director of Defense Training of the Federal Security Agency, as laid down on June 18, calls for the training of Negroes even where there are no immediate employment opportunities, but where it is probable that their services will be used at a later date.

Effect of Failure to Use Negro Labor

It has been said that the refusal to employ Negro skilled and semiskilled labor in manufacturing cannot seriously retard defense production, since traditional discrimination has excluded Negroes from many trades and consequently there are relatively few skilled and semi-skilled Negroes available who are trained in the occupations most in demand. While it is true that only a relatively small proportion of skilled workers are Negroes (see Table V), in many instances that have come to the attention of the employment service the failure to employ those who are available has not been without its direct effect on the defense effort.

The situation in the foundry industry, so vital to national defense, has already been mentioned. A shortage of power sewing machine operators, needed to sew uniforms, would to a considerable extent be ameliorated if Negro operators were more widely employed. A Chicago plant manufacturing gas masks refused to hire Negro power sewing machine operators in spite of the fact that there were no white operators available. Meanwhile several hundred Negro operators registered with the Chicago employment service, many of them highly expert, continue to be unemployed. In spite of a shortage of machinists in Ohio, machine shops continue to refuse to consider Negro machinists recommended by the employment service, and the same is true in other States. Aircraft manufacturers continue to comb the country for skilled and semiskilled workers, but most of them will not hire locally available experienced or trained Negroes whom the employment service could supply in small numbers. A vocational training instructor in New York City stated that white junior trainees with limited mechanical aptitude were being hired by aircraft manufacturers, who had refused employment to better qualified Negro trainees.

1/ It has been suggested that because of the slow rate of Negro placement it would, perhaps, be wise to give Negroes a somewhat longer and more thorough training in the vocational courses, which would further increase their value in the eyes of the employers.

The Metal Trades Division of the New York City Employment Service has repeatedly reported that the color restriction was one of the factors tending "to create what is generally referred to as a shortage." Until about April Ohio reported that "there is no apparent increase in the hiring of skilled Negroes," but since April there has been a somewhat greater willingness on the part of some employers to hire Negro labor. Indiana reported that the shortage of labor in some sections has led employers to give consideration to the possibility of using Negro labor, but there has as yet been no considerable increase in Negro hiring. Connecticut has reported that there is only a limited industrial market for Negro labor, but more recently the Connecticut Manufacturers' Association's Committee on Employment Problems is urging that opportunities be given "young trained Negroes" to prove their capacity and fitness to serve in such occupations as they have been trained for. Delaware reported that, in spite of a shortage of skilled and semiskilled workers, "white jobs" continue to be exclusively reserved for white workers. Maryland continues to report a shortage of white workers suitable for training. A long list of instances such as these could be supplied from the experience of many employment offices.

It is clear that such discrimination tends to (1) retard production, (2) intensify the shortages of labor, (3) increase labor turnover, (4) contribute to the competition for labor, (5) cause unwarranted and unnecessary migration which is dislocating the labor market, and (6) accentuate the shortage of housing in certain areas (which in turn causes rents to rise, and compels government expenditure for defense housing). If discrimination continues, it is likely to cause training facilities in certain areas to stand idle or compel the government at considerable expense to move large numbers of trainees and maintain them during the training period. Each of these manifestations has already appeared. That they will become even more extensive as the defense program develops cannot be doubted. The employment of Negro labor will not, of course, solve these problems, but it will help minimize them.

It must be remembered that current restrictions fixed by a great many concerns (both defense and nondefense) are not only operating against Negroes, but against aliens, Mexicans, Orientals, (both foreign-born and native-born) and in many cases against naturalized and native-born persons of foreign-born parents (particularly German and Italian, although discrimination against other nationalities is also evident). Restrictions because of religion are also widespread. While the restrictions against any single group may not appear to be of great consequence, it is obvious that the cumulative effect of these restrictions can assume serious proportions. The number of unemployed Negroes

and aliens alone is estimated at about one million, or from one-fifth to one-sixth of the currently unemployed labor reserve. It is already possible to foresee a time when the local reserve of employable male labor in many areas will consist largely of these minority groups. The growing interest of the government in restrictive practices, therefore, does not flow from a desire to use the defense program to solve social problems, but from the hard-headed and practical recognition that the failure to absorb the local unemployed in local jobs on a systematic basis will increasingly complicate the task of mobilizing the nation's labor reserve to serve industry. The time is not far off when, as a result of the increasing shortage of male labor, we shall observe the spectacle of local Negroes who should have been employed locally, being transferred to other areas to make up a deficiency of labor, caused, at least in part, by the exodus of white workers at an earlier stage of the expansion.

There are signs that the discrimination against Negroes is beginning to relax, but by and large the instances of relaxation are still isolated occurrences. Negroes are still regarded as a supplement to the supply of white labor rather than as an integral part of the labor reserve. If, in the end, employers will be compelled by circumstances to use Negro labor just as they were in the 1917-1918 emergency, it would be rational policy to use such labor as the need develops, rather than wait until acute shortage compels it. Only in this way can the destructive effects of discrimination be minimized. Even under ideal conditions the problem of mobilizing the labor force on an orderly basis is an enormous task; in the present emergency, no unnecessary restrictions on the use of the labor supply ought to be allowed to impede it.

Negroes

THE TRUTH ABOUT COLUMBIA TENNESSEE CASES

ON THE NIGHT OF *Monday, February 25, 1946, the Negro citizens of Columbia, Tennessee, courageously prevented a lynching.*

For this service to the community and the state, 100 of them were arrested. They were illegally held incommunicado for periods ranging from three to eight days. They were denied the right to communicate with friends on the outside to arrange bail and counsel. They were denied the constitutional right of being represented by counsel at the preliminary investigation. Many of them were cruelly beaten while in custody. Two were shot and killed inside the jail by officers of the law who were questioning them. At least 15 of them have been charged with assault with intent to commit murder and others with minor offenses.

The fair-minded citizens of Tennessee should be grateful to the Negroes of Columbia that there was no lynching on the night of February 25. We think they would be, if they could know the facts. But they cannot know the facts, because the incidents which brought on violence have been misrepresented, the story of the lynch mob and its attacks on the Negro community suppressed, the circumstances surrounding the shooting distorted, and race relations in our state poisoned by stories about a "race riot" which never took place.

That is why we are publishing this pamphlet, presenting the results of our own investigation, to tell the people of Tennessee what their officials will not tell them—the story of what really happened in Columbia.

CLARK H. FOREMAN, *President*
Southern Conference for Human Welfare

What Happened in Columbia

IT STARTED in the Casner-Knott radio repair shop at about 10:00 o'clock Monday morning. There was an argument between a Negro customer, Mrs. Gladys Stephenson, and the white repairman, Will Fleming. Mrs. Stephenson had had a repair job done and she claimed she had been cheated on the job. Fleming was angered that a Negro would dare make such an accusation against him, a white man. He struck and kicked Mrs. Stephenson.

The woman's son, James C. Stephenson, 19, was there and saw what happened to his mother. He was a young veteran, just returned from overseas service in the Navy. He had volunteered. He was not afraid to strike back when his country was attacked. And he was not afraid to strike back when his mother was attacked, even though it was a white man who did it. He struck the repairman. Fleming, in falling, struck and broke a plate glass window.

The repairman was not seriously hurt. Nevertheless the crowd drawn by the incident jumped on the young veteran and his mother and beat them up. One man stamped on Mrs. Stephenson's face after she was knocked down. When the police came they arrested the victims, but not the men who did the beating and kicking. Nor did they arrest Fleming, whose brother, Flo Fleming, is the Democratic Party nominee for sheriff of Maury County.

All afternoon the word went around the town that a mob was forming to lynch the Stephensons. A man bought a rope in a hardware store on the square. He told the clerk he was going to use it on a Negro that night and, if he didn't, he hoped someone would use it on him.

Late that afternoon, a Negro property holder made bond for the Stephensons, though the authorities advised him against it, saying there might be trouble. The bondsman was just in time.

Between 5:00 and 6:00 that afternoon an armed mob stormed the jail and tried to kick the door down. They told the sheriff they had come for the Stephensons. The young veteran and his mother were gone and some time that night fled to safety.

Angered at having their intended victims snatched away, the mob turned toward the Negro community. But there again they were frustrated.

They Remembered the Rope

If you don't know much about lynchings, you may wonder why the Negroes did not rely on the police to protect them from the mob. They didn't because they remembered how a Negro had been hanged from the courthouse window years ago—and how the county authorities had left the rope hanging there as a symbol and a warning and pointed it out proudly to visitors. They remembered that a mob had gone from Maury County to Nashville after 14-year-old Cordie Cheek and brought him back and lynched him—after the Grand Jury had found him innocent on rape charges. They remembered that Negroes had identified members of the mob that murdered Cordie Cheek—but they were never arrested. And they knew that the mob was milling on the courthouse square, less than two blocks from the heart of the Negro business section, and that it had not been disarmed or dispersed.

They Waited . . .

So they did the only thing that they could do, which was just what you or I would have done if we had been in their position. They retired to their homes, got out their guns, most of them ordinary hunting guns, some of them war trophies, and waited.

All that night armed men roamed the streets looking for a Negro to lynch. They did not find one, because the Negroes kept to their homes. They did not dare invade the Negro community, because they knew the Negroes would fight back. Some of

them, however, drove past the section in automobiles, firing into Negro homes as they went by. It was these auto raiders, not the Negroes, who fired the first shots. Because of them, to keep from presenting an easy target, the Negroes turned out their lights.

Twice that night white persons who invaded the Negro area were peppered with birdshot and driven out. On one of those occasions, the four men who stopped birdshot were police officers. Of course, the Negroes, waiting in the dark for a mob attack and seeing these men approach, had no way of knowing that they were officers. And of course, too, no more than two or three men out of the whole Negro community had fired at all. But the Columbia police cared nothing for such considerations. Negroes had fired on officers; that was excuse enough for taking vengeance on the whole Negro community.

Mob in Uniform

They phoned the Governor for reinforcements. Gov. McCord sent in during the night more than 100 highway patrolmen and more than 400 troops of the state guard. These forces took no action against the lynch mob. Instead they threw a cordon around the tiny Negro business section where the shots had been fired. The cordon included armed civilians—members of the mob.

At dawn the law enforcement officials moved in. They arrested every Negro trapped in the surrounded area, whether there was any reason to connect him with the shooting or not. Large numbers of those arrested were veterans, some discharged so recently that they were still in uniform. After these men had been captured, disarmed and lined up, they were kicked and cursed and beaten with blackjacks, fists and guns.

It was the armed forces of the State of Tennessee who did the real rioting. They broke the windows of the buildings and sprayed the interiors with machine gun fire. At the Morton Funeral Home they poured embalming fluid over the expensive

Blair Barber Shop after it was vandalized by the state patrolmen.

casket furnishings, smashed lighting fixtures, broke the reading lamp over the pulpit, and marked "KKK" on a coffin in huge letters. At the Blair drug store, they destroyed the soda fountain, looted the stock and stole money from the cash register. Juke boxes all down the street were jimmied open with bayonets to steal the nickels. At none of these places was there any resistance. Not a business establishment in the area escaped damage.

The newspapers have deliberately left the impression that 400 guns were found in this raid on the Negro business section. They were not. After the raid was over, deputies made a house-to-house search of every Negro residence in Columbia. They claim to have seized 400 guns from the homes of a Negro population of 3,000. In the outlying sections, where the mob had not come close, these guns were found in trunks and attics. They were such squirrel rifles and bird guns as could be found by raid-

ing the same number of homes in any community, white or colored. The house-to-house search was conducted without regard to either the Constitution of the United States or the Constitution of Tennessee, both of which contain provisions against search and seizure without warrants.

Incommunicado

Sixty-eight Negroes were arrested that day and, in the days that followed, the number grew to 100. All of them were held for days, some for more than a week, while a "board of investigation" sifted the evidence to decide which ones should be charged with crime. While they waited they were not permitted to make bond, nor to obtain counsel on their own behalf. Z. Alexander Looby, Negro attorney of Nashville, and Maurice Weaver, white attorney of Chattanooga, were employed for them by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Officials refused Weaver the right to see the prisoners and to be present when they were questioned.

Some of these prisoners, including women, were beaten inside the jail.

Murder in the Jail

On Thursday, February 28, two of these prisoners, William Gordon and James Johnson, were shot to death in the jail. The official explanation was that Gordon had grabbed a gun from the confiscated weapons stacked in the room and fired it, giving Deputy R. T. Darnell a slight flesh wound in the left arm. No one has explained why prisoners were in a room where there were loose guns lying around, nor why the prisoners could not be subdued without killing them, nor what methods of questioning were used which could drive helpless prisoners (against whom there were no serious charges) to so desperate and hopeless an extremity. The official attempts to explain how it was possible for a prisoner to have on hand the right kind of ammunition to load such a gun have been notably unconvincing.

The most charitable interpretation it is possible to put on the

This picture shows the brutal treatment which accompanied the arrests.

circumstances of this horrible killing makes the officers guilty of incredible negligence and stupidity—and of killing prisoners who could have been subdued without killing, which is a very serious criminal offense. The explanation which fits the facts better and is easier to believe is much uglier even than that—though it is an old story in Southern police dealings with Negro prisoners.

The people of Columbia are not responsible for this outrage. The lynch mob was largely drawn from outlying rural communities. It was the state forces sent in from outside that organized the armed invasion and pillaging of the Negro business section. Even the killing in the jail was done by state officers.

Our Shame and Our Duty

The Columbia case is a shame to the state and the nation. The Columbia defendants have been ruthlessly hurt and hounded for the offense of preventing a lynching. They are under the threat of long prison terms, for the crime of defending their lives in the only way open to them. The way in which the officials involved and the newspapers have blown up these courageous and guiltless acts into a "race riot", with dark hints of a planned Negro uprising, is a ghastly travesty on both truth and fair play.

Protect the Constitution

The Columbia defendants have been subjected to wholesale violations of their civil rights under the federal and state constitutions. They have suffered arrests without warrant, searches without warrant, holding incommunicado, denial of bail, denial of counsel, destruction and looting of property, theft of money found in premises which were vandalized, denial of due process of law, denial of equal protection of law, beatings and third degree, and the unjustifiable slaying of two of their number.

Even if our consciences would let us stand by idly while these rights are denied to a minority, the experience of other countries has shown that we cannot afford to—lest these rights be so undermined that ultimately we lose them ourselves.

Negro Veteran: Test Case

The significance of this case goes far beyond the fate of the individuals involved. Cases of violence against Negroes have been increasing rapidly since the war ended and, almost always, it is Negro VETERANS who are attacked. These men fought for

democracy and have come back expecting to share in it. The Klan-minded element, a tiny minority of the white population, is trying to throttle these just aspirations in the only way they know—with violence and murder. A new pattern of race relations is being worked out. It MUST NOT be the pattern launched at Columbia.

What You Can Do

You can help prevent that by letting the Governor of Tennessee know that you do not want state forces used as substitutes for a lynch mob. You can help by demanding that the federal government intervene to protect civil rights when they are violated by state and local officials. You can help by contributing money toward the defense of the brave men on trial at Columbia.

In doing so, you will help to offset the harm which the Columbia case has already done to peaceful relations between the races. You will be keeping faith with the Negro and white veterans who fought side by side for democracy and the rights of minorities. You will be keeping faith with the soldiers of all races, colors and creeds who died side by side for the same cause.

LET'S SPREAD THE FACTS

We know you will agree with us that THE TRUTH ABOUT COLUMBIA must be told—as widely as possible—to protect innocent men from persecution and to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies throughout the nation.

We therefore appeal to you to help distribute this pamphlet in the thousands, to your friends and through your organizations. Prices are 1c each, $1 per hundred, $7.50 per thousand.

- -

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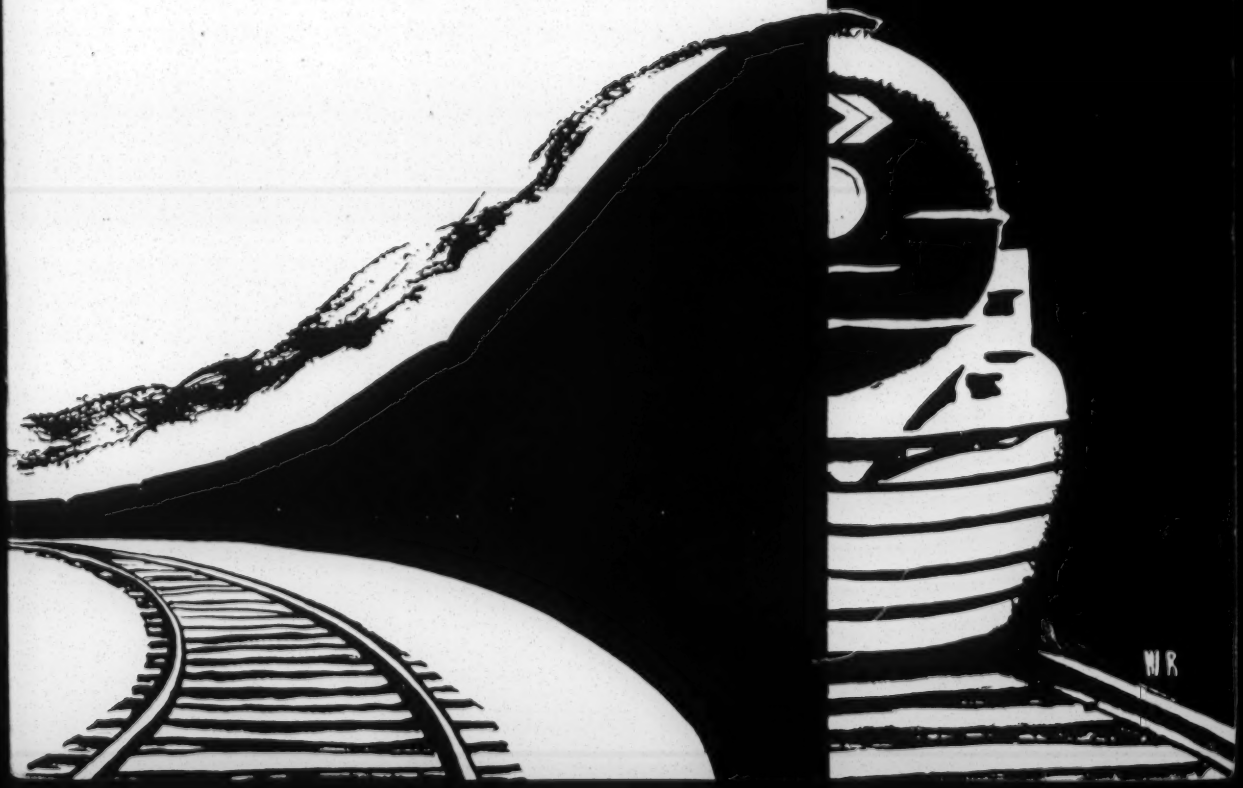
Segregation On Common Carriers

By James Wallace



PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET No. 128

OUR NEGRO VETERANS

BY CHARLES G. BOLTÉ AND LOUIS HARRIS

Negroes

Jewish Contributions to Negro Welfare

Themselves age-old victims of discrimination, Jews have always been acutely sensitive to the plight of other oppressed minorities. In America, as far back as the early part of the 19th century, they have shown a marked interest in the welfare of all other minority groups and a desire to help eliminate injustices against these countrymen. Indicative of this attitude has been the contribution of American Jews to the well-being of the Negro.

This report is an attempt to cite several such outstanding and recorded contributions to the civic, economic, educational, and social welfare of the colored people. It does not evaluate these benefactions, nor does it lay claim to completeness. It is based almost entirely upon the information culled from the bibliography attached to this report.

* * * * * *

The earliest recorded instance of Jewish effort in behalf of Negroes dates back to the opening decades of the 19th century. Judah Touro, a prominent Jewish resident of New Orleans, the nerve center of early slave traffic, was opposed to the scenes of enslavement which he saw about him. Emancipating his own personal servant, he not only trained him for business, but furnished him with money and valuable advice in business affairs. He also made possible the freeing of the slaves owned by a friend with whom he made his home, training them and furnishing them too with money to establish themselves. In all his benefactions -- hospitals, orphanages, etc. -- the underlying condition always was that no discrimination be made on account of race or creed.

Also violently anti-slavery were the German Jewish immigrants of 1848 who had but a short time back witnessed the inhumanity of oppression in their native land. They were very active in the "underground railway" and gave many champions to the abolitionist cause. Among them were:

a) Sabato Morais, of Philadelphia, and Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal and Liebman Adler, of Chicago, who preached against slavery;

b) Rabbi David Einhorn, of Baltimore, who was compelled to give up his ministry because of his anti-slavery sentiments;

c) Michael Heilprin, a writer, who converted many leaders to abolition by his brilliant articles in the New York Tribune;

d) Leopold Blumenberg, of Baltimore, only seven years in the United States, who left a good business to organize the 5th Maryland Regiment of which he became major. He goaded neighboring secessionists by his anti-slavery activities and one night barely escaped being lynched by them.

Jews also aided materially in founding and supporting the anti-slavery Republican Party. Several were delegates to the convention which nominated Lincoln.

In modern times, the record of Jewish benefactions is more extensive and much more impressive. Many Jews have devoted much time and energy to the alleviation of Negro suffering and the elimination of injustice. In the defense of Negro rights, for instance, the extent of Jewish participation has been so great as to call forth the praise of Negro groups and the resentment of un-democratic groups in the South.

Following the race riots in 1908, a Kentuckian white, William English Walling, called for a body of citizens to come forward and defend the citizenship rights of American Negroes. Fifty distinguished Americans of all faiths and creeds affixed their signatures to the call. Among these were several prominent Jews: Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago, Dr. Henry Moskowitz of New York, and Lillian D. Wald, pioneer settlement worker. This was the beginning of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People -- an organization which still functions at the present time.

Since 1908, many Jews have been actively engaged in the important civic-protective work of the N.A.A.C.P. Most noteworthy among them have been the Spingarn brothers, Arthur and Joel Elias. A professor at Columbia University, Joel E. Spingarn was president of the organization for almost ten years -- from 1930 to July 1939. At various times, he also held the positions of treasurer and chairman of the National Board of Directors. Upon his death in 1939, he was succeeded by his brother, Arthur Spingarn, who still retains that post. Author of The Negro and the War and Introduction to the African Saga, the incumbent president, who has been practicing law in New York City since 1900, formerly held the positions of chairman of the National Legal Committee and vice-president of the organization. When, in 1910, it became popular in the Southern communities to attempt to prescribe by law the places where colored people might and might not live, he carried the fight against this action to the highest court in the land, the U. S. Supreme Court, contesting its constitutionality. He won his case. In this particular phase of the organization's work, he was aided by another Jewish member of the Board of Directors and outstanding communal leader, Louis Marshall. Marshall appeared at Washington on various occasions to argue before the Supreme Court cases regarding the civil rights of Negroes, to whom he frequently gave counsel. He represented the N.A.A.C.P. before the Supreme Court in the famous Texas "white primary" case. The case arose out of passage by the Texas legislature of a law specifically excluding Negro citizens from democratic primaries in that state. In March, 1927, he won his case when the Court handed down a unanimous decision declaring the law unconstitutional. Marshall also supervised the legal action in the Virginia "white primary" case, which the N.A.A.C.P. carried before the High Court in 1929 and won. His efforts in behalf of colored people were recognized and appreciated when he was invited as guest speaker to the annual convention of the National Association in 1927. After his death the following tribute was paid to him in the foreword to the 20th annual report of the organization:

"The deaths during 1929 of the Association's two greatest legal champions, Moorfield Storey [non-Jew] and Louis Marshall, were staggering blows and the unique positions they occupied cannot be filled."

A tablet bearing the following inscription was also erected in the Temple Emanu-El in New York City by the Association:

In Memory
of
Louis Marshall

Who, believing that justice should know no color line, fought valiantly for the rights of the Negro. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People thus records its gratitude.

As in the normal life of any group, new leaders must be ready to take up the work of the departed. In the N.A.A.C.P., three able men -- all Jews -- filled the places of Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall on the National Board of Directors. They were the then Lieutenant-Governor Herbert H. Lehman, Professor Felix Frankfurter, now Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, and James Marshall, son of Louis Marshall. Other past and present names connected with the Association have been:

a) Lillian D. Wald, one of the organizers and member of the Board of Directors in the 20's;

b) Herbert J. Seligman, Director of Publicity from 1921 to 1931 and one of the founders of the Urban League which attempts to ameliorate conditions among Negroes in urban communities;

c) Morris L. Ernst, Charles H. Studin, Benjamin Kaplan, and Arthur Garfield Hays -- all members of the Legal Committee of the Association.

There were other outstanding Jews who aided in the legal and civic defense of the colored people, but who were not affiliated with the N.A.A.C.P. It was Aaron Levy, a member of the New York Legislature in 1913, who introduced and succeeded in putting through the New York Levy Civil Rights Law, guaranteeing equal accommodations regardless of race, creed, or color. The late Judge Joseph B. David of Chicago resigned from the American Bar Association in 1909 because it refused to admit William H. Lewis, then assistant attorney-general of the United States and brilliant young Negro lawyer. Chief counsel in the fight to free the Scottsboro boys, sentenced to death by a hostile Alabama jury in 1931 on charges of rape, was Samuel Leibowitz, now Kings County Judge. Chosen by the International Labor Defense, he gladly gave his services without charge and helped in obtaining a reversal of the verdict. Jacob H. Schiff, outstanding Jewish philanthropist and communal leader, held a strong sympathy for the Negro and spoke in defense of his rights on various occasions. In the early part of the Wilson administration, he wrote to the President, protesting against the segregation of colored employees in the government departments at Washington. Though he was not a leader in the movement for equal educational opportunities for Negroes, he gave it his financial and moral support.

Instances of Jewish recognition of Negro talents are numerous. Only a few are listed. Joseph Schenck, the motion picture magnate, asked a Negro architect, Paul Williams of Los Angeles, to design his residence in California. Gimbel Brothers had the same architect design the Saks Fifth Avenue Store in Los Angeles. Benny Goodman pioneered and broke the custom of segregation by putting four Negroes in his nationally celebrated orchestra. Melvin Charlton, a Negro, has been pipe organist for over 25 years in a Synagogue in New York.

While on the subject of equality, it is worth noting that as recently as February 8, 1942, in a special message on the observance of Race Relations Week, the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis issued a plea to men and women of all faiths to help eliminate the barriers standing in the way of Negro equality with other peoples and races in this country.

The Rosenwald Benefactions

It is a known fact that in his slow but steady rise from the low level of pre-Civil War enslavement, the Negro has made more progress in education than in any other field. He has given American culture and progress many scientists, educators, authors, and a host of other professional men. In this connection, it should be remembered that much of the impetus for his rapid strides along these lines was derived from the activities and benefactions of Jews. By far the outstanding contributor to the educational and general welfare of the colored people was Julius Rosenwald, creator of the Rosenwald Fund in 1917 for the betterment of race relations and the furtherance of education.

It is said that the men best known to the Negro in the South are Abraham Lincoln, Booker T. Washington, and Julius Rosenwald, or "Cap'n Jule," as he was affectionately called. Rosenwald, until his demise in 1932, was perhaps the foremost material benefactor the American Negro has ever known. The following quotation from the December 1926 issue of The Crisis, monthly publication of the N.A.A.C.P., best characterizes the regard in which he was held and the quality of his devotion to Negro problems:

"One of the outstanding developments in the U. S. is the work which one American citizen is doing for Negro education to balance the refusal and neglect of the South in furnishing school-houses for colored children. It is doubtful if a parallel case can be found in modern history, certainly not in the history of a so-called great and rich republic. Mr. Rosenwald's interest in Negro school-houses is a monument to the late Booker T. Washington..."

The first gift of any size made by Rosenwald was for the benefit of Negroes. In the spring of 1910, the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association, during a canvass to raise $1,000,000, approached Julius Rosenwald for a subscription. His first question was whether some of the proceeds would go towards a building for colored men, and on being informed that no such plan had been formulated, stated that he would contribute $25,000 only when the Association was ready to undertake the project. Encouraged by Rosenwald's offer, the Chicago Y.M.C.A. undertook to raise a fund of $100,000 for such

a building. It was Rosenwald's instigation and initial contribution of $25,000 which resulted in a modern building costing nearly $200,000. At a later luncheon with Dr. J. E. Moorland, one of the colored International Secretaries of the Y.M.C.A., Rosenwald offered to duplicate his Chicago offer to any city in the United States within the course of the next ten years. That is, he was willing to contribute $25,000 to any city that raised $75,000 towards a Y.M.C.A. building for colored men. As a result, 20 such buildings were established for Negroes in 18 cities.

In 1912, Rosenwald took his first party to visit Tuskegee Institute. He and his family spent the night in the home of Booker T. Washington, then president of the institution, and a warm friendship developed between the two men which lasted until Washington's death three years later. It was at this first visit that the Jewish philanthropist made an initial donation of $25,000 to the Negro educator for the improvement of Negro education in the South. He became a trustee of Tuskegee at the same time -- a charge he held until his death in 1932, and subsequently held by his son William Rosenwald.

As a development of his own personal philanthropies, the Rosenwald Fund was established in 1917. The first, greatest, and most characteristic activity of the Fund has been its cooperation with Southern states and local districts in building schoolhouses for Negroes. From 1913, four years before the creation of the Fund which carried on this work until 1932, Rosenwald and the Fund spent over five million dollars towards the erection of schoolhouses which would be recognized as regular units of the public school system in the South. The Rosenwald contribution did not cover the entire cost of this tremendous building program. His gifts, however, stimulated more than six times his amount from public tax funds and voluntary contributions from whites and Negroes, which together with his own gift met the cost of the project. The project included 4,977 schoolhouses, 217 teachers' homes, 163 workshops, and many supplementary features, such as shop equipment, libraries, etc. The schools had a teacher capacity of 14,747 teachers and a pupil capacity of 663,615. They represented an investment almost twice as great as the value of all Negro public schools standing in those 15 Southern states when the work was started in 1913.

The following is a list of other contributions by Rosenwald and the Fund to Negro Welfare until 1936:

a) Contributions to Negro University programs.....$1,276,508

b) Grants to Negro colleges and high schools..... 822,083

c) Negro fellowships and scholarships..... 437,615

d) Grants to hospitals for Negro care, including grants to 14 Negro hospitals offering training opportunities for Negro medical students and nurses and a substantial sum towards the maintenance of the Provident Hospital and Training School as an affiliated unit of the University of Chicago Medical School..... 857,507

e) Other Negro activities, including the erection in 1929 of the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments for Negroes in Chicago -- one of the first low-cost housing projects..... $257,860

From 1936 until 1940, the Rosenwald Fund, under the chairmanship of Lessing J. Rosenwald, donated approximately another one and a half million dollars to Negro universities, fellowships, health, and race relations.

The efforts of other Jewish foundations and individuals may appear pale in the light of the above sums. They are not to be disregarded, however, for each in its own way has served a valuable function. Among the foundations established by Jews for non-sectarian purposes, from which the Negro too has benefited, are: the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, which grants fellowships for general research; the New York Foundation, which maintains charitable and educational institutions; and the Samuel S. Fels Foundation, contributing to the prevention of crime and the training of youth for good citizenship. Governor Herbert H. Lehman contributes annually to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and is one of its life-time members. Abraham Flexner, one of the pioneers in modern medical education in the United States, when connected with the General Education Board, showed much interest in the social and educational problems of the Negro and interested many other non-Jewish philanthropists in them.

One other contribution should be added to the list, and that is, the Spingarn Medal. Donated in 1914 by Joel E. Spingarn, subsequent president of the N.A.A.C.P., the medal has been awarded yearly at the convention of the Association to the "black American citizen who shall be judged to have made in any year or years the highest achievement in any field of human endeavor." The will of Joel Spingarn in 1939 established a trust fund of $20,000 for the perpetuation of the medal. So high is the regard among colored people for the purpose of this award that it has been considered one of the factors which have made for a cultural renascence among American Negroes. (See The Crisis, August 1926, p. 181)

Some of the recipients of the Spingarn Medal have been: Professor E. E. Just, head of the department of physiology at Howard University Medical School; William E. B. DuBois, noted editor and author; George Washington Carver, the "wizard" chemist and head of the research department at Tuskegee Institute, and Robert Russa Moton, president of Tuskegee. The 1942 medal has already been announced, and the award will be presented in July 1942 to A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Union of Sleeping Car Porters.

H.C.
2/27/42

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Negroes

The Negro

His Future in America

A Special Section

THE NEW REPUBLIC

October 18, 1943 *In two parts: Part Two*

The National Council of NEGRO WOMEN

The National Council of Negro Women, Incorporated, was organized in December, 1935, as a non-partisan organization by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune and a group of women who realized the need for united and coöperative group action among Negro women. It is affiliated with the National Council of Women of the United States and, through this affiliation, with the International Council of Women of the World.

The National Council faces now the problems confronting six and a half million American Negro women and realizes as never before that our various racial groups must achieve a united front at home if democracy in action and practice is to be made effective in America and throughout the world.

Purposes

To disseminate information on the joint activities of Negro and white women and on those issues that vitally affect the lives of Negro women. To interpret the problems, the needs and aspirations of Negro women to themselves and to the community. To educate Negro women for, and to stimulate them to take full advantage of, all democratic rights and privileges. To build good will and mutual understanding through programs designed to promote better intra-racial, interracial, and international relations.

The National Council of Negro Women maintains regular contacts with Negro women in communities throughout the country by its national affiliates and their local branches organized into Metropolitan Councils. It embraces organizations from church, fraternal, industrial, professional, educational, and civic groups. Its membership is open to any woman who joins in its purposes and supports its activities.

Program

The National Council's general program covers public affairs, youth, family life, employment, religion, consumer education, etc. However, our major emphasis for 1944 will be as follows:

1. Wartime Employment Clinics: Jobs

Tens of thousands of Negro women for the first time in American history have, as a result of the war, been drawn into employment in many new occupations. This presents a crucial problem not only for the individual worker and employer, but for the community as a whole. Employers and employees alike are groping for ways in which to adjust themselves to these new conditions and relationships. Our Wartime employment Clinics are designed to help the worker, employer, and the community solve their common problems, both during the war and after.

2. Full Citizenship: Votes

Not since 1860 have the American people faced such a crucial election year as 1944. The ballot is the most powerful means by which the will of the people can be expressed. The National Council of Negro Women will use every resource at its command to have Negro women register and vote. At the same time it will educate Negro women voters to the intelligent use of their vote, so that national, state and local governmental programs will reflect the needs and aspirations of America's fourteen million Negroes. It will lend its whole strength to gain the full and free use of the ballot for every citizen and to eliminate every restriction to a complete participation in American life.

3. Interracial Good Will

These war years have brought home to all Americans the need of working together. But national unity is constantly under attack both by our enemies without and within. Irresponsible rumors, deliberate falsehoods, race prejudices—all methods of creating race conflict—are among the powerful weapons used by the Axis enemy.

The awakening Negro woman recognizes that she can take her place in American life only by joining hands with all citizens who are dedicated to the fight for democracy. To this end, the National Council works with every group to further the principle of mutual understanding and good will. Only through national unity and interracial good will can our nation wage a victorious war and build a lasting peace.

To keep up its determined fight for democracy for all the peoples of the world; to draw together all American women in a spirit of better understanding so that through common action they can more effectively carry on their common work in dealing with community, state and national problems—these will continue to be the primary objectives of the National Council of Negro Women.

United We Build a Free World

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1812 9th Street, N. W. Washington 1, D. C.

The Negro: His Future in America

A Special Section

ONCE AGAIN the race question is in a state of crisis. Within the space of a few war years we are making decisions, establishing policies, crystallizing our individual attitudes toward the issue in a manner that will determine whether America will witness a maximum or a minimum degree of racial turmoil in the coming decades. Whether as a people we proceed now in a moment of enlightenment, on a high level of humanism and intelligence, or whether we yield to the dark and primitive residues in our national spirit, attempting to ride roughshod over the Negro problem and over the Negro, is a decision which can bring to America a post-war era of internal healing and recovery, or a time of border fighting on the frontiers between the races, and involvement in an expanding conflict which might eventually precipitate the third world war.

The American race question is no longer a matter of domestic politics. Even in the middle years of the last century, when the controversy did assume this characteristic, it produced a destructive war. Then it was a two-part conflict between white Americans over the disposition of the Negro as property, but today the Negro is attempting to wrest the question of his own destiny from white hands, and only violence and main force will deter him in his efforts. Knowing this, American Negroes in recent years have begun to feel an esprit de corps with the other colored races whose numbers constitute an overwhelming majority, and the American race question has become an integral part of the colonial crisis throughout the world. The white majority in America must decide now what it intends to do about this crisis. Though the ultimate consequences of the decision will not confront them within the month or possibly even the decade, they belong inexorably to the future and some day they must be faced.

White America has two approaches to the problem; the first is an official approach through governmental acts and policies; the second approach is through the private acts and attitudes of citizens. An enlightened, courageous federal program could go far in conditioning the attitudes of citizens. But, unfortunately, we live in a day of official expediency, and actually it has been the attitudes of private citizens and their pressure groups which have given direction to the government.

The history of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee is a case in point. It was formed by presidential proclamation only after Negroes had threatened a march on Washington unless something were done to ameliorate widespread discrimination against them in war industries. Then a counter pressure was initiated by Southern industry and politicians and the President permitted himself to be pushed in the other direction: the committee and its scheduled railroad hearings were abandoned. But now many white progressives joined with the Negro groups and a still more persistent pressure was brought to bear on the President; the committee was reëstablished and the hearings opened.

In this respect it appears that initiative in the field of race relations has been defaulted by the administration and has passed to private citizens and pressure groups: to the Negro and his organizations on one hand, and to anti-Negro white groups on the other.

There is a third group which must interest itself in the problem, for its stake in the solution is as great as any. This is a large passive group of white Americans who consider themselves loyal supporters of the principles of American democracy, and who have some actual sense of the meaning of the term. It is the reading, thinking, reasoning group in America who, though at present uneasy about the mounting race conflict, desires at least to understand it and to act with intelligence and fairness, and with effect. It is to these people primarily that this special supplement of The New Republic is addressed.

White America has a record of bad faith, ignorance and cruelty toward the Negro and, on the whole, the historic liberal movement shares this record. The anti-slavery agitation of the pre-Civil War era is tainted with economic implications. Though many of the agitators were sincere men, and some were even great men, it was not humanism that gave their movement its real weight so much as the greedy rivalry for the control of national policies which existed between Northern industrialism and Southern agrarianism. In the decades following the war, industrial exploitation became the beating heart and lifeblood of the Republican Party. Continued strife with the South was now bad for business, and the South remained unyielding in its demand for political and economic debasement for the Negro. The North was now faced with the choice of Southern markets, or continued interest in the Negro's welfare. Very quickly, and with thoroughness, the Negro's welfare was sacrificed. Under the inspiration of its industrial masters, rather than in a

spirit of justice and sound law, the Supreme Court in the 1870's began a series of narrow and crippling interpretations of the Civil War amendments and the congressional acts which had been passed to ensure political suffrage for the Negro. The black man was turned back to his former masters; and in 1876 the deal was anointed forever. In this significant year the Northern democrats who were supporting Garfield in a close contest for the presidential candidacy made a cold-blooded bargain with the Southern states by which, in return for their support of Garfield, they were assured a free hand for all time in their dealings with the Negro.

The most shameless aspect of this trading was the arrant hypocrisy of the liberals of that day. After 1876, in the words of Charles A. Beard, "agitation of the Negro question became bad form in the North." Most of the leading anti-slavery agitators who were still living—men of such stature as Carl Schurz, E. L. Godkin, James Bryce and Thomas Wentworth Higginson—piously condoned the deal and began to express their belief that Southern Negroes were unworthy of political suffrage.

In this manner, throughout the history of the race question, the "Negro's friends" both North and South could be counted on eventually to take the path of least resistance; to pursue some policy that would create a minimum amount of inconvenience, and of fundamental readjustment, for the white race, and a minimum amount of progress for the black; and they could be counted on also to rationalize this betrayal of principle in whatever happened to be the current name for expediency—gradualism, realism, common sense. Militant women who could march in suffragette parades could also find it in themselves to accept customary or legal discrimination against Negroes without batting an eye; men who could write tracts in behalf of the eight-hour day could also fly with their neighbors to a city council for restrictive ordinances if a Negro residential section encroached upon their property; and labor unions, founded to resist the exploitation of the working classes, could be depended on to deny their communal fraternity to Negro workers, to aid and even insist upon their exploitation by the bosses.

The reason for this historic white faint-heartedness grows out of the omnipresent, insistent anti-Negro propaganda inherent in every facet of our culture. Sometimes it sprang from a conscious and cynical intention to keep the Negro a peasant, an unskilled worker, a low-wage labor source open to exploitation by white ownership; but just as often it grew out of a deep psychological fear of a "strange" race, a race with superficial markings dramatically differing from the white norm; and deeply involved in this fear was a case of bad conscience. The white soul is saturated with fear; white culture embedded within itself, and perpetuated at all cost, every educational device that was possible to teach this fear of the stranger, and buttress it through customs, myths and old wives' tales. And white America as well as black America was victimized in the process.

There is not space in this supplement to bring to bear the resources of modern science against the vast and ramifying color prejudice. Modern studies in all fields which bear upon the subject—anthropology, psychology, sociology, history—have placed on endless rows of library shelves throughout the world (removed and burned for some years now in Germany) an impressive mass of data which demonstrate the mythical nature of these race beliefs. Scientists in each field have reinforced the findings of those in others.

In America no subject has been written on more prolifically than the race question. Much of it unfortunately has been bitter and violent exposition of the race myth; much of it is negative, hypocritical and evasive. In the words of Carey McWilliams,[1] "there is actually something rather unwholesome about the accumulation of such a bulky literature on a particular problem when that writing is so barren, as it happens to be in the case of the Negro, of definite suggestions for social action." The best of the literature on the race question has appeared in very recent decades. Many good books are now being issued as a result of mounting crisis.

Under separate headings, we shall discuss outstanding phases of the problem as it exists today. The discussion necessarily must deal primarily with current aspects rather than with history and anthropology, but a discussion of a few outstanding findings of the modern race scientists is properly first in order.

Race Science

A JESUIT PRIEST who teaches a course in race relations in an American university, an authority in the field, asserted in a recent discussion of modern anthropological studies that "once you grasp the central idea you've got the whole thing." By central idea he meant the concept that, though races exhibit obvious and measurable physical differences, there are no inherited intellectual or moral superiorities. Leading anthropologists are overwhelmingly in agreement on this point.

A century ago it was the fashion of head-measurers and anthropologists in Europe to cling to the theory of the master race, with a list of descending races who were graded, in most cases, by the colors of their skin. And almost without exception the particular anthropologist found that the master race happened to be his own. Count Arthur de Gobineau formulated and was the first great propagandist of the master-race theory—in a book called "Les Races Humaines." It was copied by many others, among them Houston Chamberlain,

[1] Brothers Under the Skin. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

a Germanophile who some fifty years ago was known as the Kaiser's private anthropologist. Gobineau's theory was the inspiration of Hitler's master-racism; and thus a piece of evil ignorance which is ridiculed by modern scientists—and rejected by most churches as heresy—inflamed the mind of a mean and thwarted psychopath and enabled him to drive a world to war largely through the manipulation of the latent prejudices and hatreds that exist in the masses of unthinking people.

This is a list of a few of the anthropologists, unquestioned leaders in this field, whose books and monographs through the years have taken the race myth apart piece by piece and laid it forever, like witchcraft, in the graveyard of primitive superstitions: Franz Boas, Ales Hrdlicka, Melville Herskovits, Ruth Benedict, Earnest Hooton, Carlton Coon, Otto Klineberg, M. F. Ashley-Montagu. There are many others.

Climate, geographical background, diet and breeding in isolation are most frequently advanced in theories concerning the explanation of physical racial differences. The folk belief of many whites that the Negro stands at a lower stage of development away from apes has long ago been brushed aside. To many intelligent people it may seem superficial even to bring this point into the discussion; but it is not, for these are the beliefs which still, at this late date, bolster the dark, subjective prejudices in many white minds, even those which have been exposed to education. The point is covered briefly in a pamphlet by Ashley-Montagu:

> If some of our racists would take the trouble to visit their local zoo, and for a moment drop their air of superiority and take a dispassionate look at either one of these apes [gorilla or chimpanzee], they would find that the hair of these creatures is lank, that their lips are thin, and that their body is profusely covered with hair. In these characters the white man stands nearer to the apes than does the Negro. Is the white man then, for this reason, to be judged inferior to the Negro? Surely not.

The pro-slavery literature of America is laden with the persistent tortuous argument that the Negro is a primitive—incapable of learning the white man's culture, incapable of appreciating it when he does make a show of learning it. Racists speak the same language; in "Mein Kampf" one runs across Hitler's violent resentment against the groups in Great Britain who give legal training to Negroes and then believe that they have actually made barristers out of "apes." Just as Hitler would have remained unconvinced by a citation of the brilliant legal work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American racists who today couch the old slavery argument in current terms remain adamantly unconvinced in the face of abundant evidence of Negro achievement. One hears this argument frequently from old-American Anglo-Saxon Southerners, whose forebears gave it currency in the beginning. There is a passage in a letter that Cicero wrote to Atticus which should come as a jolt to such people, for it reveals that once their own ancestors were considered the primitives of Europe, and Cicero's language is exactly their own. It is quoted by Ruth Benedict in "Race: Science and Politics": "Do not obtain your slaves from Britain because they are so stupid and so utterly incapable of being taught that they are not fit to form a part of the household of Athens."

Environment has played a tragic part in retarding the Negro's progress in America. In the South this has been done with calculation, and the Negro's resultant ignorance has been offered as evidence of his unfitness—a trap from which there was no means of escape. In the North, anti-Negro prejudice has differed from that in the South only because of the fact that the fewer numbers of Negroes have kept this prejudice in a state of relative passivity. The Negro has been discriminated against and he has been subjected to customary, and sometimes to "legal," Jim Crow.

But one great advantage he has had in the North has been better schooling. In intelligence testing, when the Negro's environment has been related to the environment of the white children whose tests were used for comparison, the results have been similar. There is one brief table in Otto Klineberg's book, "Race Differences," which shows in a penetrating manner the influence of environment on intelligence. It is based on army intelligence-testing records in the last war which demonstrated the fact that Negroes who had been educated in the schools of progressive Northern states had higher intelligence scores than white recruits from a number of Southern states. The table is reproduced here:

SOUTHERN WHITES AND NORTHERN NEGROES, BY STATES, ARMY RECRUITS

Whites		*Negroes*	
State	*Median Score*	*State*	*Median Score*
Mississippi	41.25	Pennsylvania	42.00
Kentucky	41.50	New York	45.02
Arkansas	41.55	Illinois	47.35
Georgia	42.12	Ohio	49.50

The white intellect that will unshackle itself from a cultural residue of race myths can find abundant evidence in modern scientific literature of the equality of men; not equality between any two given men—the point on which little intellects are wont to quibble—but men in general, regardless of skin color, nose width or eye slant. Even better evidence is available outside of libraries, for white people who can learn to look upon Negroes with a free and open mind; and with good will instead of fear or malice in their hearts.

The bugaboo of intermarriage, which lurks in even the most civilized white minds, could as well be forgotten. People are going to mate with whom they please,

as they have in the past, and laws to prevent it are futile. For the white people who fear intermarriage, there is literally no problem; they will never be forced to submit to it. Marriages, to quote Henry Fielding, are made of "high and tender friendship," and such an emotion does not grow from a feeling of repulsion. Nor have the South's strict anti-miscegenation laws prevented a constant lightening of the Negro's skin. There have been many mixed couples, legally married in Northern states, whose lives would put to shame the clandestine carnality of the white men who have created the generations of mixed-blood Negroes—to whom they have repudiated all the obligations of parenthood.

Of the thirteen million Negroes in America, six millions are light-skinned mulattoes. Melville Herskovits estimates that less than a quarter of all Negroes are pure-blooded. A good portion of the mixture comes from American Indian stock; but a considerable portion comes also from whites. It is ironic that those who cry loudest against "social equality," by which they mean intermarriage, hail from the states, counties and townships where white blood, regardless of the law, flowed in the heaviest volume into Negro veins. These protestants should know, if anyone should, that people mate with whom they please; it is a very personal and private decision.

The Negro in Industry

In 1940 the Negro woke up to the fact that white America had just about decided not to give him a job in any of the profitable fields of employment. The story has been well told in a recent column by P. L. Prattis in The Pittsburgh Courier:

> Negroes did not know that they were being methodically and consciously driven out of industry. They knew that certain labor unions were excluding them, but they did not understand that management desired to get along without the black worker. Of course, there had always been bars of a kind against the Negro worker. But this same worker had been hopeful that these bars were relics of slavery and the Reconstruction period and that they would wear away. He had no idea that custom was going to depress his status with the same certitude as the infamous Black Codes. He had had some experience losing jobs after the World War. That period gave currency to the expression that "the Negro is the last hired, the first fired." The black worker always hoped to beat the tragic implications of that expression. He simply did not want to believe that a time might come when no Negroes would be hired.
>
> Then came the depression, with millions of jobless Negroes. Even in the South, where certain classes of menial jobs had by custom been yielded to him, the Negro found himself displaced by the poor white who needed work. Closer and closer to the periphery of economic desperation the Negro was pushed. Some Negroes regarded their plight philosophically. There weren't enough jobs to go around. Whites needed jobs. Certainly, the whites would get most of the jobs first. But, as more and more jobs became available in better times, the Negro would be given a fair share of them too. That is what the average black worker hoped.
>
> Up until 1940, the black worker really had not sensed what had taken place. He didn't realize that there had been a sort of meeting of minds throughout America and that there existed a cold-blooded understanding not to use the hands and skills of Negroes in the vast majority of gainful pursuits. That only became apparent with the approach of the war emergency and the call for workers. Black workers thought they would be called, too, but they weren't. Vast industrial enterprises went into operation, employing thousands and thousands of workers, but the doors were slammed hard in the face of the black man. . . .

In the years immediately preceding the First World War the United States was receiving annually about a million and a quarter immigrants, who supplied the bulk of the unskilled labor needed by industry. This tide was diminished, and then almost completely checked, as America closed the gates and as the countries of Europe kept their nationals home to work or fight. Mounting industrial production in America created a manpower vacuum and into it eventually was sucked the surplus white and Negro labor of the fecund South. Nearly two million Negroes left Dixie during the war years. They were drawn not only by the lure of high wages but also by the greater freedom and educational opportunities offered in the North.

The Negro was hit severely in the depression of 1923, and the depression of 1929 brought him economic devastation. In the North he had been forced into run-down, overcrowded residential sections, and during the depression the rates for disease, crime, death and delinquency began to soar. Desperate, the Negro sought escape from his problems in various ways. Some of these were gaudy and impractical, like the Marcus Garvey movement to found a "homeland" in Africa. During the days of mounting relief rolls —more than half the adult population of Harlem was on the dole—Negroes in large numbers began to follow the Communist Party line. Communist exploitation of a number of celebrated issues like the Scottboro case also proved effective propaganda. But an overwhelming majority of Negroes continued to cling stubbornly to a belief in the promise of America, and a hope that sooner or later the great day would come when it would open to them.

It is difficult to determine exactly why the Negro found himself *persona non grata* when industry began to boom in 1940, even in many fields where before he had been accepted. Certainly he had not become a poorer worker in the interim. Perhaps he had become a different person. His race consciousness and militancy had been growing since the depression years. Probably the Negro had become identified in the thinking of industrial management as a point of focus for restlessness and agitation.

A brief listing of the FEPC's findings in Los An-

geles in October, 1941, illuminates the manner in which American industry had begun to freeze the Negro out: Douglas Aircraft employed 33,000 workers—10 of them Negroes. North American Aviation employed eight Negroes—all janitors; the company president announced publicly that Negroes were unacceptable in any other capacity. Bethlehem's San Pedro shipyard had two skilled Negroes working as common laborers, both hired on the morning of the hearing. Lockheed-Vega Aircraft had 54 Negroes out of 48,000—all hired in recent weeks, under threat of the hearing. Consolidated Aircraft of San Diego had 225 Negroes in custodial capacities out of 28,000, but claimed this was the fault of the International Association of Machinists (AFL). Boeing Aircraft had no Negroes among 41,000 at Seattle—and also blamed the Machinists.[1]

Negroes by their own efforts had forced the creation of the FEPC in Executive Order 8802, which prohibited racial discrimination in war industry. Picket lines, mass demonstrations, delegations to Washington had been organized all over the country. Faint-hearted Negro leaders who cautioned "patience" were brushed aside as "Uncle Tom's" and "handkerchief-heads" and "pussyfooters." For the first time an aggressive spiritual unity appeared in all sections of the country and in every stratum of Negro life. Under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a leader with a reputation for personal integrity and with a long history of effective militancy, a number of organizations united in a proposed "March-on-Washington" movement. The plan —probably too ambitious for actual realization—called for the march of 100,000 orderly Negroes down the streets of Washington.

At first it was derided by official Washington, and then taken seriously when it became apparent that the protestants were in earnest. It was not difficult to imagine what headlines such a demonstration would produce in Berlin or Tokyo. Under this sharp, persistent pressure—the Negro's own creation, it must be remembered—the administration acted and the FEPC was created to ameliorate such flagrant discriminations as the first hearings uncovered on the West Coast.

So long as the committee confined itself to investigations in Northern and Western areas, it encountered only normal opposition. As soon as it scheduled hearings in Birmingham, Alabama, the Dixie bloc in Washington swung into action. A campaign of protest and propaganda—much of it inspired by Northern-owned subsidiaries in the South—swept through the Southern press and industries and soon the inevitable charge that the committee was attempting to foster "social equality" was raised. Jew-baiting, Negro-baiting racists like Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi, both behind the scenes and on the floor, assailed the committee savagely. Erstwhile Southern liberals, who in the past had been spokesmen for mild race reforms, made a complete about-face now that they were confronted with a decision that had more than superficial meaning. They began to speak and write about shelving all discussion of the race problem until after the war. Nevertheless the hearings were held, and they received sincere support by a number of Alabama newspapers and progressive citizens' groups.

The howl raised over the Birmingham session proved only the first stirring breeze to the storm that greeted the FEPC's scheduling of hearings into the firmly entrenched discriminatory practices exployed by a number of railroads and railroad unions, particularly in the South. Skilled Negro railroad workers, the highest-paid Negroes in the country, were being systematically and brutally excluded from employment by an agreement between the railroads and the unions. The first victims of the exclusion were 2,400 Negro firemen. Very simple means provided for the exclusion. The Interstate Commerce Commission had ruled that steam engines must be replaced by Diesel or by stoker-fed engines by July 1, 1943. An agreement signed on February 28, 1941, by the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen made it impossible for a Negro fireman working on a steam or stokerized engine to be switched to a Diesel engine. It limited these jobs only to "promotable men," which in an earlier agreement had been defined as white men only. Thus Negroes with long seniority, who had taken firemen's jobs on railroads twenty and thirty years ago when shoveling coal was hard and dirty work, at low pay, were now being summarily forced out because the work on Diesel engines was easy and comparatively pleasant, and desired by white men.

Negro railway employees had been completely deprived of any effective means of raising objections to this agreement. By the Railroad Labor Act, the Brotherhoods assumed the right to act as sole bargaining agent for Negro employees. But the same employees are excluded from membership in the "bargaining agent," which holds a closed-shop contract.[1]

Here was discrimination in a virulent form.

A delegation of six of the most reactionary Southern Senators hastened to the White House and laid down an ultimatum that unless the hearings were canceled, the administration could not enact any of its legislation. The President, by now yielding to the Southern bloc almost through force of habit, yielded again. On the night before he left for the Casablanca conference he ordered "indefinite postponement" of the hearings.

The FEPC's budget was held up. Strangulation of the FEPC began, at first subtly, and then ruthlessly.

But the President had made a mistake. The com-

[1] John Beecher in The New York Post, February 2, 1943.

[1] America Magazine, January 23, 1943.

mittee had worked well during the months of its existence and had turned up malodorous discriminatory conditions that had affronted white noses as well as Negro. A nationwide protest of minority groups followed, and the March-on-Washington threat was again revived. But perhaps more effective than anything else in impelling the President to revive the committee and reissue an anti-discrimination proclamation was the bald and indisputable fact that for a signer of the Atlantic Charter and as the leader of world democracy, he had acted with extraordinary weakness in canceling the railroad hearings.

On September 15, under the guidance of a new FEPC headed by Msgr. Francis J. Haas, the hearings were resumed with a vigorous presentation of the case against the railroads. The results of this hearing are being watched closely by Negroes and white groups throughout the country. They will give a sign whether or not the administration, after months of stumbling, appeasement and indirection, now actually realizes that the question of Negro employment is a grave matter which requires an honest, capable program instead of vacillation and expediency.

The railroad cases illustrate a widespread pattern of discrimination practised by various unions, the great majority of them AFL. Another far-reaching case, now before the National Labor Relations Board, involves the Bethlehem Shipyard at Alameda, California, and the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council. The AFL Boilermakers' Union, principal member of the council, set up auxiliary locals for Chinese and Negro workers, collected dues, restricted them to the poorest jobs, but gave them no say in union affairs. The council's jurisdiction has been challenged by the CIO steelworkers' and welders' unions, which do not bar Negroes. The NLRB decision, which directly involves union discrimination, will have far-reaching effects.

It is true, however, that on the whole Negroes by now have been able to get work in wartime industry. They are still barred from most of the most desirable job classifications, and are denied upgrading according to their skills, largely through threats and resentful attitudes on the part of white workers. And, although the FEPC did unusually effective work on its meager budget, largely by bringing the pressure of publicity to bear upon industry, it is the cold, mathematical need for manpower which has been chiefly responsible for giving the Negro employment. And the Negro knows he faces one of the stiffest fights of his history to keep any appreciable amount of his gains.

In time of war and crisis, he makes his gains. In depressions, and post-war eras of shrinking industry, he loses ground; the blows fall first and heaviest upon him. He remembers the First World War, and what came after. The only answer he can have to "white friends" who enjoin him to put away any thoughts of race reforms until after the war is first to try to swallow his disillusionment, and work with greater determination for his share of democracy—now.

The Negro has two means of preparing himself for the post-war crisis. One is to try to nail down every gain he has made by getting formal rulings from law courts and governmental agencies. This phase is important, but it is not enough. The Negro must also try by good work to fit so well into industry that management will see no economic advantage, and perhaps even disadvantage, in laying him off because of the color of his skin.

In driving this vital fact into the minds of Negro workers, the Negro press and a number of other organizations, hammering away week after week, logically, compellingly, are performing one of the most constructive educational tasks in American history. While the race press has been widely attacked for its militancy, white critics at the same time have consistently overlooked or failed to understand this important work.

While Negro leadership can accomplish much by attempting to create a prideful race consciousness on the part of poorly educated masses of workers—maintaining a constant din of propaganda against absenteeism, drinking, vulgarity, uncouthness in dress or manner —sermonizing alone cannot do it. Characteristics which grow up in any exploited peasantry or slum population, white or black, as a form of rebelliousness and release, cannot be completely eradicated by a period of momentary prosperity, especially when the prosperity is only relative. Oppression and discrimination must cease and slums must be obliterated before their effects upon a people can be obliterated as well

Last July in Detroit, Vice President Wallace gave voice to a heart-lifting view of America's post-war assets; he described a world in which the Negro would have an excellent chance to hold his wartime gains, and to advance them, along with workers in general:

> When the guns stop, America will find itself with the following assets:
>
> 1. Manpower by the million; skilled workers from war industries, military manpower and young people coming of working age.
> 2. The largest industrial plant capacity in the world.
> 3. The greatest resources, both natural and artificial, to make peacetime products and thousands of new inventions waiting to be converted to peacetime use.
> 4. The largest scientific arms plant in the world.
> 5. The largest backlog of requirements for housing, transportation, communications and living comforts.
> 6. The greatest reserve of accumulated savings by individuals that any nation has ever known.
>
> With such wealth, who says this nation is now bankrupt, if industrial management can bring the same wisdom for producing for peace that it has shown on many production fronts in the supply program for war?

The whole nation has a stake in bringing about full use of these assets. Most of the planning going on in

Washington today is directed toward this end. But certainly a special and adequate type of planning is needed to assure the Negro's participation in this world on a broadening basis of equality. The Negro has always had two strikes against him economically; if no special effort is made by the administration to prevent it, the first pitched ball of the post-war era once again will strike him out; the first post-war jolts to the full-employment war economy will result in nationwide lay-offs of Negro workers; an inevitable reappearance of malcontent and unemployed slum populations; an inevitable heightening of race conflict; inevitable riots. This is a problem for the administration to think about. It is a problem too for industrial management, which certainly has much to lose in an America swept by race tension and rioting. And, of paramount importance, it is a problem that the individual white American must concern himself with and attempt to ameliorate through enlightened attitudes and deeds.

Negroes in the Armed Forces

COMPARED WITH HIS EXPERIENCE in the last war, the Negro soldier has a better time of it in this one. But one thing must be borne in mind in such comparisons: the Negro's maturing need for justice has outstripped his gains in all fields. This was an act of human nature; of intellects that learned, of eyes that observed, of native intelligence and manhood and human hungering rising over caution. There are a number of white men who try by tortuous, deceiving argument to attach some sort of blame to the Negro people for this development. In doing so, they reveal their own spiritual and intellectual inertia; no onus can be placed on a people for being alive and human and having the capacity to learn and hunger.

In the First World War, less than a thousand Negroes were trained as officers, in a segregated camp at Des Moines, Iowa. The training given them seemed at times as though it were designed to ensure their failure as officers. After he had received his commission, the Negro officer found himself subjected to a disheartening variety of humiliations. When he reached France he found that official United States Army orders and advices had been issued warning the French people not to associate with Negro officers or soldiers, and barring Negroes from restaurants and public places. Yet despite all this, Negro troops exhibited an ironclad resistance to German propaganda which sought to capitalize on their experiences in the army and at home.

Many of the Negro regiments distinguished themselves. One of them, the 369th of New York, served under fire longer than any other regiment and achieved the distinction of never having yielded an inch of ground. Because it was brigaded with French troops, who treated its soldiers more decently, the 369th was given opportunity to show its mettle as was no other Negro unit.

But the experience of Negro troops on the whole was humiliating:

> To the Service of Supply regiments [writes Carter G. Woodson] most Negro draftees were sent. Not less than three-fourths of the 200,000 of the Negroes sent to France were reduced to laborers. It resulted that one-tenth of the population of the nation was compelled, by a country fighting for democracy abroad, to supply three-fourths of the labor of the expeditionary force. They were commanded moreover largely by illiterate, prejudiced white men, and finally all but enslaved in the Service of Supply divisions abroad by unsympathetic whites, the majority of whom were Southerners on the order of slave drivers.

Abolition of segregated officer training has been the most liberal advance in army race policy between the wars. During the present war, without difficulty or conflict, Negroes in considerably larger numbers have been trained with white soldiers in officer-candidate schools, the majority of which are in the South. But after training, the officers return to duty with segregated troops—not all, it is hoped, to forget the lessons of democracy and mutual respect learned through association in the schools.

Large numbers of Negro troops still go to labor battalions, but here too, by comparison with his First World War experience, he is getting a better break.

The Air Forces at first refused to accept Negroes in any capacity, but after the appeals and criticism of Negro and white groups had been focused on the War Department, the Air Forces established a training school for a limited number of pursuit pilots at Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama. These pilots have been in action since the Sicilian campaign. The War Department, apparently convinced that Negroes make satisfactory airmen, has announced that Negroes will be trained for bombers also, as pilots, navigators and bombardiers, in an unsegregated school at Del Rio, Texas.

The navy, in which the Negro had served almost exclusively as a mess attendant, held out for a long time against enlisting Negroes as general seamen, but it announced last year that Negroes would now be used in this classification and assigned to navy yards and shore installations. The Coast Guard and Marine Corps, also initially prejudiced against Negroes, finally let down the bars and manifested an encouraging willingness to admit Negroes and to permit their advancement as combat personnel.

In their comparative effects upon Negro morale, these relative gains in military status have been more than invalidated by the constant humiliations suffered by Negro soldiers at the hands of sheriffs, police, bus drivers, railway conductors, shopkeepers and, to a lesser extent, by white commanding officers and military police. There have been about a score of race riots, ranging from small localized outbreaks to pitched bat-

tles in which a number of lives were lost. These involved Negro and white troops, and some times white municipal police. A growing number of Negro soldiers have been beaten or murdered in the vicinity of Southern training camps. The inflexible pattern of local authorities has been to put the blame for aggressiveness on the victims. The record of the War and Justice Departments in these cases has been one of constant evasion of their democratic responsibilities, and surrender to Southern racial patterns. It must be remembered that in almost all of these cases, regardless of how the blame has been fixed officially, it is inconconceivable that a white soldier could have been shot for the same reasons, or that wanton slayings of white personnel would be ignored by the federal government as they have been ignored in the case of Negro troops.

It is true that the army (like America) has been confronted with an extraordinarily difficult dilemma. At the beginning of the war in Europe we were caught with probably less than 100,000 fully equipped troops. The General Staff faced staggering tasks: of creating divisions literally overnight; of transforming America from a comatose peacetime nation into a great military power. Draft machinery had to be set up. Cantonments and other centers by the hundreds had to be planned, ordered and built in a matter of weeks and months. The army's task was enormously complicated by the confusion in domestic politics; by habitual obstruction and an incredible lack of realism—or worse—on the part of men who seemed almost willing to see America eventually humiliated and defeated. To top it all, the army was forced to maintain our fiction of neutrality and to train men for hypothetical battles with unnamed enemies, rather than for a certain death struggle with Germans, Italians and Japanese.

No necessity was as urgent as the necessity for speed. One decision made instantly was that a large proportion of the camps had to be built in the South. The milder climate afforded more days for outdoor physical work by green civilians in uniform. The open spaces, the forests, the cut-over pinelands afforded room for maneuvers, resulting in the least damage and delays for farming and other civilian pursuits. In the milder climate camps could be built with a smaller proportion of vital building materials, such as heating equipment and insulation.

In the face of these monumental tasks, the army apparently decided that it must accept the Southern Jim Crow patterns for the Negro troops which would be trained in the South. The army itself, furthermore, was built of America's components, and the principle of segregation was embedded in it. There were large proportions of Southern officers of all ranks, from top to bottom; as military resources the army relied heavily on them. Southern states had the highest rates of enlistments. Because of the relative poverty of the South, a greater proportion of its young men had been trained in the state-supported institutions which conducted reserve-officer-training programs as a function of their land-grant charters, in return for state and federal support. Huge Texas A and M, for example, has sent more officers to the war than has West Point. Because of all these factors, the student of contemporary America, even though deploring the tragic national background which produced it, must nevertheless understand the inevitability of the army's decision not to buck the Southern race pattern, or comparable bi-racial patterns wherever they manifested themselves, North or South.

By now it must have become apparent to the army that a mistake has been made, a mistake judged not on the basis of ethics, but on the basis of military logistics. The mistake was not in its failure to choose completely to override the South's Jim Crow patterns—for that could not be done—but in the excessive degree in which they have been observed. As a result, the morale of Negro soldiers is one of the major background problems which confront the army—probably the most important; and the morale of Negro civilians—who number a tenth of the nation—has suffered its severest damage through the experiences of Negroes in the army.

For three years now, the letters of Negro soldiers have flowed homeward; month by month the volume has mounted; year by year the information which they contained has been digested and disseminated through the Negro population; until at last, in this brief space, they have created an actual *folkway*, to use the term of social scientists, among the Negro people. It is an ominous folkway.[1] Its basis is a belief that sons and husbands and loved ones are subjected to humiliation and injustice in the army of American democracy. It is a belief also that Negroes in army camps, particularly in the South, are in constant physical danger at the hands of white authorities, principally civilian.

The Negro press has disseminated much of this information. A number of white critics, with utter disregard for elemental considerations of justice, have accused the press of reckless and hysterical agitation. It is fallacious to accuse the Negro's newspapers and his leaders of having created this folkway; they have done no more than report and react—with indignation, it is true—to actual instances of cruelty and brutality to Negro soldiers by civilians, or discriminatory treatment

[1] This fact is recommended to the attention of those sociologists, most of whom are Southerners, who argue that the South can be expected to make no rapid readjustment in its archaic relationships with Negroes because these relationships are rooted in folkways, which by their slow growth and inertia cannot be altered except through continuance of the slow evolutionary process. A counter-folkway has grown up in the Negro people; on the side of this folkway reposes elemental justice, and the weight of modern world history. Intransigence on the part of white Southerners breeds intransigence on the part of Negroes; a genuine and meaningful effort to adjust the Southern pattern would greatly diminish the ominous and fatalistic element in the Negro attitude. Only in this way can the present tragic attrition and mounting clashes be brought to a halt, and a period of actual interracial progress be ushered in.

of them in the army. The folkway has been created by the Negro soldier's experiences.

Anyone who has had access to large numbers of the letters of Negro soldiers knows their tone: bitterness and disillusionment, often accompanied by macabre humor. Their experiences have an impressive uniformity. They are put off buses to give white soldiers or civilians a seat; they are beaten, or their friends are beaten, for speaking out sullenly or bitterly to bus drivers; merchants insult them and keep them out of their stores; townsmen refer to them commonly as "nigger"; white policemen threaten them or beat them with little provocation; the army refuses to stand up for them in controversies with local authorities; there is little to do when they go into the towns on passes but walk around aimlessly trying to keep out of trouble —feeling like unwanted pariahs even though clothed in the uniform of a soldier. There are many other complaints; sometimes bloody violence figures in them.

There is no use quoting these letters, or raking over the details of riots and shootings. This supplement is not intended as an exposé but as exposition and analysis of the problem.

It must be observed also that the morale of many white troops, many who have an actual philosophical understanding of the principles of a democracy, and a belief in them, and a desire to fight for them but not for fascist principles, has been damaged by observing the undemocratic indignities suffered by Negro soldiers. It is significant that at least three-fourths of the articles and letters sent to The New Republic by soldiers deal with the problem. This does not mean that three-fourths of the white personnel of the army is concerned about it—far from it; soldiers who read journals of opinion in preference to magazines with pin-up girls must be in a very small minority. But it is nevertheless a fact of significance; it argues that there must certainly be elements of native democracy and decency in the army on which a more enlightened, and less dangerous, race policy could be built by the commanding generals.

A reading of Southern newspapers discloses the fact that the South is laboring under the illusion that race clashes are caused almost exclusively by "uppity" Negroes in Northern units who don't know their place like Southern Negroes. A study of the facts of these clashes disproves this. A listing of the home towns of Negro soldiers involved in riots discloses a large number of them, probably a majority, to be from Southern states. And it is also true that the folkway of discontent is firmly embedded in Southern Negro civilians whose men are in the army. This forebodes a tragic day for the South when white troops and Negro troops are mustered out and return home. It is impossible for the army to take a Negro youth and make a soldier out of him, teach him how to kill on a battlefield, how to defend himself, how to sustain himself in crisis through courage, daring and skill, and then expect him to slip back easily into his former role of complacency, servility and caution. Clearly the only way to avoid the tragic results that are looming in Southern history is for the South to learn—for the South's leaders to teach it—that the Negro, by all the rights of democracy, by all the ethics of Christianity, by all the arguments of prudence and common sense, must be accorded a greater measure of freedom and respect than he has known before. For the South to develop some techniques of actual coöperation with Negroes would be a way out; but coöperation does not mean patronizing—the subtle, dictatorial arrogance which has often passed by this name in the past. The only other answer is to hold the Negro to the old pattern by force and violence. The South's history stands proof that it can be done, for a time at least; but it also suggests what the ghastly cost will be.

It is a known fact that the army is gravely concerned with its race problem as a military factor. Some of the top command are convinced that segregation is uneconomical, militarily wasteful and harmful. Much attention is being given to the problem—but, unfortunately, with the field of remedial action always limited, perhaps in the long run fatally so, by the swollen power of Southern politicians.

The single, dramatic, sound and clear-cut act by which the army could give an incalculable lift of spirit to its Negro troops, to thousands of white troops, to Negro civilians and to millions of white ones, is the creation of a voluntarily mixed division of white and Negro soldiers. Responsible Americans in great numbers have petitioned the War Department to take this step. The division could undoubtedly be filled instantly with volunteers; many soldiers, including numbers of liberal Southerners, have already made known their wishes to serve. Undoubtedly, the division would draw an intelligent, high-type personnel. But the army will probably not take this step (in the American race question it often seems that the right steps are the ones which must be summarily ruled out). From the army's point of view, there are two obstacles: the inevitable opposition from the South, even though the enrolment would be on a voluntary basis; and second, the army's own innately reactionary wish to keep enlightened liberal white troops and Negroes far apart, lest they give one another "subversive" ideas. The consideration that a division motivated by intelligence and a creative ideal would probably be a splendid division for hazardous fighting will hardly enter into the matter.[1]

[1] There is a forgotten Civil War story in the army's archives which is timely today, and which would have been well worth study by the ranking officers who laid down the army's race policies in the present war.

It concerns Gen. Benjamin F. Butler and his use of Negro troops in defense of the Mississippi Valley in 1862. Butler, commanding general at New Orleans following the city's capture, was at first contemptuous of the Negro's military potentialities. A congressional

A mixed division would be the best thing; the next best things are remedies of limited nature. Yet it is important to try them. The army shows signs of making some progress. Thus far, however, the emphasis has been on minimizing race prejudice among troops in foreign service among dark peoples. The Office of Special Services of the War Department has prepared excellently written guides for troops in countries where skin color, traditions, history, language, clothing and religion are markedly different. They include valuable instructions on what to do and what not to do, among them injunctions concerning race prejudice itself. But the point is not labeled, and in some of the guides the issue is treated so delicately as to be of doubtful efficacy. Some passages, however, offer arguments which the army might well present to its own white troops training in America, and to civilians in cantonment areas. Here is one from the guide to West Africa:

> Race prejudice against the African or against American Negro troops in Africa would be a good way to turn the African against us. Everyone is entitled to his own prejudices, but it would be only sensible for those who have them to keep them under cover when such high stakes as the war and men's lives are on the table. None of us wants to aid Hitler.

After a regrettable and costly delay, the army apparently has begun to realize the necessity for some sort of domestic program. In September the Army War College made excerpts of a clear-cut military analysis of race prejudice from the August issue of the highly respected Infantry Journal. These excerpts, and others from The Journal, were supplied to officers along with a selected reading list of articles and books dealing with the race problem. A few queer books like the racist tract "The Rising Tide of Color," by Lothrop Stoddard, were included, perhaps through an ill considered effort to give a rounded picture. But on the whole the material was excellent. It is also rumored that the War Department is planning to include courses of instruction in all army camps—presumably illuminating the military cost of aggressive racism—under the direction of Lt.-Commander Herbert Agar.

If passages from the Infantry Journal article could be impressed upon all commanding officers, and if these would thereby stand up for the human dignity of their troops in uniform, Negro as well as white, in the face of frequently wanton aggression and brutality on the part of civilian authorities and occasionally white military police, they would go a long way toward solving the mounting problem of Negro morale; on the home front as well as in the army. One passage reads:

> Sometimes the prejudice against the Negroes flares up in the army. It is not a problem, however, in a camp where it is well understood that a soldier in the United States uniform is a *soldier*, not a white or Negro, Christian or Jew, rich man or poor, but a soldier, and as such is worthy of respect.
>
> And not everyone feels race prejudice. There are plenty of white men who are constantly meeting and working with black, brown and yellow men of brains, education, culture and ability. These white men know that skin color is not a sign of inferiority or superiority, and they tend to forget about it. . . . Those white men are numerous in Europe, South America, Asia and Africa, where the races are mixed up in business and politics.
>
> In the United States we are more used to seeing large numbers of men with dark skins who are uneducated. We do not often meet the scholars among the Chinese, Negroes and other dark-skinned peoples. The two oceans have in the past prevented most of us from becoming acquainted with the more able and successful men of Africa and Asia. So we keep our prejudices. Nowadays, with the great American enthusiasm for the bravery of our Chinese allies, this prejudice is less than it was, but it is still very strong.
>
> Now, however, the American soldier is going among people who do not share his prejudices. These unprejudiced white men may find it hard to understand if he shows antagonism toward other Americans or our allies on account of their color, just as the Americans may be surprised at these more liberal attitudes.
>
> If, however, the American soldier understands the basis for his own feelings, as well as those of the men he meets, he can avoid friction and embarrassment to America.
>
> And he must come to understand and learn to respect their manners. Only then will he realize that national differences in manners and customs are mostly due to differences of tradition, climate and religion.

"A soldier in the United States uniform is a *soldier*, not a white or Negro, Christian or Jew, rich man or poor, but a soldier, and as such is worthy of respect." Here is the mandate of common sense, of morality, of history, to the army of American democracy.

resolution furthermore had restricted Negro service to labor battalions "for the purpose of constructing entrenchments, performing camp service, or any other labor in the military or naval service for which they may be found competent." But eventually, having been denied reinforcements from Washington and proceeding under orders to hold New Orleans "by all means and hazards," he mustered into service a self-drilled corps of Native Guards numbering about five thousand Negroes. In the course of time his prejudice moved to another extreme and he wrote of his Negro troops that "better soldiers never shouldered a musket." Later he wrote a report excoriating Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, who succeeded him at New Orleans and reinstituted retrogressive policies toward the black troops. While Butler's personal character has been discredited, this following opinion of the service of Negro troops (a clear foreshadowing of the army's race problem today) cannot be deprived of its military significance:

"After I left New Orleans, Gen. Banks enlisted many more of them [Negroes] but was weak enough to take away from them the great object of their ambition, under the spur of which they were ready to fight to the death, namely, equality with the white soldiers. He was also unmanly enough to add injustices to that folly by taking the commissions from their line officers, which I had given them, and to brand their organization with the stigma of a designation as the Corps d' Afrique. Yet in spite of this unwisdom, they did equal service and laid down their lives at Port Hudson in equal numbers comparatively with their white brothers in arms."

Today, eighty years later, the progressive attitude toward the conditions of Negro service, which General Butler found militarily sound policy and for which he argued, is still denied by the army.

This material is quoted from an article by Enoc P. Waters in The Chicago Defender, based on an unpublished study by James La Fourche of New Orleans.

18 Wins in 19 Tries

and Every Victory a Blow for Democracy!

Of the 19 cases its legal staff has carried to the U. S. Supreme Court, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has compiled the enviable record of winning 18—every victory a hammer blow in the cause of American Democracy!

These victories have established precedent, for ALL citizens, that:

- *No person may be convicted on a confession obtained through torture.*
- *No person may be deprived of life or liberty without "due process of law."*
- *Convictions by courts dominated by mob sentiment are not "due process of law."*
- *Residential segregation by municipal ordinance is unconstitutional.*
- *No sentence imposed by a jury from which systematic exclusion of Negroes has been practiced is valid.*

To carry on the civil rights phase of its work the NAACP maintains a full-time Legal Staff whose chief traveled a total of 50,000 miles in 1942; a National Legal Committee of 29 lawyers, white and colored, located in 18 cities; and, in each of its 546 Branches in 41 states and the District of Columbia, a standing Legal Redress Committee usually including in membership at least one attorney.

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The Negro and Politics

LEGAL AND EXTRA-LEGAL DISFRANCHISEMENT of some nine million Negroes—and millions of whites—who live in Southern states is one of the chief pieces of unfinished business before American democracy. Among progressive Americans everywhere a priority must be given to all efforts to broaden the basis of suffrage. This must be done through the support of federal measures like the perennial anti-poll-tax bill, which sooner or later will be passed, and through educational programs to bring home to the understanding of the white masses that the Negro is a potential ally and not an enemy. It is only through broadening the base of suffrage that the South can escape from its long and costly imprisonment by the industrial and agrarian plutocracy. Once, in an access of enlightenment and affirmation, white men rose in a populist political rebellion against their masters. Fear of the Negro in the long run proved their fatal weakness, for it was manipulated with skill and ruthlessness by the plutocracy; it was used to divide and confuse, and eventually to crush the movement. The impetus which moved them half a century ago must be again awakened by organized labor and other progressive groups in the South, and this time the Negro must be an ally. History teaches this lesson.

Over and over again, one hears in the wartime declarations of Southern politicians a curiously twisted argument; an argument which is not without grim humor. "While our boys are fighting and dying for democracy on Guadalcanal," one Southern legislator said some months ago, "democracy is being betrayed at home by these anti-poll-tax agitators, who are trying to destroy our principle of white supremacy." In one version or another, this statement has been made many times. One runs across it in a recent one-man declaration of secession from the Democratic Party by Gov. Sam Jones of Louisiana, who conducted his unilateral revolt in the pages of The Saturday Evening Post:

> White Southern boys in the armed services, who, perhaps have an understanding and affection for the Negro race not shared by their comrades from other sections, do not improve in morale when they are told that one of the things they are fighting for is social equality of the Negro. They would renounce any such war aim, rightly or wrongly.

For "social equality" it is more accurate to read "political equality." This is the real fear of Southern reaction for which Governor Jones in recent months has been a confused but active spokesman. It is true that most white Southerners in the army would renounce such a war aim, for they are heirs to the prejudice against the Negro, and have had little opportunity to learn its cost to their impoverished land and exploited people. But wars wrench men out of their backgrounds, and jolt their thinking, and white soldiers and others in the post-war South are going to have a chance to learn some of the political facts of life. For one thing, the labor movement has made significant inroads into the growing industrial populations of a number of the states. On the waterfront of New Orleans, in the mines and mills of Alabama, in the war plants of Tennessee and Texas and Georgia, progressive groups of organized labor are growing. There has been a long and significant list of NLRB elections in Southern industry. Those centers of the growing labor movement are proving invaluable bases of operation in the agitation for broadened suffrage. These are the realities which have the plutocracy's spokesmen, like Governor Jones, musing in a disquieted frame of mind about domestic war aims and democracy.

Here is a paragraph from an interesting letter sent some months ago to The New Republic which suggests the strong labor undercurrent in the South today:

> When last I was in Birmingham I talked to a Negro named ——, and though it was a brief conversation, I will not forget it. He was an officer of one of the mine-union locals, a local with white and Negro membership. He had a lot of servile mannerisms like "yassuh" in his talk still, but the words that came out of his mouth were pure militant trade unionism. It was a curious thing to see this ideology matched up with this soft-spoken cornfield Negro, to use the old term. He had a pleasant, humorous, direct manner—and he gave the impression that there was plenty of guts below the surface. If there are very many more Negroes like him in the South today—and the number must be growing—I know some white folks who are going to be in for a rude awakening when they try to continue with the old line about "we know what the nigger wants; he wants the white man to tell him what to do."

Elimination of the poll tax will not of course assure the Negro suffrage; other techniques, ranging from discriminatingly administered qualification tests to threats of violence, will continue for the time being to keep him from the polls. But the poll tax is the principal buttress between the Southern Negro and the ballot and its removal will bring him pressing ever nearer to political emancipation. One by one these buttresses will go down. Four states already have repealed the tax, Louisiana, North Carolina, Florida and Kentucky. Tennessee would have made the fifth, but the repealing act of the legislature was ruled unconstitutional by a state supreme court which took the all but incredible position that a legislature could not repeal its own act. The seven other states in which the tax remains are: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

The poll tax is badly on the defensive. It has important and influential enemies among Southern people of prestige. The most effective argument against it, in the South, is that it disfranchises more white people than it does Negroes. The statistics of this disfranchisement are startling and effective. Southern Senators and Representatives are elected by proportions of voters

The Negro People *and the* Fight for Freedom

THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS is dedicated to the promotion of unity among individuals and organizations in the common struggle toward securing the full rights of citizenship for Negro Americans.

During its brief seven years of history it has given leadership in such campaigns as those for adequate relief assistance during the depression, in promoting trade unionism among Negro workers during the CIO organizing drives, against police brutality in several major cities, and against discrimination in industrial and federal employment and in the armed forces.

In waging these struggles on various fronts, the National Negro Congress has always stressed the relationship of the specific problem of Negro rights to the general question of advancing the democratic rights of all Americans. In so doing, the Congress has won the support of white liberal forces, particularly among organized labor. And, even more important, it has helped signally to prevent distortion and misconception of the "Negro problem" in the minds of both Negroes and whites.

THIS contribution notwithstanding, one finds even now, when the maximum unity and effort of all people are needed to win victory over fascism, that there is a great deal of distorted and misguided thinking about Negro rights current in the land.

Some of this thinking is naïve and based simply on limited perspective; some is of the prejudice-as-usual-come-hell-and-high-water type; and some is deliberate fifth column propaganda. *All* of it is suicidally dangerous.

The National Negro Congress has one answer for those who declare that the struggle for Negro rights must be deferred because it will interfere with the war effort, as well as for those who insist that the Negro must win his rights at home before joining in the fight to liberate other people.

The answer is that *the struggle for Negro rights must go hand in hand and is inseparably bound up with the Negro's participation in the winning of the war.* This principle applies with equal force to the struggle of the Indian, African and Caribbean peoples for freedom.

AS THE Negro takes his place *on a completely equal basis* with other Americans in the armed forces, in war industries, and in all home front services, both the cause of democracy and the furtherance of the national war effort will be served. The fight for greater democratic opportunities is today no mere humanitarian issue, nor an issue affecting only the Negro, the Jew, or colonial peoples; it is the struggle for a sound political policy which permits of no compromise in the achievement of a people's victory, the achievement of absolute and speedy defeat of the fascist enemy.

There are only two possible paths of political action in the world today: the anti-fascist and the pro-fascist. There is no middle or third path. The destiny of the Negro people along with the destiny of the world will be determined by whether the strength of the anti-fascist forces is greater than the strength of the pro-fascists.

The extent to which Negro Americans now unite their collective might with that of organized labor and the majority of progressive white Americans in support of the fundamentally sound war policies of the administration will determine the extent to which the war-time gains of Negroes and other minorities will be preserved in the post-war period. If the poll-tax Congressmen, the Klan and its friends, and other reactionary forces are decisively beaten *now* by a united array of democratic forces, a full anti-fascist victory and people's peace can and will be won.

SUCH a decisive defeat of domestic reaction entails the exposure and isolation from public influence of those who oppose the full participation of *all* the people and the full mobilization of the national economy for the winning of the war; those who block the prosecution of full coalition warfare by means of a whispering and slandering campaign against the Soviet Union, and continue to repeat the same threadbare arguments against the opening of a full-scale second front in Europe by the Anglo-American forces and their allies; and those who would employ any expedient to prevent the decisive defeat and unconditional surrender of the fascist enemy.

The Negro people must not and will not be deluded into giving their support to such enemies of the people. The Negro's stake in victory dictates that he take neither a negative nor "neutral" position on the prosecution of the war, but a *positive* one in alliance with all the forces of progress.

THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS stands pledged to the task of cementing the fullest possible unity among the Negro people and unity of Negroes with labor and other progressive forces in achieving the maximum collaboration between the United States, Great Britain, China, the Soviet Union and the other United Nations; in supporting the administration's war policies; and in furthering all measures which will contribute to the absolute defeat of the fascist axis at the earliest possible moment.

The specific home front measures which the Congress regards as indispensable for winning a people's victory include:

- *Immediate abolition of segregation and discrimination against Negroes in all branches of the armed services and the women's services.*
- *Full integration of Negro men and women into industry without discrimination.*
- *Support for the administration's program of rationing and other measures to defeat the high cost of living—an increased Federal child-care program, more low-cost housing projects, and extension of public health and educational services.*
- *The arrest and prosecution of leaders of the Ku Klux Klan, Black Legion, and other anti-Negro, anti-Semitic organizations.*
- *Curbing the propagation of racial theories through the medium of degrading representations of Negroes in motion pictures, stage plays, radio and press.*
- *Immediate passage of the Anti-Poll-Tax Bill by the Senate of the United States.*
- *Registration of every Negro voter for the 1944 elections to vote out of office the appeasers, pro-fascists, poll taxers and anti-labor officeholders.*

National Negro Congress 307 Lenox Avenue New York 27, N. Y.

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commonly ranging from two to seven or eight percent of the potential voters; outside the South the average ranges from 45 to 60 percent. In comparable states like Wisconsin and Georgia, each with a population of three millions, 1,500,000 vote in Wisconsin compared with 300,000 in Georgia. Rep. Martin Dies of Texas and Rep. Warren G. Magnuson of Washington come from districts about equal in population. Dies was elected by 12,824 voters, Magnuson by 147,061.

Huey Long, who was supported by the common people of Louisiana with a fanatical loyalty, abolished the poll tax to enable more of them to go to the polls and swell the margins of his victories. Ironically, it was this very expansion of the electorate that resulted in the defeat of the Long ring after his death; it no longer could hold the masses enthralled and, though a mighty effort was made, it could no longer steal enough votes to turn the tide of reform sentiment.

Under a rotten-borough political system which deprives nine people in ten of the ballot, a congressman can get elected term after term with monotonous ease; a coalition of a few plantation owners, or factory owners and the business cliques in the towns, can make him a political invincible. He is their tool for the duration of the arrangement, which is commonly twenty to thirty years in many Southern districts. Under the antiquated seniority rules of Congress, Southern members—almost inevitably reactionary—win their ways to the all-important chairmanships of more than half of the powerful committees, although they represent scarcely a quarter of the population.

There is little wonder, in the light of this record, that legislation desired by minority groups such as the Negro and labor face almost hopeless obstacles. This is the unanswerable argument for Southern electoral reform. It is the argument that the expanding labor movement and other progressive forces in the South will be making with increasing effectiveness in the years immediately ahead.

It would be idle to deny that many Negroes at present are deeply dissatisfied with President Roosevelt. Probably some of them will vote for the Republican candidate next year, whoever that candidate may be. It is regrettable of course that any Negro should vote on a single issue, that of race equality; that he should not consider all the elements in the situation, including the kind of America the Republican Party wants to make if it gets into power. It is indicative, however, of the seriousness with which the Negroes take the race issue that many of them will vote on a basis of this matter alone.

The growing power of former Mr. Justice Byrnes in his capacity as "assistant President" is a manifestation which Negroes consider ominous. There has obviously been an amount of serious consideration on the President's part of the possibility of running Byrnes

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as Vice President in 1944. Negroes remember him for his hostility when he was a high-grade political trader in the Senate. They recall and cite the fact that when he was a Representative from South Carolina he consistently fought appropriations for Howard University. Negroes would deny their vote to any ticket which placed Byrnes and others like him in power. Negro leaders point out that the migratory shift of some three million Southern Negroes, in the past quarter-century, has built up Negro populations which all but hold the political balance of power in states like New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana.

The two most clever and aggressive Republican hopefuls, Willkie and Dewey, have been cruising around with hungry eyes on the Negro vote. Willkie's outspoken liberal views of the race issue have made him an object of sincere appreciation and even affection. Like white progressives, Negroes have been suspicious of Dewey on the whole; but Dewey not only is hopeful, but smart, and his recent nomination of a Negro attorney for a $17,500 judgeship—the most remunerative public office ever given a Negro—is an indication that he will make an effective bid for Negro votes.

Negro Progress

NEGROES HAVE GAINED much in America, and, though race reform is still the great lag in our democracy, the story of Negro progress does not give cause for despair.

Negro gains in the field of higher education have been impressive. In 1916 all the Negro colleges in the country showed a total enrolment of only 2,637. Six years later the figure had doubled; by 1927 it had more than doubled again. In 1932 the figure reached 22,000; in 1938, 34,000; in 1941, more than 45,000.[1] In the eighty-odd years since emancipation, literacy has risen from 5 to 85 percent. Negro ownership of property had risen in the same time to $2,500,000,000; annual purchasing power in the last normal year before the war was $2,000,000,000.

Fifty years ago the annual death rate was 33 per 1,000—comparable to the death rates in the worst sections of China and India. Great improvement in health facilities and modes of living have cut the rate to an estimated 14 per 1,000—32 percent above the annual death rate of 10.6 for the country as a whole.[2]

These gains are important and impressive. They are proof of a fact which Negroes understand even in a mood of agitation and spiritual revolt, that it is in America where their hope of greatest progress lies.

But lest these statistics become a cause for complacency, and an argument for the status quo in race reform, they must be compared with comparable white

[1] Below the Potomac, by Virginius Dabney. New York: Appleton-Century.

[2] American Negroes, by Edwin R. Embree. New York: John Day.

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statistics rather than with what the Negro had fifty or eighty years ago. Eighty years ago he had nothing. The real question is not how much freedom or education or food the Negro has, but what are America's resources, and does he get his share. In the ideal democracy, health and education are not largess to be doled out benevolently through the years, but rights and privileges shared in equally by all.

There are many more agencies at work educating public opinion than there were at the close of the last war. Few churches do not make some form of educational effort on the race problem. Increasingly, leading magazines open their pages to thoughtful treatment of the problem of race. Many colleges, universities, high schools and even grammar schools give it consideration today. A gradually improving treatment of the Negro in movies and radio will help to destroy the old stereotype of the Negro as a comic or menial figure exclusively, and picture him as he really is.

Fortunately, the United States Supreme Court in recent years has consistently handed down decisions in cases brought before it dealing with the Negro which have enormously improved his status. Among these have been the Negro's and any other citizen's right to a trial in a court not dominated by mob violence; the right to a trial before a jury from which members of his race have not been excluded; the right of equal pay for equal work by teachers; and various other rights dealing with the franchise. These are decisions which, more than being merely preventive, have given pause to those who would depress the Negro's status still further.

To individuals The New Republic recommends that they join at least one of the various organizations which are tackling this question directly or indirectly. To those who are church members and would prefer working through these organizations, there are several departments, such as the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and the Catholic Interracial Council, which are doing effective work on this question. Those who are connected with the labor movement can work through their local and international units. It is particularly important that members of the Railroad Brotherhoods and of those AFL unions which by constitutional provision, ritualistic practice or custom bar Negroes from membership, should work within the ranks to change these policies. There are many other organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Council Against Intolerance in America, the March-on-Washington Movement, the Union for Democratic Action and others, which are tackling the problem.

Readers of newspapers and magazines can help by challenging biased or inaccurate news or editorial treatment of the Negro question. It is especially important to express approval when newspapers or magazines carry thoughtful and intelligent articles or editorials. Moviegoers should express disapproval of ridicule or biased treatment of the Negro or other minorities in the moving pictures, and express approval and support of films which depict the Negro and other minorities in normal and decent fashion.

Particularly important to the solution of the race question is the necessity for the American electorate to beat back reaction, especially in the 1944 election. It is unfortunate that today many liberals are either disheartened or weary. To them we repeat a passage from a recent issue of The New Republic:

> . . . The vote which put Mr. Roosevelt into power and has kept him there . . . is not the Solid South, which will support any Democratic nominee but falls far short of a majority. It is not the Republican conservative backbone, which will vote the Republican ticket come hell or high water, and also fall short of a majority. It is the Northern industrial workers, the dissatisfied or progressive farmers, the lower or middle-income classes, the Negroes and the independent progressives who find natural allies in these groups, and have done much to provide leadership of their opinions. These voters also would fall short of a majority if they voted alone, but they can pile up an overwhelming majority if they vote together for any Democratic or Republican candidate.

In race persecution, white America has learned to play a dangerous game, and must unlearn it. Two can play at any game, races as well as individuals.

This supplement, and all such writing like it, will be accepted by the racists of America as an attempt to whitewash the Negro's rebelliousness. By any enduring standards of truth and ethics, the Negro's cause is just. Justice cannot be whitewashed. It is a tragedy that a vast number of Caucasians have learned to live by the lie of racism; it is true that inherited beliefs cannot be changed overnight; it is true that an amount of understanding, of pity, of commiseration must be placed in the scales in favor of even white oppressors who are suffering today beneath the weight of their own tragic folkways. But this cannot halt the expression of extreme criticism of these folkways; it cannot invalidate the obvious fact that extreme reforms are needed. Everything the white man suffers because of his tragic racial folkways, the Negro suffers a hundredfold; everything the white man gains in privilege, prestige, laborious services, material wealth, the Negro loses. Who will justify this?

There is something pitiable in the folly of white men who issue fiats and moratoriums and unilateral prohibitions against race reform. It seems a very simple thing to them to slam the door of white America in the Negro's face. They are quick with accusations of blindness, while in their own blind arrogance they attempt the impossible, and believe that they carry it off. Humanity has its shoulder in that door. No door can be slammed against its weight.

RACE RIOTS OR RACE UNITY

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BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS Pioneers

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was organized on August 25, 1925, in New York City. It began with six porters. Today its membership is ten thousand or more. It is thoroughly international. It includes among its members Filipinos, Mexicans, Chinese, white and Negro workers, as car cleaners, sleeping car porters, attendants and maids, both men and women. This is in keeping with the Brotherhood's constitution which admits to membership any worker in the sleeping car industry without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

After a long, hard, difficult struggle, continuing over a period of twelve years, the Brotherhood in 1937 won a representation election conducted by the National Mediation Board, and negotiated its first contract with the Pullman Company. From a minimum wage of $67.50 a month the Brotherhood has lifted porters' pay to the present minimum of $113, and maximum of $158, a month. But the increase in monetary compensation for the porters, while important, is of far less significance than the sense of dignity and worthwhileness, of organizational solidarity and fraternity which the Brotherhood has brought to its members.

The Pullman porter is not only a pioneer in the organization of the Negro worker, but his moral and spiritual mentor as well. For the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters sponsors, supports and cooperates with all of the progressive and liberal forces in the country seeking to preserve democracy and destroy totalitarianism.

Contracts are presently held by the Brotherhood with practically all of the great railroads of the country employing sleeping car, train, chair, coach, parlor and buffet car, porters. The membership of the organization is now being increased by the admission of the Canadian Pacific sleeping car porters, among whom an election will soon be held to determine their collective bargaining agent. In addition the Brotherhood is currently conducting a nation-wide campaign to organize the Pullman car cleaners because of their occupational closeness and interchangeable work-relations.

Moreover the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has organized a great majority of the Colored Locomotive Firemen into the Provisional Committee, which was largely responsible for building up the main case on racial discrimination in the railroad industry that was presented to the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice in Washington, September 15-18.

Through the fight conducted by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Railroad Labor Act, which provides the basis for the direct representation of railway workers before the National Railroad Adjustment Board, was amended to include sleeping car porters and dining car employees.

Another important part of the Brotherhood's activity is the things it does for Negro workers as a whole. It was responsible for the organization of the first Red Caps' locals in the Brotherhood headquarters of New York and Chicago. It was the chief force in setting up an international union of Red Caps in Chicago. It was the main factor in establishing the Joint Council of Dining Car Employees whose headquarters are in Chicago. And it was also largely instrumental in organizing the March on Washington Movement, in coordinating the work of Negro church, civic, labor and fraternal organizations, which resulted in the issuance of the Executive Order 8802 establishing the FEPC.

And when it comes to the war effort, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is *backing the attack to the limit to bring victory over the Axis to the United Nations.* The Brotherhood itself has purchased fifty thousand dollars worth of War Bonds. Brotherhood members are likewise *backing the attack to the limit of their resources.* They are buying millions of dollars worth of Bonds on the payroll deduction plan.

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Bylines in This Issue

CERTAINLY there are easy going, slow drawling southerners, cast in the manana mold—but **Virgil M. (Red) Newton Jr.** is not among them. Southerner, yes, born in Atlanta, Ga., and educated at Gainesville, Fla. If you think there's anything easy going in Red's make-up, however, have a look at "A Growing Threat to Democracy—Secrecy in Government" (page 7). He's been a busy guy!

Red's been going at a pace like that ever since he worked his way through the University of Florida as correspondent for eight newspapers, played four years of varsity basketball and worked as sports editor of the Gainesville *Sun* during his senior year.

After his graduation in 1926, he moved over to Tampa as reporter and sports editor of the Tampa *Daily Times*. In 1930 he became sports editor of the Tampa *Tribune*. Five years later he was assistant managing editor, and for the last decade he has been managing editor.

He's also chairman of the Sigma Delta Chi Committee for the Advancement of Freedom of Information, a member of the Freedom of Information Committee of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, and treasurer and a member of the board of directors of the ASNE.

He's vice president of the Tampa Community Chest, vice president of the polio foundation, a member of the Red Cross board of directors, and a member of the executive council of the Tampa Boy Scouts. He is active on the Florida Governor's Safety Council.

He was president of the Hillsborough County Alumni and Florida West Coast Alumni of the University of Florida in 1948, and a member of the executive council of the state alumni association of the University of Florida in 1949-50. He was chairman of Tampa's Community Chest drive in November, 1949; chairman of the polio drive in January, 1950; and co-chairman of the Red Cross drive in March, 1950—the first time in Tampa's history that all three went over quota.

He belongs to the University Club of Tampa; the Tampa Yacht & Country Club, and Ye Mystic Krewe of Gasparilla. He's married and the father of one son, Virgil M. 3d, 15.

Whew!

HOLLYWOOD and movie-goers may be agog over "3-D" as a new factor in the presentation of entertainment on the screen. But the men who are seeking more vivid ways of presenting the world's news pictorially also have a stake in this new dimension, **John Durniak** points out in "3-D: A Gimmick Today, Journalism Tomorrow" (page 8).

Now an assistant editor of *Photography*, Durniak has both a varied practical background and an academic one in pictorial journalism. He was graduated in journalism at Bowling Green State University and took a master's degree in pictorial journalism at the State University of Iowa.

He worked as a photographer's assistant at *Life* and was sports editor of the Bronxville (N.Y.) *Reporter*. He also wrote television picture scripts for United Press Pictures in New York before joining *Photography*.

AMONG the 500 present at Sigma Delta Chi's national awards dinner this year in Chicago was **Dick Cheverton**, news director of WMT, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. His station that night received the professional journalistic fraternity's bronze medallion for the most distinguished public service in radio journalism during 1952.

DICK CHEVERTON

The editors of The QUILL asked Dick just what WMT did—and how and why—to serve its listeners with such distinction. "Politics Is Your Business" (page 11) is his story of the series of broadcasts designed to educate WMT's audience in government from the precinct level up.

Dick did his first reporting for the *Parkchester Review*, in New York City's Bronx, after attending Monmouth College in Illinois. That was in 1940. From there he went to Newport News, Va., returned to New York to work on *PM* and help start *Parade*. He came out of the Navy and entered radio news in Iowa, working first at Muscatine and Mason City.

H. I. FONTELLIO-NANTON, author of "The Negro Press and Its Obligations" (page 10), writes both sympathetically and critically of a field he knows as a Negro newspaper man, government and commercial publicist and journalism educator.

He is now head of the department of journalism at Texas Southern University in Houston and part owner of Tony Associates, only Negro public relations firm specializing in the Negro market in the area.

He came to the States from the Canal Zone, he reports, with "all good intention" of studying medicine. While a student at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., he became interested in journalism, did various newspaper jobs and took a few courses at Columbia University. Finally he bacame editor and publisher of the *Carolina Tribune* at Raleigh, N. C.

While there he served on the state housing survey and published the only minority report on housing in the South on "Negro Housing in North Carolina." Service with the National Youth Administration followed—he was deputy administrative assistant in charge of Negro affairs.

Desiring more education, he returned to classes at the State University of Iowa in the postwar years to earn his M.A. in journalism and his Ph.D. in journalism and sociology.

THE United States' sister republic south of the border had the Revolution which Mexicans spell with a capital "R" back in 1910-17. But a quieter and more constructive revolution has been continuing over the air during recent decades in a land whose difficult distances are tied together by a series of powerful radio stations.

Marvin Alisky's "Mexican Newscasts Link a Nation in a Peaceful Revolution" (page 12) coincides exactly with Mexico's current celebration of its first thirty years of broadcasting. It is based on a professional background of radio and television in this country, special studies at the University of Texas and the Instituto Technologico de Monterrey.

Marvin last wrote for The QUILL in November, 1950, when he described a television format developed when he was news editor of San Antonio's KEYL. Since that time he has taken his Ph.D. at the University of Texas' graduate Institute of Latin-American studies. He recently joined the journalism faculty at Indiana University, where he is an assistant professor and news director of Indiana's WFIU.

He has traveled in Mexico since boyhood and speaks fluent Spanish. Living in San Antonio and Austin, he has frequently dialed Mexico's powerful stations—XEW, XEX and XEQ. And he reports that since 1950 he has collected data on Mexican radio in earnest, working behind the scenes in Mexico City television operations and visiting every type of village.

Gains accomplished in the last 126 years and a probability of even greater progress are pointed out by this journalist in analyzing

The Negro Press and Its Obligations

By H. I. FONTELLIO-NANTON

WHEREVER enlightened people are found, one can expect to find a free press. It therefore follows that we must and do have a free press in America. And because the fulfillment of its task must be accomplished through the indispensable ingredient of freedom, the American newspaper is an institution of great responsibility, power, and prestige.

As part of the press of the nation, the Negro newspaper too, has a great responsibility, and today, thanks to the increasing number of competent men and women engaged in this field, the Negro press offers organizational and personal opportunity.

Why is it then that many criticize the Negro press for not being representative of the Negro citizenry, claim that it is not free to express itself and that in many instances it serves only to magnify the race's inadequacies, or maintain that it is inflammatory, sensational, and irresponsible? Whether these critics are right or not, this criticism results from the fact that the Negro press falls in a special class, and too often publishers lose sight of the overall function of the newspaper in their zeal to defend the Negro's rights.

The Negro newspaper of today might be compared to the newspapers of the days of Dana, Greeley, and Bennett, when the main purpose of a newspaper was to sell as many copies as possible, and the end justified the means. In other words, Negro newspapers are going through a metamorphosis, and those of us who are concerned with the press are hoping that it will emerge right side up and functioning as it should, an organ designed to entertain, influence, and primarily to inform the general public.

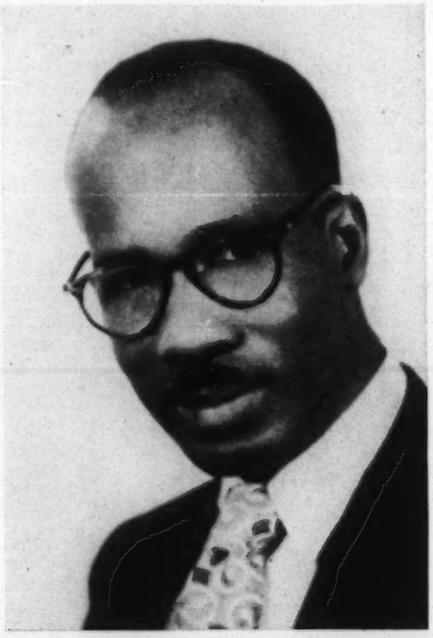
However, the Negro newspaper has made some outstanding contributions to the advancement of the race. Since the establishment of the first Negro newspaper in America 126 years ago, on March 16, 1827, the Negro press has made commendable progress in spite of the obstacles which beset it.

Little by little it has advanced from the realm of "yellow journalism" to its present state of comparative respectability. Because of the recent recognition accorded the Negro press by national advertisers, it has been able to purge its advertising columns. This same advertising has helped the development of more efficient writers and business executives, resulting in a much better product.

The day is not far distant when we will look upon all Negro newspapers as being in the modern or semi-modern class. When the Negro newspaper publisher realizes that in his every day task of examining the glut of public occurrences, ideas, and situations, he must determine which is of most interest to his reading public, he will also come to the realization that he can do this only by measuring these in terms of their significance for the Negro community.

HE will also realize that factual presentation of the day's news is not enough. Complex situations require interpretation and explanation. Background information must be provided to supplement the news, and in order to provide this material as enrichment for the news story, he may have to serve as an avid student of history and geography.

No group faces a bigger job than do the Negro citizens of this country. It is here that the Negro press is related to the Negro problem. It has become the oracle of the colored people. More than that, it is the defender of their rights against encroachments of the ambitious and coveteous.



H. I. Fontellio-Nanton heads the department of journalism at Texas Southern University in Houston and is active in a public relations firm.

Only those who understand fully the contention of the Negro for fair play and the magnitude of the forces against him can have a correct idea of the great work which the Negro press can do. Even the Negro himself cannot appreciate this, for from time to time, even Negroes cry out against the so-called radicalism of the Negro press. What they fail to realize, is that the greatest argument for the justification of the existence of the Negro press, is an intelligent militancy in the fight for justice.

The Negro newspaper is duty bound to disseminate news, yes, but it seldom is in a position to cover important happenings as effectively and as rapidly as the general press. It is in the fight for Negro rights that it grows in stature and influence. These people also have failed to realize that as long as men are oppressed they will cry out in protest or indignation. What better weapon has the Negro to fight inequities than the Negro press?

AS the Negro press reaches maturity, it can perform its duty for its readers. It can join in the press effort to give man everywhere knowledge of the world and of one another and to promote comprehension and appreciation of the goals of a free society that shall embrace all men.

I do not subscribe to the idea that the Negro press is not free. Although we have much to be desired from our publishers, it is safe to say that most, if not all of them recognize that freedom of the press is essential to political liberty. Where men cannot freely convey their thoughts to one another, no freedom is secure.

Freedom of action must be based upon free access of truth. A prominent American once said, "to a free society a free press is as essential as the legislative, executive, and judicial department of representative government." To the Negro press and to the Negro citizenry this is of utmost importance.

must be one that can readily be shown anywhere. The whole film industry must, sooner or later, decide on one film system and perfect it.

What has Hollywood been saying about the journalistic possibilities of 3-D and wide screen processes? Little from what this writer has seen.

Paramount is doing some experimenting on newsreels in 3-D and wide screen processes, but nothing definite has been scheduled.

Three-dimensional television is also a reality. Advocates of one system of 3-D telecasting say a slight change, which costs some $10, is all that is necessary to convert a "flat" TV set into a "3-D-TV" receiver. Spectators must wear glasses. Where will this type of television go? It is difficult to speculate about its future.

THE medium can be only as great as the men who use it. The still picture in the hands of a competent photographer like *Life* magazine's David Douglas Duncan could hit hard when he reported the Korean war. Edward R. Murrow and his CBS "See It Now" television staff could take the same Korean war and make it dynamic through the "flat" TV motion picture. Who will take a similar subject and report with new force in 3-D or wide screen pictures?

Let your imaginations go. Look at Cinerama, CinemaScope and the various 3-D processes. What could you do with each method while covering a forest fire, or other disaster?

But these are all spectacular. Could you cover a speech by a dictator with dimension pictures and do more than the still camera could?

Could you take a thousand people on a jet flight, forcing their backs against their chairs and let them share a feeling only a few on earth have ever had?

Time and testing will narrow the field and establish a direction, but the picture journalist must be thinking along with every step in the new business because the tools that are finally accepted will be more for him than anyone else. Documentary and newsreel reporting will have a vitality they have never enjoyed once the journalist visualizes the potential of this new picture medium.

Hollywood will have its fling with horror movies, "colossal spectacles" and other tricks. But the real importance of this new method of communication more likely will be in journalistic realism. It can carry impact for enlightenment as well as entertainment. First hand participation in *who, what, where, when* and *how* will come with every admission

Cinerama brought a new front and overflow crowds to New York's Broadway Theater (above). David Douglas Duncan of Life Magazine carried the impact of the Korean War with remarkable force in such still pictures as those below. Could an added "dimension" in news and documentary films give journalism an even more potent means of making current history real?

PENALTIES FOR NEGRO AND WHITE OFFENDERS

(six Southern counties)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Data Analysis	3
Findings	4
Implications for Future Research	23

Appendices

A. The Schedule

B. The Sample

C. Instructions to Field Workers

D. Some Observations by Field Workers

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

		Page
Table 1 -	Percent Distribution of Crimes Against Persons and Property by Class of Offender	4
2 -	Distribution of Type of Crimes by County in Six Southeastern Counties	5
3 -	Distribution of Types of Offence by Class of Offender in Caddo and Forsyth Counties	6
4 -	Disposition of Sentences by Type of Crime by Class of Offender	7
5 -	Percent Distribution of Sentences by Class of Offender for Six Southeastern Counties	13
6 -	Percent Distribution of Sentences by Class of Offender for Crimes Against the Person -- Total Sample	18
7 -	Percent Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against the Person -- Caddo County	18
8 -	Percent Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against the Person -- Forsyth County	20
9 -	Crimes Against the Person -- Distribution of Sentences Under One Year for Two Classes of Crime by Class of Offender	21
10 -	Distribution of Sentences Under One Year for Crimes Against Property by Class of Offender	22
11 -	Frequency and Percent of Cases of Convicted Felons by Type of Crime for Six Southeastern Counties	App. B 1
12 -	Number and Percent of Convicted Felons in Six Southeastern Counties by Year of Trial	App. B 2
Figure A -	Percent of Sentences to be Served in Full by Class of Offender	8
B -	Percent of Sentences Suspended by Class of Offender	9
C -	Percent of Sentences Giving Fines Only by Class of Offender	10
D -	Crimes Against Property -- Percent Distribution Length of Sentence by Class of Offender	14

Page

Figure E - Mean Length of Sentence for Crimes Against Property by Class of Offender 15

F - Mean Length of Sentence for Crimes Against Property by Class of Offender for Caddo and Forsyth Counties 16

G - Percent Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against Property by Class of Offender for Caddo and Forsyth Counties 17

H - Terms of the Sentence for Crimes Against the Person by Class of Offender 19

FINAL REPORT

COURTS STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The study upon which this report is based was undertaken in the summer of 1954 by representatives of the Southern Regional Council. The major focus of the project was to determine whether or not there is a bias in the sentencing of Negro, as compared with white, offenders in the criminal courts of the Southeast. At the outset of the research, it was recognized that the dispensation of justice is a social process with several major stages. At each of these stages there is a real possibility that unequal treatment will be given to the members of racial minority groups.

Several scholars have directed their attention to the analysis of this process. In an article in the Annals (September 1941), Johnson reports evidence which indicates that on the average, Negroes tend to receive harsher sentences than do whites for comparable types of crimes committed. He points out that a major variable in the administration of justice is the race, not only of the offender, but also of the adverse party in a criminal case. This latter consideration stems from the insistence that it is in the general structure of social relationships, the caste system, of the nation that we find many of the causes for differential crime rates between Negroes and whites.

Garfinkel, in an article published in Social Forces, adds documentation to the contention that there exist inequalities of treatment among different classes of offenders in the courts of North Carolina. He suggests the hypothesis that court situations involving Negroes are defined as different kinds of situations from those involving whites. Such situations call into play special sets of attitudes towards justice on the part of the court. The major differences in the four types of situations (i.e., Negro vs. Negro, Negro vs. white, white vs. Negro, and white vs. white) are primarily traceable to attitudes arising from the caste structure of American society.

The studies of both Johnson and Garfinkel were concerned with restricted areas of the Southeast and the statistics which were used are now out of date. For these reasons it seemed profitable to carry out further research, expanding the areas covered by the study and making use of more recent data.

At the outset of the study we were faced with a choice between two alternative methods of approach to the problem. Obviously, more information was needed concerning the situational variables discussed by Garfinkel. This could best be gotten by an intensive study of a small number of cases or courts. On the other hand, no reliable estimates of the scope and extensity of the problem were available. Because of our interest in the applied aspects of the findings, we chose to attempt an estimate of the magnitude of the problem.

Thus, the survey method was chosen and a sample of six counties in the Southeast was selected. The counties were picked so as to be roughly representative of the several sub-regions of the area and three were rural counties while three were urban.

Rural	Urban
Bartow, Georgia	Montgomery, Alabama
Bamberg, South Carolina	Forsyth, North Carolina
Attala, Mississippi	Caddo, Louisiana

The field work for the study was carried out by six field workers who, after a short period of training, each spent approximately four weeks in the field. The investigators were instructed to record all convictions for felonies which were recorded in the superior courts of the counties studied. An information schedule was provided for the recording of each separate case. A sample of this data sheet is included in Appendix A of this report.

Records were to be collected for all convictions recorded for a five-year period extending from 1949 through 1953. A brief discussion of some of the difficulties encountered by the field workers while collecting and checking their

data is given in Appendix D. Appendix C provides a discussion of the sample finally achieved in the study.

FINDINGS

Data Analysis

A total of 1267 cases were secured from the total number of cases submitted by the field investigators. An analysis of the distribution of these cases by the various sampling dimensions is included in Appendix C.

In view of the fact that the primary emphasis of the analysis in this study has been to estimate the bias in sentencing which was exercised by the courts in the six counties under consideration, one of our main problems was to determine a measure which could be used for this purpose. Two measures have been used in the study. These include: (1) the mean or average sentence, and (2) the per cent distribution of sentences by class of offender. In cases of crimes against persons, the mean number of years of sentence was not an adequate measure due to the wide dispersion of the sentences and also to the difficulty of assigning any number of years to life and death sentences. We experimented with the use of the median in these cases, but the small frequency of cases rendered this measure unstable.

In all cases where major breakdowns have been made, Chi square was used to test the significance of differences.

Type of Crime

In general, it was impossible to break the sample down both by the class of offender and by the type of crime committed. The specific crimes listed do not (except in the case of burglary and larceny) include enough cases to make such an analysis fruitful. The general procedure was to break the type of crime down into two classes. These were: (1) crimes against the person, and (2) crimes

against property. This procedure seems to be satisfactory both from the point of view of the adequacy of the data and for purposes of statistical analysis.

We can now take a brief look at how the cases were distributed according to class of offender and the type of crime. It will be noted from Table 1 that the majority of crimes were not interracial in character. Furthermore, the largest percentage of such crimes were committed by Negroes against other Negroes. As is to be expected, a small percentage of the crimes against property were committed against Negroes.

Table 1

Per Cent Distribution of Crimes
Against Persons and Property by Class of Offender

	Type of Offence	
	Crime Against Person	Crime Against Property
Negro vs. Negro	69	17
Negro vs. White	06	34
White vs. Negro	05	02
White vs. White	20	47
Total per cent	100	100

The Findings

Table 2 presents the distribution of crimes by type, by county. In the total sample, about seven-tenths of the crimes were crimes against property. This figure was relatively constant for the four counties in which over 100 cases were obtained. On the other hand, in the two counties with less than 100 cases, about half of the crimes reported were crimes against property. This may reflect real differences in the incidence of convictions by county, but it may also reflect a bias on the part of the field worker in recording the crimes.

Table 2

Distribution of Type of Crimes by County in Six Southeastern Counties

County	Total Number	Total Per Cent	Type of Crime Committed (per cent) Against Property	Against Persons
Bartow, Ga.	117	100	75	25
Bamberg, S.C.	52	100	50	50
Attala, Miss.	71	100	49	51
Montgomery, Ala.	168	100	71	29
Caddo, La.	614	100	68	32
Forsyth, N.C.	242	100	73	27
Total	1,264	100	68	32

Table 3 is designed to indicate the type of offence characteristic of each class of offender in the two counties producing the largest number of cases. It can be seen from an analysis of this Table that the types of crimes characteristic of the two counties varied with the class of offender. About three times as many crimes were committed in Forsyth County in situations where Negroes were stealing from Negroes than was the case in Caddo County. On the other hand, twice as many crimes against persons were committed by Negroes against whites in Forsyth County as compared with Caddo County. This perhaps reflects a redefinition of the sentencing situation by the judges in Forsyth County induced by the rise in socio-economic position of the Negroes in that area. Note, however, that the differences are small and the number of cases represented is also small.

Table 3

Distribution of Types of Offence by Class of Offender in Caddo and Forsyth Counties

	Caddo County		Forsyth County	
	Type of Crime Committed (%)		Type of Crime Committed (%)	
	Against Property	Against Persons	Against Property	Against Persons
Total Number	352	131	150	59
Total Per Cent	100	100	100	100
Negro vs. Negro	11	71	34	78
Negro vs. White	39	04	31	10
White vs. Negro	01	01	02	00
White vs. White	48	24	34	12

Of all the findings presented in this analysis, possibly the most startling from the point of view of our focus on "bias in the sentencing procedure" is to be found in what has been termed the "disposition of the sentence". This refers to the reported actual, final disposition of the sentence once it has been decided upon. It may take one of a number of forms. First, and most frequent, the sentence may be passed "to be served in full" with no part of it suspended. Second, part or all of the sentence may be suspended. Finally, in place of a jail term, the offender may receive a fine.

Table 4 and Figures A, B, and C indicate the experience of the individuals studied in this investigation as to this item of disposition of the sentence. The findings are presented broken down by class of offender.

Table 4

Disposition of Sentences by Type of Crime

By Class of Offender - Per Cent Distribution for Total Sample

			Disposition of the Sentence				
Against Persons	Total Number	Total Per Cent	To Be Served	Suspended	Fine Only	Served In Default of Fine	Other
Negro vs. Negro	190	100	73	18	05	02	02
Negro vs. White	18	100	72	06	06	06	10
White vs. Negro	13	100	54	38	08	00	00
White vs. White	55	100	56	15	25	04	00
Unknown	116	100	74	10	10	05	01
Against Property							
Negro vs. Negro	111	100	79	15	01	00	05
Negro vs. White	222	100	86	09	01	00	04
White vs. Negro	11	100	36	36	00	00	28
White vs. White	300	100	73	21	01	00	05
Unknown	21	100	80	18	01	00	01

Figure A

Per Cent of Sentences to be Served in Full

By Class of Offender

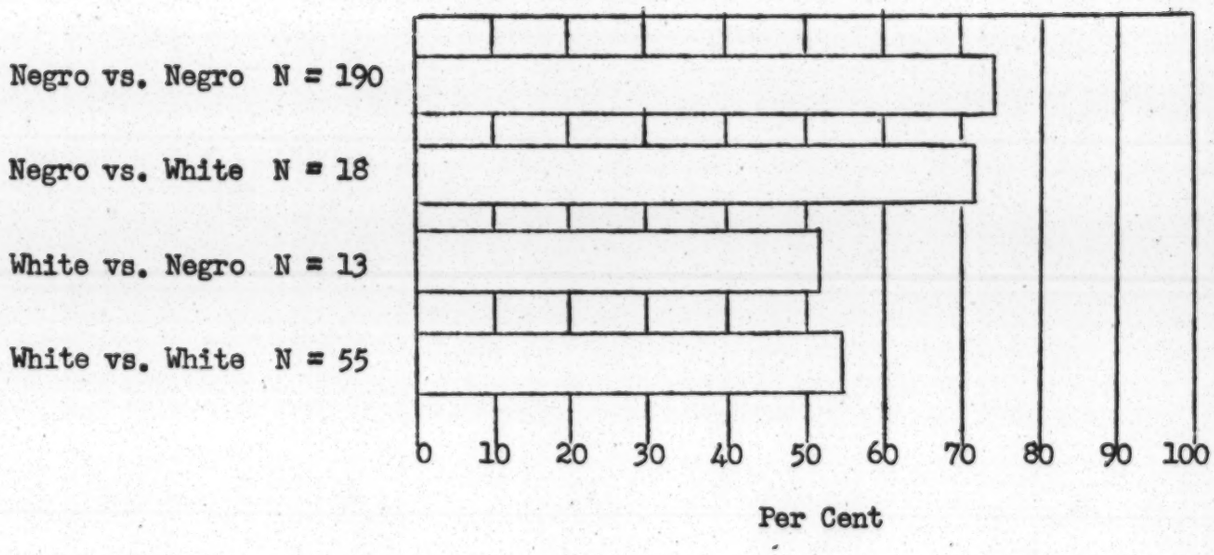


Figure B

Per Cent of Sentences Suspended

By Class of Offender - Adverse Party

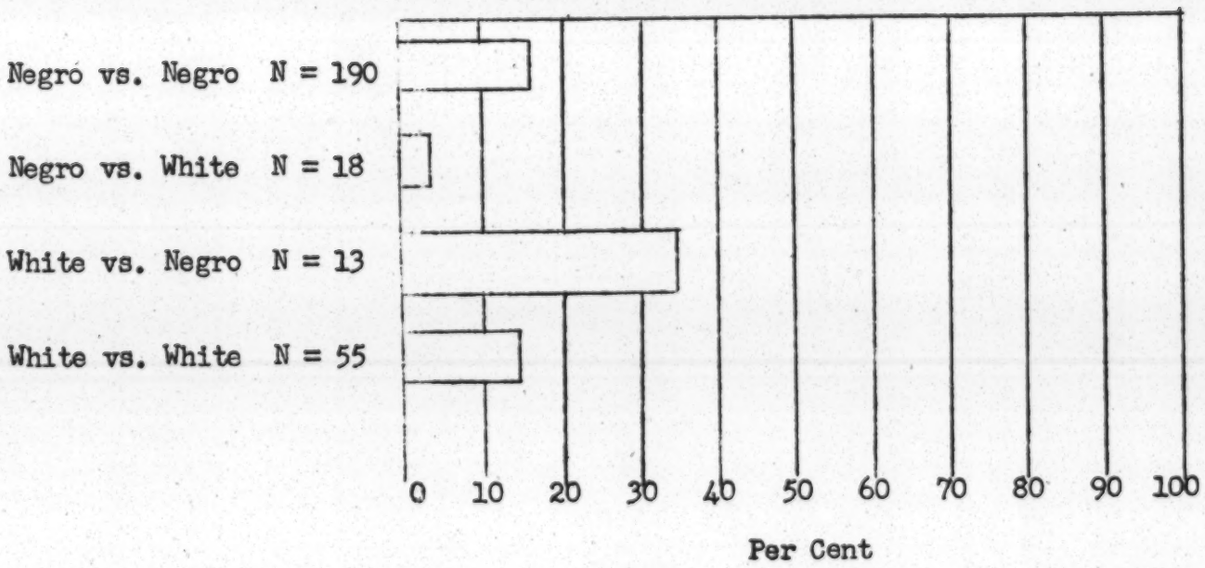
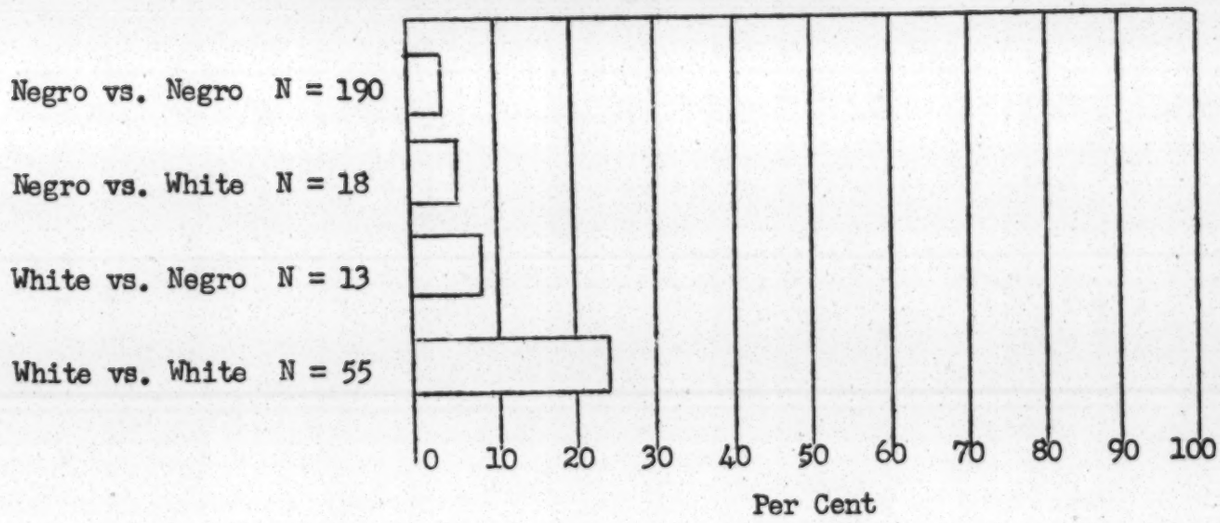


Figure C

Per Cent of Sentences Giving Fines Only

By Class of Offender - Adverse Party



It is evident that the Negroes received a substantially higher number of sentences which were to be served in full than did the white offenders. This was true regardless of whether the crime was committed against a white person or against another Negro. In the total sample for all types of crimes, the white offender against a Negro adverse party received the least number of sentences to be served in full.

If we consider the per cent of sentences which were suspended, either in part or in full, it is evident that here again the Negro benefits least from this provision for leniency in the dispensation of justice. The highest percentage of suspended sentences was given to white offenders against Negro adverse parties, whereas the lowest percentage was given to Negro offenders against white adverse parties. It may be noted that when a Negro is the adverse party, the defendent, Negro or white, is likely to receive a suspended or partly suspended sentence. Thus in this sense, Negroes appear to obtain less protection from the law than do whites.

The use of fines as an alternative type of sentence seems also to be reserved for whites. (See Figure C) This is true particularly in cases where whites have committed crimes against other whites. 25% of the sentences meted out to whites in cases where the adverse party was also white, were made up of this type of penalty, whereas the comparable figure in cases where Negroes were concerned against Negroes was 5%.

The character of the sanctions involved when a white commits a crime against a Negro may explain the relatively small number of fine sentences given to whites under these circumstances. On the other hand, in such cases a white man is more likely to obtain a suspended sentence than is a Negro. The fact is that a relatively small number of the cases reported were interracial in nature where the defendant was white. Thus, the figures on this portion of the sample are subject to a high degree of random variation.

Crimes Against Property

As was indicated in Table 2 above, about seven-tenths of the crimes reported in this study were classed as crimes against property. For this reason, the findings concerning crimes of this class offer the most reliable material in the investigation.

Two measures have been used to describe the relationships which have emerged from our analysis of this type of crime. First, the mean or average length of sentence has been used. And second, the percentage distribution of sentences by the number of years of the sentence has been used.

Per Cent Distribution by Length of Sentence

Table 5 indicates that where crimes against property are concerned, the heaviest sentences are given to Negroes when they commit crimes against whites, and the lightest sentences are given to whites committing crimes against other whites. The highest percentage of penalties in the six-year-and-over category and the lowest percentage of one-year penalties was given to Negroes in crimes against whites. The highest percentage of one-year sentences (41%) was given to whites in crimes against other whites. The relationships indicated in this Table are significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Mean Length of Sentence by Class of Offender

The lowest average sentences for crimes against property were given to whites in crimes against other whites. The highest average sentences were passed on Negroes in crimes against whites. Here, however, the differences are relatively small and probably not statistically significant.

If we compare the two counties that provide the largest number of cases as to the mean length of sentence in the cases under their jurisdiction for each class of offender, some interesting differences appear. In Forsyth County, N.C., the heaviest average penalties were given out in crimes where whites were

involved against other whites. On the other hand, in Caddo Parish, La., the heaviest average penalties were given to Negroes who had been convicted of crimes against whites.

In Caddo Parish, the lightest average penalties were given to Negroes in crimes against other Negroes. This was also true of Forsyth County. In general, the penalties in Caddo were lighter for all classes of offenders than they were in Forsyth.

These differences between the two counties could be interpreted such that Negroes obtain the least protection from the courts in both counties when they are the adverse party in crimes against property. These relationships are graphically presented in Figure D.

Table 5

Per Cent Distribution of Sentences by Class of Offender
For Six Southeastern Counties

			Number of Years of Sentence				
	Total Number	Total Per Cent	One	Two	Three	Four to Five	Six and Over
Negro vs. Negro	94	100	34	23	21	16	06
Negro vs. White	195	100	29	26	23	12	10
White vs. White	265	100	41	19	25	09	06

Note: Chi square with 8 degrees of freedom is 15.7326. This is significant at greater than the .05 level of confidence.

Figure D

Crimes Against Property

Per Cent Distribution Length of Sentence

By Class of Offender - Adverse Party

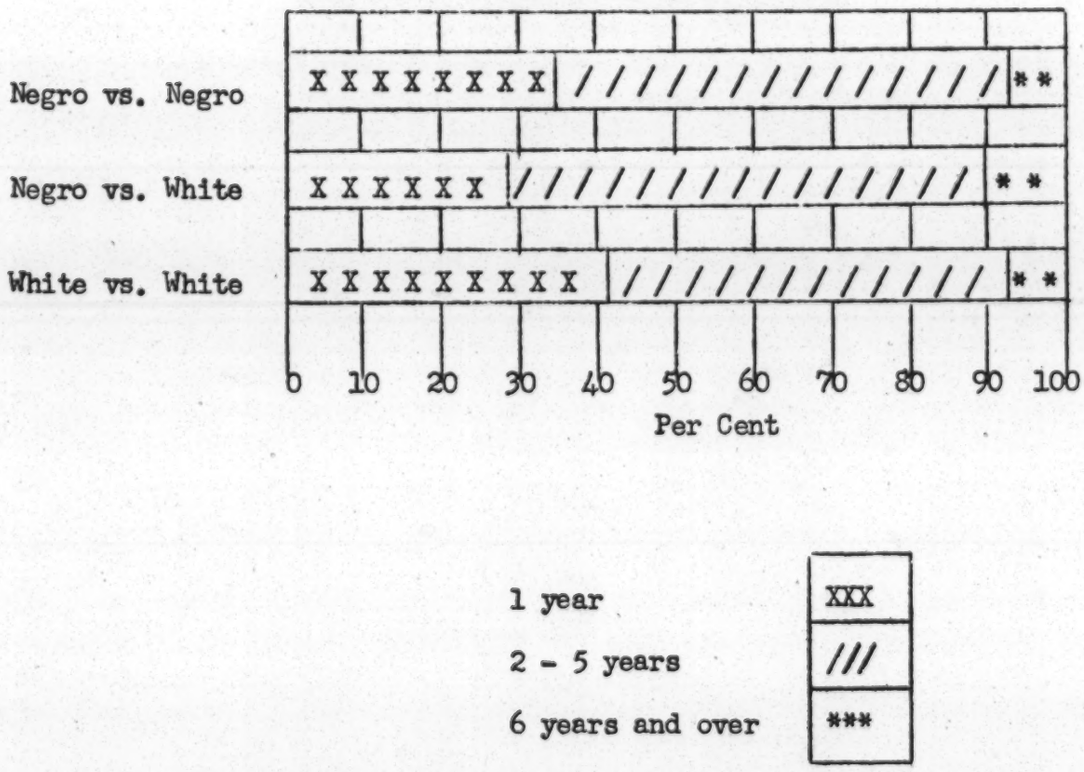


Figure E

Mean Length of Sentence for Crimes Against Property

By Class of Offender - Adverse Party

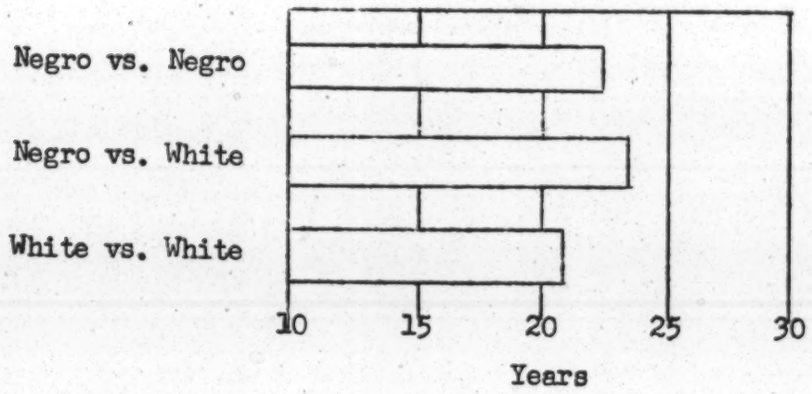


Figure F

Mean Length of Sentence - Crimes Against Property

By Class of Offender - Adverse Party

For Caddo and Forsyth Counties

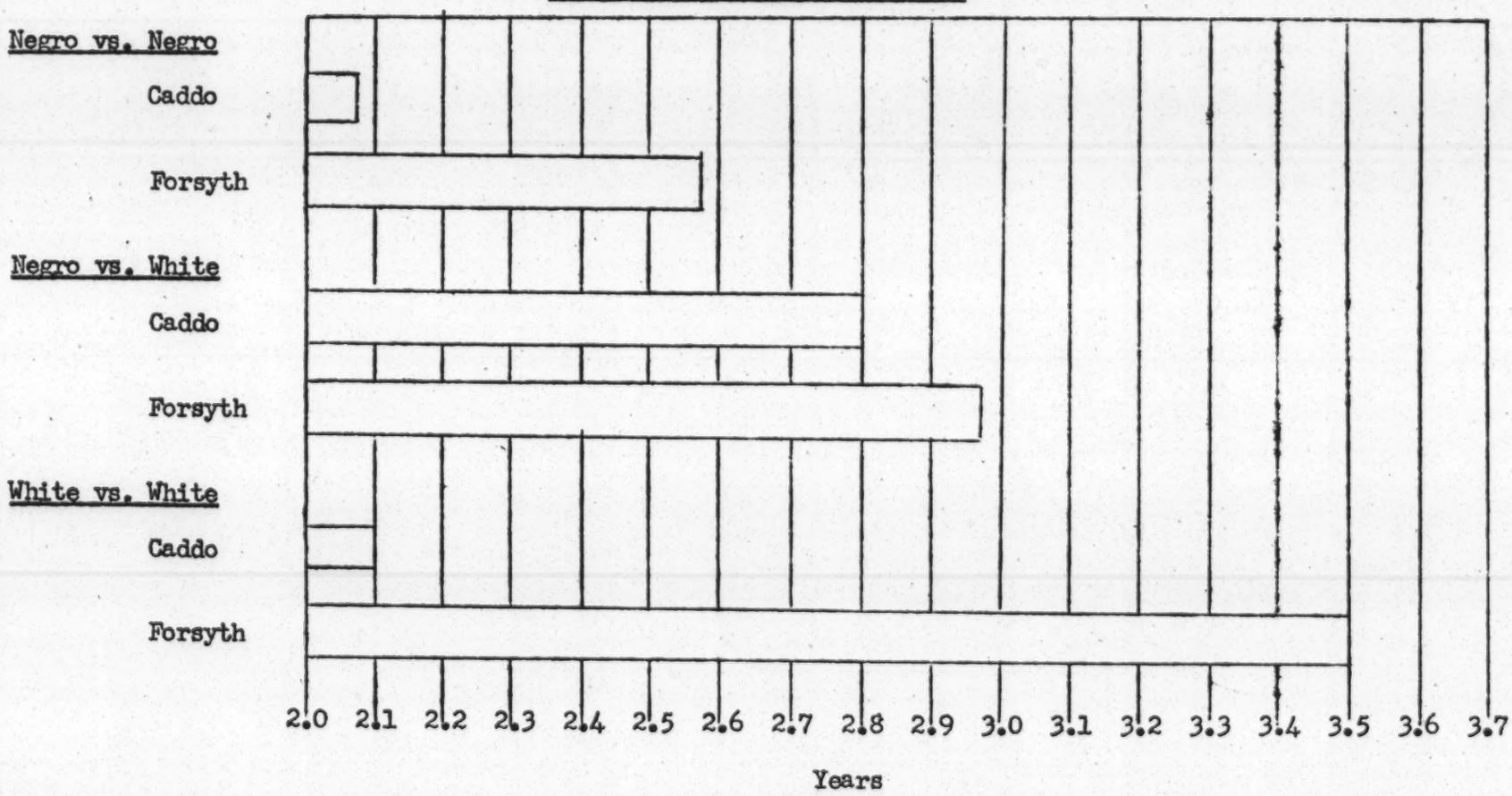
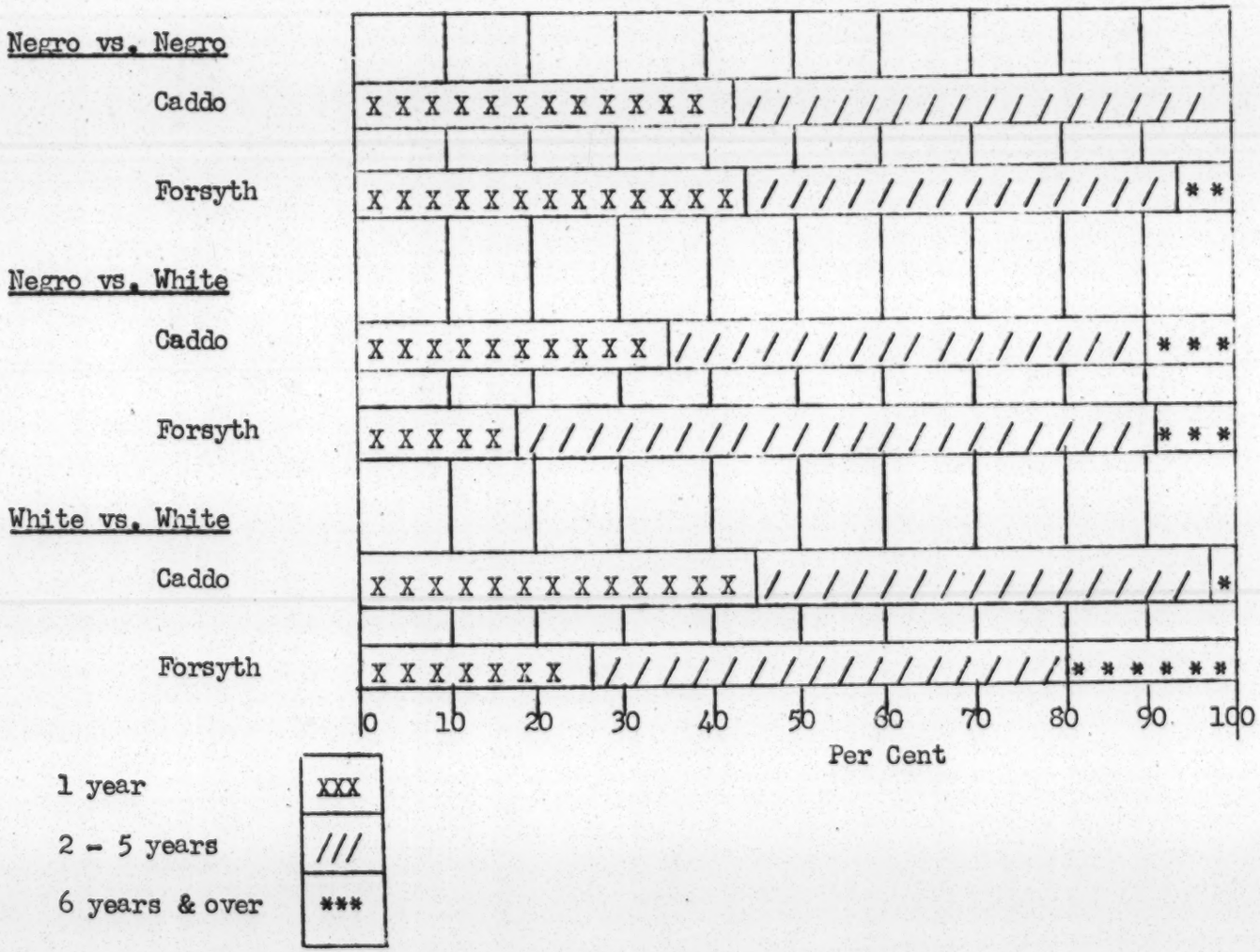


Figure G

Per Cent Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against Property

By Class of Offender - Adverse Party

For Caddo and Forsyth Counties



Crimes Against the Person

Due to the relatively small number of cases of crimes against the person obtained in this sample, it is difficult to assess the meaningfulness of the findings from the analysis of this type of crime. It appears, however, from a study of Table 6 and Figure H that for the total sample where crimes against the person are concerned, Negro offenders tended to receive the heaviest penalties. By far, the greatest numbers of crimes against the person were committed by Negroes against other Negroes. Of the 191 such cases, 33% received a penalty of less than one year. On the other hand, of the 54 such cases in which whites were involved against other whites, over half (52%) received penalties of less than one year.

Table 6

Per Cent Distribution of Sentences by Class of Offender
For Crimes Against the Person - Total Sample

			Years of Length of Sentence (per cent)				
	Total Number	Total Per Cent	Less Than One	One to Five	Six To Ten	Eleven & Over	Life & Death
Negro vs. Negro	191	100	33	34	17	09	07
Negro vs. White	18	100	33	45	22	00	00
White vs. White	54	100	52	24	07	06	11

Table 7

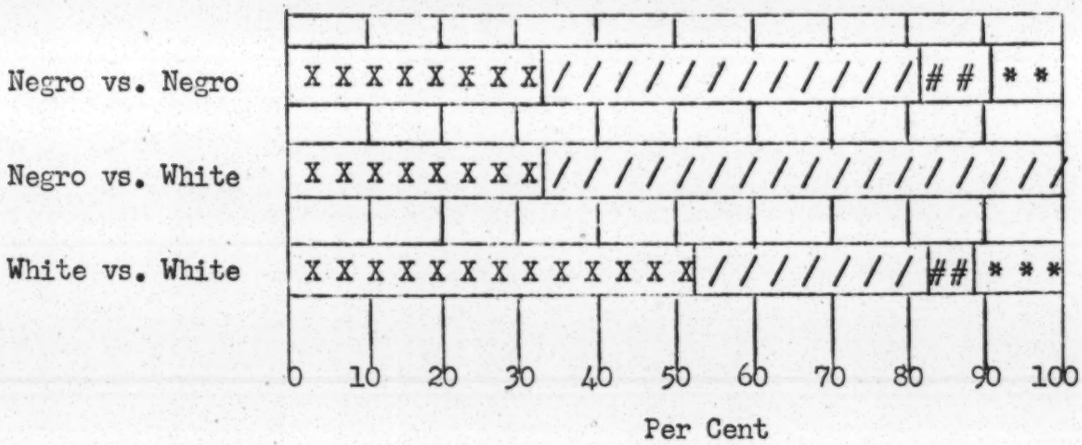
Per Cent Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against the Person
Caddo Parish, Louisiana

			Years of Length of Sentence (per cent)			
	Total Number	Total Per Cent	Less Than One	One to Ten	Eleven & Over	Life & Death
Negro vs. Negro	93	100	52	37	04	07
Negro vs. White	6	100	67	33	00	00
White vs. White	31	100	71	13	03	13

Figure H

Terms of Sentence for Crimes Against Persons

By Class of Offender - Adverse Party



less than 1 year	XXX
1 to 10 years	///
11 years and over	###
life and death	***

Although there are too few cases of murder to justify placing much confidence in the findings of this study, it appears that in cases where Negroes murdered other Negroes there was a greater likelihood that the sentence would be other than a life or death sentence. In cases where whites were involved as the murdered person, the sentence was almost always life or death. Thus, not only does it appear that Negro property is receiving less protection from the law than is white property, but the Negro person is also receiving less protection. In one county, a field worker reported a clerk of the court as having sais, "I never heard of a nigger getting the death penalty for killing another nigger in this County".

Because of the small number of violent crimes in the sample and the extreme dispersal in the length of sentences, the figures on mean or median length of sentence do not provide a stable enough measure to be satisfactory for purposes of analysis. These figures have been computed but are not included in this report.

Table 8

Per Cent Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against the Person

Forsyth County, North Carolina

			Years of Length of Sentence (per cent)			
	Total Number	Total Per Cent	Less Than One	One to Ten	Eleven & Over	Life & Death
Negro vs. Negro	46	100	15	78	07	00
Negro vs. White	6	100	17	83	00	00
White vs. White	7	100	00	100	00	00

Sentences Under One Year

Due to the special considerations concerning the cases in which the sentences received were under one year, a special analysis of these sentences was done. The following tables represent the findings from this analysis.

The findings in Table 9 indicate that there is a mild relationship between harshness of penalty and the race of the offender. However, it is not high enough to be considered statistically significant. The relationship is such that Negroes tend to receive harsher penalties than do whites for crimes against the person in this penalty category.

Table 9

Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against the Person

By Class of Offender - Total Sample

			Length of Sentence (per cent)		
	Total Number	Total Per Cent	No Jail	0 to 6 Months	6 to 12 Months
Negro vs. Negro	63	100	30	48	22
White vs. White	28	100	50	39	11

Note: Chi square was 3.6901 with 2 degrees of freedom. This is significant at between the .01 and .2 levels of confidence.

In the case of the sentences under one year for crimes against property, there seems to be no significant bias in the sentencing procedure; in fact, the correspondence between the distribution of sentences for the three classes of offenders calls for comment. This agreement could be attributed to chance or it might possibly reflect the operation of a constant factor such as an emphasis, on the part of the judges, on equal penalties. It seems likely that if this movement were to be showing some success, it would be in this type of crime that it would first become evident.

Table 10

Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against Property

By Class of Offender - Total Sample

	Total Number	Total Per Cent	Length of Sentence (per cent) Under 6 Months	6 Months & Over
Negro vs. Negro	20	100	45	55
Negro vs. White	32	100	50	50

SUMMARY

We can now turn to a brief over-view of the findings from this analysis. In brief, there is evidence of not inconsiderable racial bias in the legal processes of passing sentence on convicted felons in the six counties studied.

In general, the Negro offender was less likely to receive the lighter types of sentences including suspended sentences and fines. On the other hand, the whites who committed crimes against Negroes tended to receive a disproportionately high percentage of suspended sentences.

If consideration is given to the protection offered to the adverse party in the cases studied, it is apparent that here again the Negro received less than his share of protection from the courts.

In the case of both crimes against the person and crimes against property, the Negro offender received harsher treatment at the hands of the court than did the white offender. This was particularly marked in crimes against property where the crime involved a Negro offender and a white as adverse party.

In an analysis of two of the counties in the sample -- Caddo Parish and Forsyth County -- one can see a somewhat different pattern of sentencing. In Forsyth County, the Negro offender appears to receive penalties quite similar to those given to white offenders in that area. On the other hand, Caddo is marked

by a high degree of differentiation in the sentencing procedure in this respect. The tendency there was to give the Negro offender higher penalties than were given to the whites. This was particularly marked in cases where the adverse party was white.

In general, these findings are consistent with those reported in the studies by Johnson and Garfinkel cited above.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Two major conclusions as to methodology can be drawn from this study. Each of them has implications for further research in this area. The most important conclusion -- and one that may seem trite -- is that this is an area of exceeding complexity. Not only is the administration of the law itself a highly specialized field, but the process of such administration in a rapidly evolving caste structured society makes the research problems seem almost insurmountable.

On the basis of this consideration of the complexity of the problem and of the number of variables to be measured and/or controlled, the second conclusion is drawn. It is this: A further investigation in this area should be made based upon an understanding of the importance of a wide variety of factors which enter into the administration of justice. It would be advisable to control as many of these variables as possible in the introductory stages of the research process. Therefore, the most suitable technique for the early investigation will be the case method. One particular area, preferably one county, might be chosen in which to carry on a case study. In this way some of the following variables could be controlled: differences in the law itself, differences in the processes leading up to the final conviction and sentencing, differences in the social structural characteristics from one area to another (i.e., differences in the caste structure), and differences in the general socio-economic characteristics of the population being studied.

It seems probable that one of the primary variables which should be studied in this area of equal penalties is the class-status variable. It is possible that a legitimate bias exists in the administration of justice. Such a bias, when pointed out to a jurist, would be defended as basic in our system of law. It is probable that in sentencing a convicted criminal, the judge takes into account factors other than the simple criminal act itself. Thus, he may be concerned with the probabilities that any given prisoner will return to his community as a law-abiding citizen. If these probabilities are different, or are thought to be different, for different socio-economic groups, then it is likely that differences in harshness of sentences will be related to them. In other words, if the incidence of recidivism were higher among the members of the lower socio-economic class, then a judge would be likely to take this into account in the sentencing of these people. He would defend this practice in the light of the norms of the existing legal system. Thus, in order to establish bias in the sentencing process, it would be well to plan to take into account this factor of socio-economic differences and match the Negro and white portions of the sample on this variable.

A major focus of such a case study might well be on the situational definitions hypotheses of Garfinkel and upon the factors which pose and modify these definitions.

APPENDIX A

Investigator: _____

1. Dates following records are consulted:

Docket _____

Indictment _____

List other records, if consulted, such as:

Veterans or Selective Ser. _____

School _____

Voting registration _____

Marriage license office _____

National Guard _____

Local prison, jail or chaingang

_____

_____

2. County:

_____

3. No.: _____
(as shown on docket)

4. (a) Offender's name:

_____

(b) Adverse party:

_____

5. Dates:

Comm. crime _____

Indictment _____

Sentence _____

6. Description of parties:

	Sex	Age	Race	Mar. Stat.	Lit.
Offender					
Adverse party					

7. Offense as defined by:

Warrant _____ Indictment _____

(Guilty Plea) (Verdict): _____

_____

8. Property involved:

Value _____ (Source) (info.) _____

Nature _____

9. Terms of sentence: _____

_____

10. Notes and remarks: _____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B

The Sample

The sample design used in this study included three major variables or dimensions. These were: (1) an areal dimension -- six southeastern counties in as many different states, (2) a temporal dimension -- sentences passed in the five-year period from 1949 through 1953, and (3) a sample of courts in each county. The latter aspect of the sample design was included to insure the fairly complete coverage of felonies for which convictions were secured in each county.

Some estimate as to the representativeness of the sample in these three dimensions may be made. The following Table represents the distribution of useable cases which were finally included in the total sample.

Table 11

Frequency and Per Cent of Cases of Convicted Felons

By Type of Crime

For Six Southeastern Counties

	Total Sample		Against Persons		Against Property	
County	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Totals	1,267	100	402	100	865	100
Bartow, Ga.	117	09	29	07	88	10
Bamberg, S.C.	52	04	26	06	26	03
Attala, Miss.	71	06	36	09	35	04
Montgomery, Ala.	168	13	48	12	120	14
Caddo, La.	616	49	197	49	419	48
Forsyth, N.C.	243	19	66	16	177	20

Obviously, the six counties are not equally represented in the sample. The three rural counties of Bartow, Ga.; Bamberg, S.C.; and Attala, Miss., add a total of 19% of the cases to the sample. Even more striking is the fact that Caddo County provided almost half of the total number of cases. Whether or not these unequal returns from the six counties represents some under-enumeration of cases in some of the counties cannot be established, but we may conclude that our findings are based largely on the returns from Caddo and the other urban counties.

Table 12 indicates the distribution of crimes in the time dimension. Here it may be noted that the sample seems to be biased in the direction of having more of the cases reported for the earlier years, 1949 and 1950. 66% of the total number of cases reported in the sample were recorded in these years. This may be explained, in part, by the fact that some of the field workers experienced difficulties in securing and recording all the data required and thus, recording the data from the earlier years, biased the sample in this direction.

Table 12

Convicted Felons in Six Southeastern Counties

By Year of Trial

Year	Number	Per Cent
Total	1,267	100
1949	507	40
1950	284	22
1951	175	14
1952	141	11
1953	145	11
Unknown	15	02

It is difficult to assess the importance of this bias in the sample. However, if there is any reason to believe that the conditions of sentencing in the courts have changed during this period, then the bias may be important. It is reported that one of the communities under investigation in this report recently experienced a community self-survey. One of the foci of this self-survey was on the problem of the courts and equal penalties considerations. It may be that the sample fails to represent adequately this change.

The final consideration in this section is concerned with the selection of the courts from which the data were to be gathered. The investigators consulted the records of the superior courts in each of the counties studied. In addition, in the urban counties, the city court records were consulted. In view of the fact that a rather large proportion of the sentences studied were under one year, it is probable that a large number of non-felony cases have been included in the sample. The state laws generally define a felony as any crime which is punishable by a minimum of one year in the penitentiary or a fine of $500, or both. Thus, the above mentioned cases probably include some non-felonies.

In most states, simple assault is not considered a felony although the actual distinctions along this line are not clear. The only way to remedy the problem of the inclusion of these cases in the sample would have been to delete them. This procedure would have shrunk the size of an already too small sample and would have rendered statistical testing of the findings virtually impossible. In view of the fact that all of the cases in which the offense was known to have been a misdemeanor were removed at the outset of the analysis, it is felt that there was justification for including these under-one-year cases in the analysis.

In treating the sample for analysis, it was discovered that in a number of cases a man had been tried and convicted of several crimes at a single trial.

Some of the field workers treated each count as a separate trial, even though a composite sentence had been passed. In order to minimize the bias from this source, each man was included in the sample only once unless he had been tried for two different crimes on two separate dates.

APPENDIX C

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.
WAlnut 7963

INSTRUCTIONS TO RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

1. The left-hand corner of each schedule contains a space for your name and for the dates on which you examine each set of records containing information about the case described on the schedule. The docket and the indictment and certain other public records are listed. If you consult additional records, list them separately, in all cases noting the date you examined each record. It is important that we have a record of each source that is consulted, and that we know when you consulted each source.

2. Fill in the county on each schedule, giving abbreviation of state after county, as "Bartow, Ga."

3. In the space after "No." enter the number of the case as shown on the docket or calendar kept by the clerk of the court.

4. The offender's name will appear in the docket book, though the name of the adverse party may not. If there are several offenders involved in the same case (all entered under one indictment), fill out a separate schedule for each person who pled guilty or was convicted. Personal data are needed for each individual, and a different disposition may be made of each person's charge. The name of the adverse party may appear on the indictment. If not, consult other records listed on questionnaire.

5. Spaces are allowed for the date the crime was committed, the date of the indictment and the date of the sentence. You may not be able to secure all these dates, but should attempt to do so, particularly as to sentence.

6. In the table provided for "Description of parties",

   a. Indicate race or color by the letter N for Negro, W for white. This information may not appear in obvious form on the docket or indictment. There is sometimes a coding system on indictments whereby a "c" for colored or "n" for Negro, likewise a "w" for white, indicates the race of the offender. This code letter may be found in the corner of the indictment or in some other relatively obscure part of the indictment or other documents. You may get race only through prison records.

   b. Six may be indicated by M for Male and F for Female.

   c. Age at time of sentence is desired. If age should appear in warrant, indictment, or other record incident to trial, allowance may have to be made for lapse of time until imposition of sentence. Indicate source of information as follows: Warrant - 20 yrs. (PR) or (CGR), verbal statement - 20 yrs. (VS). If other records are used, indicate likewise.

   d. Marital status is indicated by Married, Divorced, Single, Widowed, or Unknown. Status at sentence is desired.

   e. Literacy is indicate by illiterate, 3rd grade, 2 yrs. high school, grad. high school, 2 yrs. college, AB degree, etc.

   Note that less information is sought for the adverse party. If the adverse party should be a partnership or corporation, as may happen in cases of larceny, embezzlement, etc., write under "Race", "white partnership", "Negro corporation", as the facts may justify. You then omit "Age" and "Sex" for the adverse party.

7. Under "Offense as defined by", it may be noted that the warrant may describe the crime in one way, the indictment in another and the plea or verdict in still another. For example, the warrant may charge assault and battery with intent to kill, the indictment assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature, but the verdict may be guilty of simple assault. Each step should appear in the schedule.

If there is more than one count in the indictment, the most serious should be taken. For example, a murder indictment will often have a separate count charging carrying a concealed or unlawful weapon. The latter may be ignored unless it appears in plea or verdict. If abbreviations are used, please make them sufficiently full as to be intelligible. State either the "Plea" or the "Verdict" in the case. If the offender enters a guilty plea, strike out the inapplicable word. State the plea or the verdict in the space provided completely as it is ascertained from the indictment: "Guilty of assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature", or whatever the form.

8. There will be no entries regarding "Property involved" except in crimes against property, such as burglary, housebreaking, larceny, embezzlement and breach of trust. In any event there will be no entry except where the nature or value of property involved appears.

   Actual value, if established, is desired. This may appear in verdict, testimony, indictment or warrant -- in descending order of significance.

   Give source, as verdict, testimony, etc. Frequently the only obtainable figure will be "more than $20".

   In larceny cases, the nature of the property may appear, as government bonds, automobile, hog, etc. This nature should be reported.

9. State the terms of the sentence fully, including suspension, if any, or other conditions. Use numerals instead of written words to conserve space.

10. Under "Notes and Remarks" write any information of significance not otherwise disclosed, or comments on records used.

SCOPE OF STUDY

The study will be limited to:

1. Homicide, including murder, manslaughter, involuntary manslaughter, murder in the first degree, murder in the second degree, and all other offenses in which death has resulted.

2. Felonious assault, including assault and battery with intent to kill, assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature, simple assault, mayhem, and assault with a deadly weapon.

3. Sex offenses, limited to rape, assault with intent to rape, and indecent assault upon a female.

4. Crimes against property, including burglary, house breaking, larceny, embezzlement, and breach of trust.

For your convenience, an alphabetical list of these crimes is attached.

The period to be covered (using dates of imposition of sentences) begins January 1, 1949, and ends December 31, 1953.

The court records involved will be those pertaining to the state courts of general criminal jurisdiction. In some counties, there may be additionally a county court having general criminal jurisdiction. If so, its records also will be examined. We will undertake to give you the titles of the relevant courts in the counties you will study. Courts of mayors, recorders, magistrates, justices of the peace, etc., have no jurisdiction over the crimes with which we are concerned.

SUGGESTED METHOD OF WORK

1. First consult the court criminal docket or calendar, by whatever name called. Cases are listed in chronological order, according to the date on which they were heard. Turn to the point where imposition of sentence is January 1, 1949, or to the next subsequent date. That will be your starting point.

2. Take the column of the docket headed "Crime" or "Offense" or some similar term and go down this column carefully until you find "Murder", "Larceny" or one of the other crimes in which we are interested. Transcribe to your schedule all the information revealed by the docket. Continue in this manner, entering all those crimes with which we are concerned, one to a schedule, through December 31, 1953. If the verdict is "Not guilty" or the case is nol prossed (mistrial), transferred to an inferior court or placed on the contingent docket, disregard the case. Fill out schedules for all cases transferred to a higher court or court of equal jurisdiction. An inferior court is usually a court of magistrate, justice of the peace, mayor, or recorder. A higher court or court of equal jurisdiction will probably be a county court or superior court. You may find that the docket entries are in highly abbreviated form. The "Crime" may be described as "a to m" or "1 of a" meaning "assault with attempt to murder" and "larceny of automobile". If this is true, master the "code" for recording items in the docket before attempting to fill out your schedules. A general term such as "felony" may be used on docket. A more specific charge will be found in other records.

3. The docket will not begin to yield all the information in which we are interested. But it will probably give the number of a roll or file in which are kept the warrant, indictment, bond, testimony, coroner's report, correspondence. The docket number itself may be the file number. Systems of filing the pertinent records vary, but you will be able to trace the cases appearing on the docket to these records. The file or roll will fill in some gaps. But there may remain many others.

4. Some of the remaining questions may be answered by consulting the records suggested in item 1 on the schedule. In some states there will be records in the state department of prisons or attorney general's office. Unanswered

questions should be held and grouped to be answered by one trip to the necessary department or institution. Trips to state institutions or archives outside your assigned county must be cleared in advance through the Atlanta office.

5. After all records have been consulted, there will probably remain certain unanswered questions, particularly as to the adverse party. You will have in hand the name of the offender, the crime, the date of crime and sentence and probably the name of the adverse party. Files of local newspapers around the date of the crime may give you additional answers, although this will probably be true in only the more spectacular crimes. We suggest that these be consulted and that the sheriff, clerk or other court officials may give from memory facts which nowhere appear on the public records. Newspapers, and persons outside the family of persons involved should be consulted last, as they are generally less reliable. Please indicate any source outside official records upon which you rely, as "newspaper", "court official", "member family", etc., in the space for notes. If you feel the matter needs some comment, as when relying on a person who strikes you as vague or unsure, make a note of this also.

   We are aware that, after all sources have been exhausted, in many instances you will not be able to supply all the information desired. We ask that you exhaust only the reasonable possibilities.

6. Please fill out all schedules in duplicate, using a good, clear carbon. Print with a pencil, as you will have to make erasures. When you have completed a schedule or entered all the information that can be gotten, the original can be mailed to the Atlanta office. We ask that you mail the first few you complete immediately, so that we can see how much of the information you are able to secure. After that, you can mail a batch at the end of each week. Carefully preserve the carbon copy so that, if necessary, correspondence may be easily conducted.

7. Bear in mind that you have access to these records through the courtesy of their custodian. He should be informed that at any time he or any one else wishes to examine the records which you are examining, his prior claim will be cheerfully recognized.

8. Lawyers using the clerk's office will generally be glad to be helpful. Do not hesitate to ask for their advice or information.

9. Please advise the Atlanta office immediately as to how you may be reached by mail, telephone or telegraph.

10. Keep accurate records of any expenses directly related to the research project, including travel to your assigned county, any trips back to Atlanta for conference, or trips to prisons and other institutions, authorized by the Atlanta office. There will also be incidental expenses, such as stamps, carbon paper, envelopes, etc., which come under the research budget. You may send itemized bills to the Atlanta office and be reimbursed for these necessary expenditures. Telephone calls and wires to the Atlanta office can be made collect. All your personal expenses -- room, food, laundry, recreation -- must be taken care of by the stipend which the Atlanta office will send you every week.

    Upon completion of the work we will pay transportation charges back to Haverford or your place of residence, assuming such place involves substantially no more expense than the trip to Haverford.

11. You will be expected to work a forty-hour week. It is contemplated that your services will be required for a minimum of four weeks, not necessarily in the same locality.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CRIMES

Assault, aggravated

Assault and battern of a high and aggravated nature

Assault and battery with intent to kill

Assault, felonious

Assault, indecent, upon a female

Assault, simple

Assault with a deadly weapon

Assault with intent to rape

Breach of trust with fraudulent intent

Breaking and entering

Burglary

Embezzlement

Homicide

Housebreaking

Larceny

Manslaughter

Manslaughter, involuntary

Mayhem

Murder

Rape

NOTE: If the crime is described on the docket as "misdemeanor", the case is of no interest to this study. If, however, the crime is described as "felony", the specific description of the offense should be obtained from other pertinent records to see if it falls within the scope of the study, since "felony" is a general term descriptive of many offenses.

APPENDIX D

Some Observations by the Field Workers

In view of the fact that several serious difficulties were experienced by the field workers in the process of data collection for this project, and with an eye to future research ventures in this area, this Appendix has been compiled to indicate some of the major problems in this regard. The problems specifically mentioned by the field workers may be listed as follows:

a. orientation to the field situation

b. the heavy load of cases to be recorded

c. the multiplicity of sources of data

d. the lack of adequate data

A brief comment on each of these points is in order. One of the field workers reported that he encountered hostility and suspicion upon entering into contact with one key community representative. This individual questioned the field worker's authority to see his records and made it exceedingly difficult to obtain the required data.

Another field worker reported that the number of cases he was required to record was so large that at the rate he was working it would have taken him several months to complete the assignment. An additional problem which complicated the data collection process was that the records from which data were to be gathered were scattered over the community and were under the control of several authorities. In some cases, it was necessary to work back and forth from one set of records to another which proved to be a complicated and time-consuming process. In one or two instances, the field worker was not authorized to use a source of data and, therefore, could not gather the required information. Again, adequate data on some of the schedule items were not available; a fact often not known until the field worker entered the community.

Some of these difficulties are expressed in the following excerpt from a letter to Dr. Mitchell from Otis Johnson, dated July 1, 1954:

> Our general system on the project started with the judgment docket from which we got the file number, defendant's name, date of sentence, and whether the defendant pleaded guilty or was tried and found guilty. With the file number we then found the packet containing the warrant, indictment, usually the prison commitment, and a number of other papers connected with the case. This gave us all the information we needed with the exception of the sex, age, and race of the adverse party, and the marital status, literacy, and previous convictions of the defendant. Referring to the alphabetical list of past offenders, we then found previous convictions.
>
> At this point our troubles started. We were not allowed access to the draft records, and the V.A. said their records would be of no help. Voting registrations were not available to us unless we hired a member of the Board of Elections to be with us all the time and the helpfulness even then was doubtful. The school records for the county (except the city) are only available back to 1947, and in the city school records, only about one person out of ten was listed when I went over about sixty persons we were interested in. County tax records are kept for all those people paying taxes on property or paying a poll tax (which is just a head tax on every adult male with no penalty for non-payment). These gave sex, age, and race (all by code), but even the ratio of those listed to those looked up was about one to four or five. Apparently there are many people avoiding the poll tax. As a last resort we turned to Hill's City Directory for the years 1947-1948, 1949-1950, and 1953, but although the older ones (not 1953) gave marital status and race, many persons live outside the city limits. In order to make sure we had the right person, we had to refer back to the warrant for the address of the offender and adverse party.
>
> As a result of all this you will find many blank squares under age, sex, race of the adverse party, and marital status of the offender. In no records at all could we find any mention of literacy.

Another problem not specifically mentioned by the field workers, but indirectly inferred from their letters, involved the definition of legal terminology and specific crimes to be included in the sample.

There are several suggestions for future research in this problem which may be derived from these experiences. First, the number of decisions and time-consuming investigation and clearing of sources for data could be reduced if the director of the project were to visit each community prior to the field worker obtaining the required information concerning sources and also the necessary clearances. This

could save hours of unproductive field work and in addition aid in the preparation of the schedule itself. Some estimate of the number of cases might be made, thus providing the basis for an estimate of the amount of field work time required in each community.

This information would make it possible to draw up a set of instructions for each community to be studied. These could be made available for use by the field worker.

Some preliminary experience in the data collection might be planned to train the field workers and also to test the research instrument which has been developed. During this period, and actual trial run might be arranged in some easily available community and carried out under the guidance of the project director.

/bwl

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTH, 1952

CITY	UNIFORMED POLICE	PLAINCDOTHES	POLICE WOMEN
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Talladega, Ala.	2		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.	2		
Cocoa, Fla.	1		
Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	6	1	2 (School)
Deland, Fla.	1	1	
Ft. Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
Jacksonville, Fla.	6		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	45	3	
Ocala, Fla.	1		
Orlando, Fla.	2		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
Tallahassee, Fla.	3		
Tampa, Fla.	6	1	
West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
Atlanta, Ga.	12		8 (School)
Augusta, Ga.	8		

Black underline = 1950 or 1951 data
Red " = counties
* News report

7) On the basis of all the facts and figures you have gathered in this survey, is there any evidence of need for consolidation, decentralization, or expansion of your school system?

City	Uniformed	Plainclothes	Police Women
Columbus, Ga.	4		
Macon, Ga.	4		
Savannah, Ga.	9	3	
Lexington, Ky.	4		1
Louisville, Ky.	34	5	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
New Orleans, La.	~~6~~		
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoski, NC	1		
Asheville, NC	3		
Burlington, NC	4		
Carrboro, NC	2		
Chapel Hill, NC	2		
Charlotte, NC	10		
Durham, NC	10	2	
Fayetteville, NC	3		
Gastonia, NC	4		
Goldsboro, NC	2		
Greensboro, NC	9		
Greenville, NC	1		
Guilford County, NC (Gbro NC)		1 (Deputy Sheriff)	
Highpoint, NC	6		1(School)
Lenoir, NC	2		

City	Uniformed	Plainclothes	Policewomen
Morganton, NC	2		
Raleigh, NC	4		3(School)
Reidsville, NC	2		
Rocky Mount, NC	2		
Salisbury, NC	2		
Wilson, NC	2		
Winston-Salem, NC	11		2(School)
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla	13	5	
Stillwater, Okla.	1		
Tulsa, Okla.	9	5	1
Beaufort County, SC		1 (Deputy Sheriff)	
Charleston, SC	8	1	6(School)
Clover, SC*	1		
Columbia, SC	4		
Conway, SC	2		
Darlington, SC*	1		
Dillon, SC*	1		
Florence, SC*	3		
Hartsville, SC*	1		
Horry County, SC	2	1(Deputy Sheriff)	
Marion, SC*	2		
Mullins, SC*	1		
Orangeburg, SC	2		
Rock Hill, SC	2		
Spartanburg, SC	2		
Sumter, SC		2	
Timmonsville, SC*	1		

City	Uniformed	Plainclothes	Women
Chattanooga, Tenn	7		
Davidson County, Tenn Nashville		7(Deputies)	
Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
Memphis, Tenn.*	16		
Nashville, Tenn.	14		12(School)
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex	4		
Galveston, Tex.	11	4	
Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Lubbock, Tex.	4		
Orange, Tex.	2		
Port Arthur, Tex.	2		
San Antonio, Tex.	8	4	
Waco, Tex.	1		
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Newport News, Va.	6		
Norfolk, Va.	6	2	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va. *	1		3(School)*
Princess Anne County, Va.*	1	6	
Richmond, Va.	10	3	1
Roanoke, Va.	6		

This list 102 cities & counties

TOTALS: States: 13 Cities: 94 Counties: 5 Uniform: 466 Plain clothes: 59 Women: 43

GRAND TOTAL 568

MEMO TO A. H. Feb. 5, 1953

On the campus at AM&N College at Pine Bluff, which is Jefferson County, Ark., I was introduced to a Negro deputy sheriff in full uniform. He is assigned to that campus, but he is undubitably an official deputy sheriff. If not listed, we should list.

GSM

Sent Q
2-6-53

SURVEY SHOWS TOTAL OF 41 STATE LAWMEN

A roundup of Negro law enforcement personnel employed in South Carolina by the Lighthouse and Informer shows that within the last six months no less than 41 persons were believed in use in an unofficial total.

Reports from reporters for the newspaper include a number of persons given temporary duty powers to keep order at football games, for example, but this number is not included in the forty one officers reported here. In several communities colored men are employed for a day in the case of a county fair, for longer periods, to report for arrest trouble makers. Such temporary officers do not usually carry a gun. Nightsticks are their principal weapons; however, in some of the communities now using colored officers, it is not usual to see a temporary officer patrolling streets wit[illegible] r[illegible]lar policeman.

Could Be More

Reports from Darlington, Columbia, Spartanburg and a few other centers indicate that more colored officers would be employed if good applicants turn up. Several other communities have approved employment of colored policemen but say they haven't been able to get even an applicant.

Charleston has the distinction of employing half a dozen women who direct traffic at "school" in-

Continued on page two

SURVEY SHOWS TOTAL OF 41 STATE LAWMEN

Continued from Page One

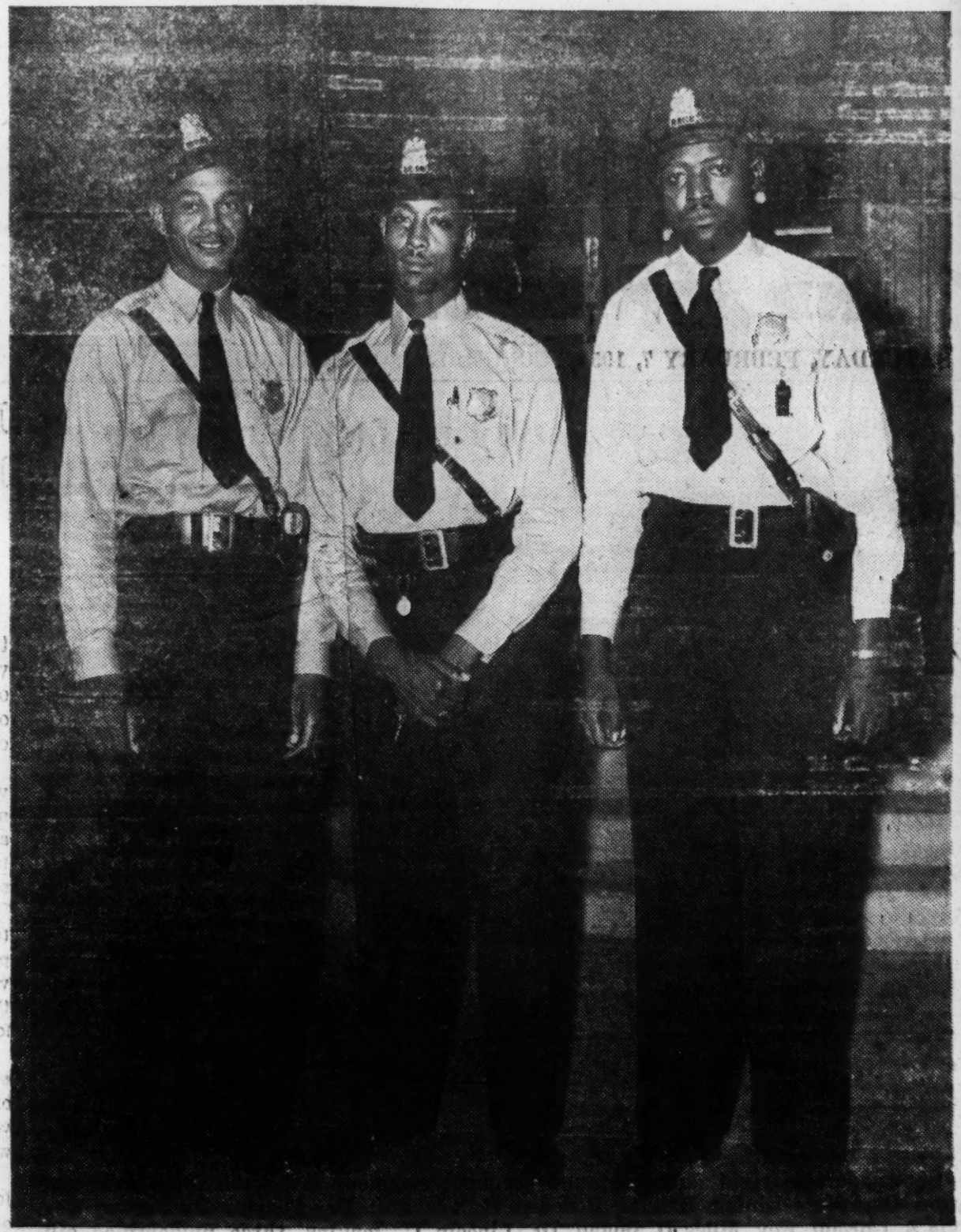
tersections. But they also have full power to make arrests. Horry county employs one Negro as a deputy sheriff ,as does Beaufort county. Charleston, for several months, has been shifting one of its men to plainclothes attire and using him as a detective. Charleston is reported as having nine patrolmen. It uses approximately 32 percent of all such law enforcement personnel in South Carolina.

The roundup, which is entirely unofficial, follows

City	No. Officers
Beaufort*	1
Charleston**	13
Clover	1
Columbia	4
Conway*	3
Darlington	1
Dillon	1
Florence	3
Hartsville	1
Lake City	1
Marion	1
Mullins	1
Orangeburg	2
Rock Hill	2
Spartanburg	1
Sumter	2
Timmonsville	1
Cities 17	Officers 41

*includes Deputy Sheriff
*Includes Policewomen

Darlington, Florence and Marion counties, each, have two communities using such officers. Horry's deputy sheriff lives in Conway, but patrols areas over the county where his services are deemed most needed.



Columbia patrolmen Mims, Pearson (who has since resigned from the force) and Eleazer. Columbia employed two officers in 1949. Since then it has used as many as four on two or more occasions, the number it now uses. Three of its men have resigned for other positions, which means it has employed a total of seven men since 1949.

ed from the force) and Eleazer. Columbia employed two offi- or more occasions, the number it now uses. Three of its employed a total of seven men since 1949.

Florence has added a third officer since this picture was made about three years ago, All are soundly praised by city officials.

Sumter, last year, hired officers Gailliard and Burns, who work the Manning avenue section and whose services are lauded by the community.

Deputy Buxton Brown of Horry county, now in his fourth year of service. His main work is patrol at Atlantic and Myrtle Beaches. Conway hired two officers in 1944. Summerton hired the first, Dave Lawson, who calls himself "Dean of them all."

those present

SEP 8
Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Ft Smith, Ark.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1945 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date aug 31, 1953 Signed Bailey Price

Position Identi. Officer

RECEIVED
AUG 31

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ Hot Springs, Arkansas.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1947 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Satisfactory

They are Street men in Colored District.

Date 8/27/1953

Signed A. C. Stephens
A. C. Stephens

Position Patroleman

RECEIVED
FEB 11

COUNTY OF Jefferson, Ark.

	Uniform	Plainclothes*
Number of Negro ~~policemen~~ (Deputy Sheriff)	2	
Number of policewomen	0	1 (Probation Officer under County Judge)

This county has used Negro police since 1940 (Year)

~~or~~

~~This county will hire Negro~~ police on _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date Feb 1953

Signed Allen Pigron

Position Sheriff - Jefferson County, Ark.

*Please indicate functions of plainclothes officers: deputies, juvenile officers, etc.

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ Clearwater, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city county has used Negro policemen since . . . . July 1, 1949 (Year)

or

This city ~~county~~ will hire one Uniform Negro policemen on . . . . . September 1, 1953 (Date)

Comments The negro Policemen are limited to the colored section of the city, and work the hours from 6 P.M. to 2 A.M. each night. The additional colored Policeman to be employed Sept.1, 1953 will work as a school Patrolman at a colored school. Their work has been satisfactory in handling our colored population, and has eliminated possible Civil Right infringements, which any Law Enforcement Officer subjects himself to, while enforcing the law with colored people.

Date August 25, 1953

Signed Geo. T. McClamma.

Position Chief of Police

City of Clearwater, Florida.

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY DADE COUNTY, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments *This Department employs two colored Deputy Sheriffs who are in plain clothes. There is one colored member of School Patrol (county school - not city) This man is a Special Deputy and not a regular deputy.*

The above does not apply to the Police Department of the City of Miami or any other municipality in Dade County

Date *August 24, 1953* Signed Thomas J. Kelly

Position Sheriff
Dade County, Fla.

CITY / COUNTY Dania, Fla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1946 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . No (Date)

Comments

Date Aug 24 1953

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief Of Police Dania FLA.

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Southern Regional Council

POLICE DEPT.
CITY OF DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.

CITY
~~COUNTY~~

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	7	
Number of Negro policewomen	2	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1937 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . None (Date)

Comments

Date 8/24/52

Signed Albert Simmons

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

DAYTONA BEACH FLORIDA
RECEIVED
AUG 2[illegible] 195[illegible]
POLICE DEPARTMENT

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY DELAND, VOLUSIA CO.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	ONE	
Number of Negro policewomen	NONE	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1930 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments WE FIND NEGRO POLICEMEN ARE A GREAT HELP, WOULD NOT BE WITH OUT ONE.

Date AUG. 24 1953

Signed J. G. Richardson

Position Police Sgt.

RECEIVED
SEP 4

CITY Fort Lauderdale, Florida
COUNTY Broward

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1952 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 9-2-53 Signed Solomon L. Kelley

Position Chief of Police

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . March 1, 1946 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments The Negro Officers work in the evenings; 6:00 P.M. to 2:00 A.M. and 7:00 P.M. to 3:00 A.M. They drive a Patrol car, radio 2-way, and patrol the Negro business and residence areas.

These Officers were chosen for their known good character, discretion and fidelity to duty. Their behavior, services and discharge of duty have been very satisfactory.

Date September 21, 1953. Signed William D. Joiner
William D. Joiner
Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 23

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ Jacksonville, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . July 1, 1950 (Year)

or

This city ~~county~~ will ~~hire~~ 8 more Negro policemen on . . . . . September 1, 1953 (Date)

Comments

Date August 25, 1953 Signed Thurman Cannon

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF MELBOURNE, FLORIDA
COUNTY

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1948 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments We have a fine man and are well pleased with him.

Date 8-24-53 Signed John D. Thomas

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Phenix City, Ala

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen	49	3

This city [redacted] has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1944 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date Aug 25, 1953 Signed Walter E. Hadley

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY Ocala, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1949 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . on replacement (Date)

Comments

Negro Policemen are paid on the same scale as our regular police and are given the same benifits.

Date August 25, 1953

Signed By. Pettrock

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY ORLANDO FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	NONE	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . JAN. 3, 1951 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments HAVE PROVED VERY SATISFACTORY.

Date AUGUST 24, 1953 Signed [illegible]

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
SEP 1
Southern Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Panama City, Fla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen	None	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . June 52 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments This man has made us a good Police man, I think any City or County should have a Colored Police where they have a Colored Population.

Date 8-29-53 Signed G.W. McCall

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ OF ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . May 2, 1949 (Year)

or

This city ~~county~~ will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . ----- (Date)

Comments

Date August 25, 1953

Signed J. D. Dewhurst

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Southern Regional

CITY OF PENSACOLA, FLORIDA (COUNTY OF ESCAMBIA)

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments The City of Pensacola does not have any colored policemen in its employ, however the Sheriff in this county (Escambia) has two colored deputies on his force, and he provides these deputies with the same dress uniform as his other deputies.

Date AUG 24th 1953 Signed [illegible]

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Southern Regional Council

CITY-
COUNTY Tampa, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	5	3
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1945 (Year)

or

This city ~~county~~ will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 24, 1953

Signed B. J. Robertson

Position Chief of Police

AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY WEST PALM BEACH, FLA.
COUNTY PALM BEACH,

		Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	9	7	2
Number of Negro policewomen		NONE	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since .... 1948 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on ..... _____ (Date)

Comments 1 SERGT IN UNIFORM DIVISION

Date 8-24-53 Signed R. M. Allshire.

Position Chief of Police.

AUG 25
Southern Regional Council

CITY Atlanta Ga
COUNTY

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	12	
Number of Negro policewomen	10	

This city / county has used Negro polic[redacted]ince . . . . 1948 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro poli[redacted]

Comments

We plan to add more Negro police from time to time as they are need and as we can train them

Date 8-23-53 Signed T. T. Jenkins

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY Augusta, Georgia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	8	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1950 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments We started using Negro women school patrolwomen during the last school term and employed 5. They will be used again this school term. They only work at school crossings and during school hours andfor the duration of the school term.

Date Aug. 22, 1953 Signed F B. Green

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 28
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ Columbus, Georgia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1952 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments These officers are doing a good job.

Date August 26 1953 Signed E. L. Moncrief

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 24
Southern Regional Council

CITY Macon, Georgia
~~COUNTY~~

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	4	Work at schools. 2½ hr per day during School Term -

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since 1951 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments We hired 2 officers in 1951, as an experiment, but found them to be entirely satisfactory so added 2 more in 1952.

Date Aug 25/53 Signed Jeff. Watkins

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 16
Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Savannah - Chatham

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	10	2
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1947 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

They are doing a splendid job.

Date 10-14-53 Signed Lanford T. Butler

Position Commissioner of Police

RECEIVED
NOV 4
Southern Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Hopkinsville, Christian County, Kentucky

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	3	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1936 (Year)

or

This city ~~county~~ will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . ——— (Date)

Comments We are well pleased with Negro Officers and they are doing an excellent job, one of the above Officers is coming up for promotion to Sgt.

Date 11-3-53 Signed Russell Greenwell

Position Chief of Police

Added
HCT

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

~~CITY~~ COUNTY Jefferson, Ky.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen	_____	_____

This ~~city~~ county has used Negro policemen since . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This ~~city~~ county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Date _____ Signed _____

Position _____

6 Negro Deputy Sheriffs, Jefferson County, Kentucky

RECEIVED
SEP 1
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ OF LEXINGTON

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	
Number of Negro policewomen	1	

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1936 (Year)

or

This city ~~county~~ will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . police are hired through civil service examination (Date)

Comments

Date August 28, 1953

Signed John F. Sellers

Position Acting Chief of Police
Lexington, Ky.

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY Louisville, Kentucky

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	25	6
Number of Negro policewomen		2

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1928 (Year)

or

This city ~~county~~ will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments In addition to the above officers we also have one Negro lieutenant and three negro sergeants. Their assignments are confined to the Negro sections of the City of Louisville and Negro parks. They have been in great value in combating any accusation of discrimination, or mistreatment of the colored people by white officers.

Date August 24, 1953

Signed Major Thos. G. Kiefer

Position Assistant Chief of Police

Louisville, Kentucky

RECEIVED
AUG 28
Southern Regional Council

CITY
~~COUNTY~~ Dunsbaro Ky

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen	1	(School Duty)

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . On file (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8-24-53 Signed Vernie Bidwell

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 10
Southern Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Lafayette, La

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	3	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1952 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments 2 - policeman Regular - 8 hrs shift in Patrol car, 1 - Part time - in District

Date 9-6-53

Signed Sgt Byron Labiller

Position Desk Sgt.

CITY
COUNTY NEW IBERIA - LA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1952 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Very satisfactory in Negro district

Date Oct 7-1953 Signed Andrew Viator

Position Chief Police

RECEIVED
OCT 9
South

AUG 26
Southern

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ New Orleans, La.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	6
* Number of Negro ~~policewomen~~	None	None

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . June 1950 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

~~Comments~~ * 12 Negro School Crossing Guards used during school term

Date 24 August 1953 Signed J. W. Fenerty

Position James W. Fenerty, Major ~~Supervisor of Personnel~~

RECEIVED
AUG 28
Southern Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Shreveport, La. Parish of Caddo

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		

This ~~city~~ county has used Negro policemen since . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This ~~city~~ county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments This information should be procured from the Commissioner of Public Safety, Mr. Cotton Morris, of this city. For your information we have one negro deputy on the payroll and four special deputies who do part time work.

Date August 24, 1953

Signed J. H. Flournoy
J. H. Flournoy
Position Sheriff, Caddo Parish, La.

RECEIVED
AUG 31
Regional Counsel

CITY OF Gulfport Mississippi.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1949 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments These two men are doing a fair job.

Date August 27 1953 Signed [illegible]

Position Lieutenant (Clerk of Court)

RECEIVED
AUG 26
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

CITY Indianola, Mississippi
COUNTY Sunflower County

		Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	One	Yes	
Number of Negro policewomen	None		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1947 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . When time demands (Date)

Comments Our negro policeman, Nathaniel Jacks, has been and still satisfactory in ever respect, he works with his own color, and is LAW & ORDER with his race. He is called upon many times by the Law Enefocement Officers of this community to work with them, our policeman is an asset to our City, he is polite, honest, and respected by both races, white and Colored.

Date August-24th, 1953 Signed Jas. M. Cox

Position Captain -Jas.M.Cox.
Indianola Police Dept.
Indianola, Mississippi
Sunflower County

SEP 10
Southe

CITY
COUNTY Ahoskie, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1934 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments This office has done a very good job.

Date 8/22/63 Signed J. A. Bunch

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
AUG 25
...ional Council

CITY Asheville, North Carolina
COUNTY Buncombe County

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	3	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city/county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1946 (Year)

or

This city/county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments They have proven satisfactory

Date August 24, 1953 Signed C. O. Waddell

Position Chief of Police

CITY
COUNTY Burlington, N. C.

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . September, 1949 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 25, 1953 Signed C. M. Butler

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 25

CITY / COUNTY CHARLOTTE, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	8	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1941 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . 2 replacements 9/16/53 (Date)

Comments

Date August 22 1953

Signed F. M. Littlejohn

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Durham, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	10	2
Number of Negro policewomen	None	
This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since	1944 (Year)	

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments The use of Negro Police officers has proved very satisfactory in this city. This city is thoroughly sold on making use of Negroes as law enforcement officers.

Date Aug. 24, 1953 Signed H. E. King

Position Chief of Police

Note: 5 colored women were used in the school year of 1952-1953 as school crossing guards.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

AUG 1953
RECEIVED
DURHAM POLICE DEPT.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 21, 1953

Chief of Police
Durham, N. C.

Dear Sir:

For several years now, the Southern Regional Council has kept as accurate a record as possible of the employment of Negro policemen in Southern cities. This information has been much in demand. It has proved particularly helpful to chiefs of police and other officials in those cities considering adding Negro policemen as an aid to law enforcement in the Negro community.

According to our records, your city is one of those using Negro policemen. To insure that our list is correct, it is our policy to request official confirmation each year from the chiefs of police concerned.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation in filling out the attached questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely yours,
Harold C. Fleming
Harold C. Fleming,
Director of Information

HCF:s
encl.

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY of Fayetteville, North Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	1	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . October, 1949 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments The Negro policewoman works entirely in school areas with school traffic and has proven a capable worker. Three of the Negro Policemen have proven to be very capable, intelligent, and reliable policemen. They are well liked by other officers of the Police Department and have been a definite asset to the Department.

Date August 24, 1953 Signed S. T. Worrell

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 26
South

CITY / COUNTY Gastonia, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1948 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 22, 1953 Signed _____

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 21
Southern Regional Council

CITY Goldsboro, North Carolina
COUNTY Wayne County

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . August 1949 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8-22-53 Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ Greensboro N C

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	9	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1946 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments One of the above is assigned to Dudley High School as a driver training instructor with the rank of Corporal

Date August 24 1953 Signed Peter L. Williamson

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY Greenville, North Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1951 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments The negro officer employed by this Department has proven satisfactory. Our budget for this fiscal year does not provide for any additional uniformed officers, therefore I am unable to advise ~~#~~ any prospective date for increasing the number of negro officers.

~~Date~~ _____ Signed Sullivan G. Gibbs

Position Chief of Police

Date: 8.23-53

RECEIVED
AUG 28
Regional Council

~~CITY~~ COUNTY Guilford
Greensboro N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		One
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments we have one colored deputy sheriff and his work has been excellent we pay him a full time salary and furnish him with a car that is equiped with radio

Date Aug 27 '63 Signed John E Wallace

Position Sheriff
Guilford County N.C.

CITY
COUNTY High Point, Guilford County

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	2
Number of Negro policewomen	none	

This city/county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1943 (Year)

or

This city/county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Negro policemen have proven satisfactory to the City.

Date September 16, 1953 Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 17
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF KINSTON, NORTH CAROLINA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	3	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has used Negro policemen since	2 during August 1952 1 " January 1953 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . none
(Date)

Comments So far, the work has been satisfactory.

Date _____ Signed Marion Haskins
Marion Haskins
Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 28
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY Lenoir, N.C., Caldwell County

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . August, 1952 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Results, Very Good

Date Aug 26 1953 Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

Oscar Cohen

Theodore Freedman

June 26, 1953

You will be interested to learn that the Morganton, North Carolina Town Board by a three to two vote approved putting two Negro officers on the local police force.

The Morganton police department once before used two Negro officers who were later released from duty under a previous administration.

cc: Alex Miller
Lou Krupin
Art Levin
Gil Baldin

Ted

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY Raleigh, N. C., Wake County

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	5	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1941 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . Not known at present. (Date)

Comments

Date August 26, 1953 Signed Tom Davis

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 24
Southern

CITY Reidsville, N.C
COUNTY Rockingham

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1950 (Year)

or

This city ~~county~~ will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . 0 (Date)

Comments

Date 8/22/1953 Signed Annie D. Jones

Position Record Clerk

RECEIVED
AUG 31
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY Rocky Mount, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . July 1950 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Employed one woman for school safety Patrol, effective Sept. 1, 53

Date 8-28-53 Signed J. L. Nichols

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 31

CITY / COUNTY Wilson, Wilson County, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1950 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date August 29, 1953 Signed A. A. Trinette

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY Winston-Salem, N.C.
COUNTY Forsyth

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	13	
Number of Negro policewomen	1 (plus 5 school)	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1943 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments We have 5 negro school guards

Date

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 8

CITY Enid, Oklahoma
COUNTY Garfield County

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1925 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date September 3, 1953 Signed Ralph Knarr RALPH KNARR,

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 2
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ Lawton Oklahoma.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2 (Two)	none
Number of Negro policewomen	none	none

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . July 1934 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date Aug. 31st 1953

Signed Otis Waldron

Position Detective
Lawton Okla Police Dept.

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY Oklahoma City
~~COUNTY~~

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	8	6
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1930 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date August 24, 1953

Signed Frank Thurston

Position Exec. Secy Police Dept.

RECEIVED
SEP 8
Southern Region

CITY OF Ponca City, Oklahoma

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . About 1930 (regularly); before (Year) that time, hired them on part time- or extra basis

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments If the right type negro is employed - which is entirely up to the employer, a negro officer can be one of the best, most reliable and respected on any department. In my tenure as chief of police we have had two different negro policemen; the first one was not reliable in any way, was not respected and we had a lot of trouble with our negro people(there are approximately 1000 of them); At the present time we have a highly respected negro officer and have had very little trouble with our negro population in the 6 years he has been employed; his own personal conduct is beyond reproach and he is firm and impartial in his enforcement. I would recommend a negro officer anytime, if he is the right type to earn and keep the respect he deserves.

Date August 31, 1953 Signed D. E. Harsh

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ Stillwater, Oklahoma

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1948 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments duties:- satisfactorly:-

Date 8/24/1953

Signed Homer Boughton

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 2
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ Tulsa, Oklahoma

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	10	5
Number of Negro policewomen		1

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1916 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Employed to police negro districts of the city.

Date August 31, 1953. Signed M. M. Learell

Position Personnel Director

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY TULSA COUNTY

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	1
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1929 (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments This office only has 2 Negro Deputies, Alvin G Dawson (uniformed) and W. T. Thomas (plain clothes). These boys are doing an exceptionally good job and we are very proud of their work.

Date 24 August 53 Signed Leonard T. Barto

Position SECRETARY AND RECORD CLERK

CITY OF BEAUFORT, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	Two	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None
This city has used Negro policemen since	1950 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments The Colored Policemen have been very helpful in enforcement of the law in Colored Areas.

Date 8-31-53 Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 24
Southern Region

CITY Beaufort, SC
COUNTY Beaufort, SC

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen . 4 Deputy Sheriffs	2	1
Number of Negro policewomen . . . . . 4 Deputy Sheriffs	2	1

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . Deputy Sheriffs 1903 (Year)

or

This ~~city~~ / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . When needed (Date)

Comments Jessie Lawrence has been a Policeman & Deputy Sheriff of Beaufort Co SC, for 48 years. Very efficient.

Date 8/22/53 Signed J. E. McLean
Position Sheriff of Beaufort Co SC

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY Charleston, S. C.
~~County~~ Charleston

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	8	1
Number of Negro policewomen	6	-

This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since . . . . August 16, 1950 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments On Aug.16,1950 4 Patrolmen employed
On June 12, 1951 5 " "
On Mar. 12, 1951 6 Negro School Guards employed

I would like to state that they have been serving our community well.

Date August 22, 1953 Signed William F. Kelly

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 18
Southern Regional Council

CITY / COUNTY Columbia, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . approx. 5 years (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments No Comments.

Date Sept. 17, 1953

Signed L. J. Campbell

Position L. J. Campbell, Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 1
Southern Regional Council

CITY Conway, S.C.
COUNTY ~~Horry~~

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments We use one or two uniformed Policemen (Colored) part time at Atlantic Beach during summer months

Date 8-31-53 Signed John T. Henry Jr.

Position Sheriff, Horry County

RECEIVED
AUG 31
Southern Regional Council

CITY ~~COUNTY~~ Conway, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen	-0-	
This city ~~county~~ has used Negro policemen since	1947 (Year)	

or

This city ~~county~~ will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments Negro Police have been a big help in Law enforcement in the Negro Section of the City

Date Aug 28, 1953 Signed H. L. Barfin

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Regional Council

CITY OF Lake City S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	None
Number of Negro policewomen		None
This city has used Negro policemen since	Jan 1953. (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments The Col. Policemen are doing good work. It really work out O.K. I hear,

Date Aug 22-53 Signed M. A. Hinds

Position Chief.

AUG 25
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Mullins, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . July, 1952 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments This man is making us a good officer

Date Aug. 24, 1953 Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Rock Hill, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1949 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments We think our colored officers have done a fine job.

Date 8-23-53

Signed E. M. Stanna

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 25

CITY OF Timmonsville, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	One	
Number of Negro policewomen	None	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1951 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments We have been cautious about hiring a negro policeman trying our best to get one that will best fill the job.

Date August 24, 1953 Signed T. G. Jeffords

Position Town Clerk

CITY OF Chattanooga, Tennessee

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	7	2
Number of Negro policewomen	1	1 - Used as Matron
This city has used Negro policemen since		(Year)
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on		(Date)

Comments We have used 2 colored officers in plain clothes for 15 years to secure information only.

We have had the 7 uniformed officers since 1948.

They have worked out very satisfactorily.

Date September 3, 1953

Signed Ed Rietter

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern

~~CITY~~ COUNTY Knox County Tenn.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	8
Number of Negro policewomen		

This ~~city~~ county has used Negro policemen since . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments We have 8 special police who are Colored in addition to the two in uniform

Date Aug. 24, 1953 Signed Austin Leat

Position Sheriff

RECEIVED
AUG 25
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Nashville, Tenn

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	14	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1948 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date Aug 24 1953 Signed Paul D Murray

Position Secty Police Dept

RECEIVED
AUG 28

CITY OF Amarillo, Tex.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	May 28, 1948 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 25, 1953

Signed John J. Amend

Position Inspector of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Austin, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . About 1903 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments The First Colored Policeman was named Emzy Harrell and was hired by The City about 1903. The records of that period are not complete on personnel so we are not sure of the exact date. Colored Policemen have been employed by the City since that time. One Policeman, Ananias James was employed by the City in Jan. 1924 and retired in 1952. He is now employed as a civilian School Crossing Guard. Another Policeman, Charles Walsh has been with the Police Dept. since 1933. He will retire in Jan. 1954. Our plans are to replace him as soon as possible. Entrance to the Dept. is by competitive examination under the State Civil Service Law. Five of the present Colored Policemen now employed by the Police Dept. entered by this examination.

Date Aug. 25, 1953 Signed R. A. Thorp

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF DALLAS, TEXAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	2
Number of Negro policewomen	NONE	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . FEBRUARY 10, 1947 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . [redacted] (Date)

Comments NONE

Date 8-25-53 Signed C. F. Hansen

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
SEP 11
Southern ... Council

CITY OF Fort Worth, Texas. Sept. 9th, 1953.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1/1/53 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments These officers are foot patrolmen in negro populated areas and doing a good job.

Date Sept. 9,1953. Signed R.E.Tarvin

R.E.Tarvin

Position ASSISTANT CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
JAN 28 1953
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Fort Worth, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . Jan. 1, 1953 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date Jan. 26, 1953 Signed Roland R. Hawerton

Position Chief of Police dt

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Galveston, Texas.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	10 ~~10~~	4
Number of Negro policewomen	None ~~0~~	None
This city has used Negro policemen since	1885 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments Satisfactory Service

Date 8-24-53

Signed W. J. Burns

Position Chief of Police

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Galveston Co Tex.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	14 20 in all	6
Number of Negro policewomen	none	no women at all
This city county has used Negro policemen since	1900 - had 4 (Year)	
or		
This city county will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments Galveston City police dept had 4 in 1900 to 1915 - then 10 - in 1922 - 14 colored 1940 - 20 in all 14 in uniform 6 Detectives to this date 8-24-53 Galveston has 90,000 population 10,000 are colored including a Chief of Police and a Chief of Detectives 84 in all

Date 8-24-53 Signed H. L. Diggs

Position Sheriff

84 officers
10 white detectives

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY
COUNTY Harris Co. - Houston, Ga.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro ~~policemen~~ Deputy Sheriffs		2
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city county has used Negro ~~policemen~~ deputies since	1950 (Year)	

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date Aug. 25, 1953 Signed C. V. Buster Fern

Position Sheriff

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Lubbock, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1951 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8-24-53

Signed Harold F Monroe

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern

CITY OF ORANGE TEXAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	TWO	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1946 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments WE HAVE HAD VERY GOOD SERVICE BY HAVING COLORED POLICE IN OUR COLORED TOWN. THEY ARE IN CLOSER CONTACT WITH THE COLORED PEOPLE AND KNOW THEIR HABITS BETTER THAN WE DO.

Date 8/24/1953.

Signed L. B. Hayden

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
AUG 31

CITY OF PORT ARTHUR, TEXAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen	2	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . 10 years (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments This city has 15 Auxillary Policeman that are not paid.

Date 8-27-53 Signed G. B. Douglas

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 31

CITY OF San Antonio Police Department

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	9	2
Number of Negro policewomen		1

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . Approximately 1930 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments Applicants are appointed in this Department on the basis of grade made in entrance examination conducted by the Civil Service Commission, and after clearing physical examination and character reference check. Promotions are based on examination grades which combines written examination, efficiency, and longevity. Neither race nor color are a factor in either qualifying function.

Date 8-25-53 Signed W A Cain

Position Acting Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

~~CITY~~ COUNTY Travis County, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		1 employed by Travis County
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city county has used Negro policemen since	(Year)	
or		
This city county will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments We find our colored deputy sheriff very efficient.

Date August 24, 1953

Signed T. O. Lang

Position Sheriff, Travis County, Texas

RECEIVED
SEP 12
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Temple, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1942 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date Aug. 31, 1953 Signed Thomas J. Cook

Position Sergeant.

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Cape Charles, Va.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	-
Number of Negro policewomen	-	-

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . Since year 1946.
(Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . -
(Date)

Comments The writer believes it a good idea to employ negro ~~Policemen for the negro sections of the town or city.~~ We employ the one officer two days per week - Saturday ~~and Sunday, and holidays, if necessary. We pay him~~ only $7.50 per days, and he ~~mix~~ works at night.

Date August 25, 1953 Signed A.F.Dize,

Position Mayor.

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Reg

CITY OF Newport News, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	None
Number of Negro policewomen	3	None
This city has used Negro policemen since	1946 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	-- (Date)	

Comments Our Negro Policewomen work part time for school traffic only, and are doing an excellent job. Our Negro Policemen have been a great asset to our Police Department and is also doing an excellent job as police officers.

Date August 24, 1953

Signed W. F. Rach

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Norfolk, Va.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	1
Number of Negro policewomen		2
This city has used Negro policemen since	11/7/45 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 25, 1953

Signed E. L. Cason
E. L. Cason
Position Police Chief

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

~~XXXX~~ COUNTY Norfolk, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen	2	

This ~~XXXX~~ county has used Negro ~~policemen~~ women since . . . . 1952 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments We have on several occasions borrowed negro policemen from the Portsmouth Police Department, and have used them in plain clothes to do investigating work.

Date August 24, 1953 Signed N. F. Powell

Position Captain

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Petersburg Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		1
This city has used Negro policemen since	1939 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8-24-53

Signed Willard E. Taylor

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Portsmouth, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1948 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date Oct. 8-1952 Signed L. C. Wanner

Position Chief of Police

~~CITY~~ COUNTY Princess Anne, Va.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This ~~city~~ county has used Negro policemen since . . . . 1952 (Year)

or

This city county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-24-53

Signed C. Roger Mathon

Position Sheriff

C. Roger Mathon

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Richmond, Va.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	11	3
Number of Negro policewomen		1
This city has used Negro policemen since	May 1, 1946 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	---- (Date)	

Comments Work in the colored districts - Services are satisfactory in most cases/

Date 8-25-53 Signed O. D. Garton

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Roanoke, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1946 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 25, 1953 Signed F. H. Webb.

Position Superintendent of Police

City of Roanoke, Virginia

F. H. WEBB
SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE

August 25, 1953

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We have filled out your questionnaire pertaining to negro policemen and are returning it herewith.

Yours very truly,

F. H. Webb

Captain F. H. Webb
Superintendent of Police

RSH:jrs
Enc. 1

No police

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF GADSDENM ALABAMA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	NONE	NONE
Number of Negro policewomen	NONE	NONE

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments Not using any at present.

Date Aug. 22, 1953 Signed C Fay Boman

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 24
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Albany, Ga.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	None	
Number of Negro policewomen	Non	
This city has used Negro policemen since	none (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . no (Date)

Comments _____

Date _____ Signed Morton Burnett

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 2
NCLCV
National Council

CITY Ashland, Kentucky
COUNTY Boyd, County.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	None	
Number of Negro policewomen	None	

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . Never (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August, 31th 1953 Signed Charles F. Howard

Position Chief of Police

CITY / COUNTY NEWPORT, (CAMPBELL COUNTY)

Ky

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . (Year)	0	0
or		
This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)	0	0

Comments none

Date Sept. 12th, 1953 Signed W. T. Denley

Position Acting Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 21
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 26
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-24-53 Signed [signature]

Position Chief of Police

AUG 25
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Greenville, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	none	none
Number of Negro policewomen	none	none
This city has used Negro policemen since	Never had Negro Policemen (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments We do not have colored policeman at the present,

Date AUG 23 1953

Signed J H Jennings Jr

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF LAREDO, TEXAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . Never
(Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . .
(Date)

Comments

Date 8-24-53

Signed A. V. Navarro.

Position Police Clerk

CITY OF San Angelo, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments THIS DEPT. HAS NEVER USED NEGRO POLICEMEN.

Date Aug. 24, 1953

Signed Clarence Lowe

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 2

CITY OF Tyler, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	NONE	
Number of Negro policewomen	NONE	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . Never (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . Not known (Date)

Comments The City Commission has never authorized hiring of Negro Police Officers in the City of Tyler.

Date ~~Aug. 31, 1953~~ Signed D. E. Butler

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Alexandria, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . indefinite (Date)

Comments

"hen it is deemed necessary by the Superintendent of Police.

Date 8-24-53

Signed Russell A Hawes

Position Superintendent of Police

Two Negroes Are Given Positions On Police Force

Monroe (La) News-Star
9-8-53

"In view of the fact that the chiefs of the police department are in favor of the appointment of two Negro officers to work the Negro section of Monroe solely, and also in view that these men have been cleared through the Civil Service, I hereby authorize their appointments," spoke Mayor John E. Coon in behalf of the Monroe city council, which met in his office at 10 a.m. Tuesday.

The Negroes appointed were Ansley Reed and Roosevelt Hattan. Also appointed to the Monroe police department was Joseph A. Battaglia.

This issue, which has been under consideration of the city council, brought much discussion from the floor. Chief of Detectives Hugh Tolbert stated "I feel that these Negroes would be very beneficial to the police department. Numerous times we have had to rely on the Negro population for information, which has led to the apprehending of criminals. I feel that the city of Monroe could use them very successfully. Also, in other communities in Louisiana such as New Iberia and Lafayette, the use of Negro policemen has proved very helpful."

Also in favor of their appointment was Assistant Chief of Police George Woods. "I feel that it would be very wise to employ the Negroes often and they could better obtain information than a white officer. Also the use of Negro policemen would relieve the white officers on duty there now," the assistant said.

Stating in final accord for the Negro appointment, Chief M. L. Peters said, "Our Negro population is large enough to justify the use of Negro officers, and it would be wise to employ them.

In answer to the question of whether they would be assigned to the Negro section alone, which was submitted by Mayor Coon, Chief Peters stated that he felt that it would be the only way he could approve the appointments.

Also passed in City Council, before it recessed until 2 p.m. Tuesday was the payment of some bills, submitted by Frank X. Cline, commissioner of Finance and Utilities.

Follow-up letter

+

responses

C. M. EZELL, CHIEF

DIAL 7831 - 7832 - 2509

CITY OF MARSHALL
TEXAS
POLICE DEPARTMENT

Marshall Texas Nov 23rd 1953.

Mr Geo S Mitchell, Executive
Director.
Southern Reginal Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Sir-

Your letter of November 20, 1953, Regarding Negro Police personnel, We do not have any Negro Officers in the City of Marshall, Texas.

Yours truly.

C M Ezell,
Chief Police.

By W S Allen,
Desk Sgt

RECEIVED
NOV 24
Southern Regional Council

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
NOV 25
Southern Reg

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 20, 1953

Dear Sir,

For several years past you and the other Chiefs and Sheriffs in the Southern states have most kindly let us have on request the facts as to the employment of Negro police personnel.

We are grateful for your aid in this, and take pleasure in sending you the table compiled from the responses as of September, 1953.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

ah
encl

Nov. 23 53

In reply to the above request we do not have any negro Policemen.

Yours truly

W. E. Erkman
Chief of Police

El Dorado, Ark

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

ah
encl

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE, Atlanta, Ga.

November 20, 1953

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1953

The following list of cities and counties employing Negro police is drawn chiefly from a mail survey conducted by the Southern Regional Council in August, 1953. In a few instances cities were listed on the basis of newspaper reports.

City or County	Uniformed Policemen	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Talladega, Ala.	2		
Ft. Smith, Ark.	2		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Jefferson County, Ark.	2(Deputies)		1
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Alachua County, Fla.		1	
Clearwater, Fla.	3(1 School)		
Dade County, Fla.		3(2 Deputies, 1 School)	
Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7		2
Deland, Fla.	1		
Escambia County, Fla.	2(Deputies)		
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	2		
Ft. Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
Jacksonville, Fla.	14		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	49	3	
Ocala, Fla.	2		
Orlando, Fla.	4		
Panama City, Fla.	1		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
Tallahassee, Fla.	3		
Tampa, Fla.	5	3	
West Palm Beach, Fla.	7	2	
Albany, Ga.			1(School)
Atlanta, Ga.	12		10(School)
Augusta, Ga.	8		5(School)
Columbus, Ga.	4		
Macon, Ga.	4		4(School)
Savannah, Ga.	10	2	
Hopkinsville, Ky.	3		
Jefferson County, Ky.	6(Deputies)		
Lexington, Ky.	6		1
Louisville, Ky.	29	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		1(School)

City or County	Uniformed Policemen	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
Caddo Parish, La.	1(Deputy)		
Lafayette, La.	3		
Monroe, La.	2		
New Iberia, La.	2		
New Orleans, La.	6	6	12(School)
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoski, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	4		
Carrboro, N. C.	2		
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	10	2	5(School)
Fayetteville, N. C.	4		1(School)
Gastonia, N. C.	4		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	9		
Greenville, N. C.	1		
Guilford County, N. C.		1(Deputy)	
High Point, N. C.	6	2	
Kinston, N. C.	3		
Lenoir, N. C.	2		
Morganton, N. C.	2		
Raleigh, N. C.	5		
Reidsville, N. C.	2		
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2		1(School)
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Wilson, N. C.	2		
Winston-Salem, N. C.	13		6(5 School)
Enid, Okla.	2		
Lawton, Okla.	2		
Muscogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla.	8	6	
Ponca City, Okla.	1		
Stillwater, Okla.	1		
Tulsa, Okla.	10	5	1
Tulsa County, Okla.	1(Deputy)	1(Deputy)	
Beaufort, S. C.	2		
Beaufort County, S. C.	2	1	3
Charleston, S. C.	8	1	6(School)
Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Darlington, S. C.	1		
Dillon, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	3		
Hartsville, S. C.	1		
Horry County, S. C.	2		

City or County	Uniformed Policemen	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
Lake City, S. C.	2		
Marion, S. C.	1		
Mullins, S. C.	1		
Orangeburg, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartenburg, S. C.	1		
Sumter, S. C.		2	
Timmonsville, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7	2	1(Matron)
Davidson County, Tenn.		7(Deputies)	
Knox County, Tenn.	2	8	
Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
Memphis, Tenn.	16		3(School)
Nashville, Tenn.	14		12(School)
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1		
Dallas, Tex.	2	2	
El Paso, Tex.	4		
Fort Worth, Tex.	4		
Galveston, Tex.	10	4	
Galveston County, Tex.	14	6	
Harris County, Tex.		2(Deputies)	
Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Lubbock, Tex.	2		
Orange, Tex.	2		
Port Arthur, Tex.	4		2
San Antonio, Tex.	9	2	1
Travis County, Tex.		1(Deputy)	
Temple, Tex.	2		
Waco, Tex.	1		
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Nansemond County, Va.		1	
Newport News, Va.	6		3(School)
Norfolk, Va.	6	1	2
Norfolk County, Va.			2
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	2		
Princess Anne County, Va.	2		
Richmond, Va.	11	3	1
Roanoke, Va.	4		

	States	Cities	Counties	Uniformed	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
TOTALS	13	112	18	545	87	90

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

1953 Negro Police Survey
Comments from Southern Chiefs and Sheriffs

Hot Springs, Ark. "Satisfactory."

Clearwater, Fla. "Their work has been satisfactory in handling our colored population, and has eliminated possible civil rights infringements, which any law enforcement officer subjects himself to while enforcing the law with colored people."

Deland, Fla. "We find Negro policemen are a great help. Would not be without one."

Gainesville, Fla. "These officers were chosen for their known good character, discretion and fidelity to duty. Their behavior, services and discharge of duty has been very satisfactory."

Melbourne, Fla. "We have a fine man and are well pleased with him."

Ocala, Fla. "Negro Policemen are paid on the same scale as our regular police and are given the same benefits."

Orlando, Fla. "Have proved very satisfactory."

Panama City, Fla. "This man has made us a good policeman. I think any city or county should have a colored policemen where they have a colored population.

Atlanta, Ga. "We plan to add more Negro police from time to time as they are needed and as we can train them."

Columbus, Ga. "These officers are doing a good job."

Macon, Ga. "We hired two officers in 1951 as an experiment, but found them to be entirely satisfactory so added two more in 1952."

Savannah, Ga. "They are doing a splendid job."

Hopkinsville, Ky. "We are well pleased with Negro officers and they are doing an excellent job. One of the above officers is coming up for promotion to sergeant."

Louisville, Ky. "They have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination, or mistreatment of the colored people by white officers."

New Iberia, La. "Very satisfactory in Negro district."

Gulfport, Miss. "These two men are doing a fair job."

Indianola, Miss. "Our Negro policeman, Nathaniel Jacks, has been and is still satisfactory in every respect. He works with his own color and is LAW AND ORDER with his race. He is called upon many times by the law enforcement officers of this community to work with them. Our policeman is an asset to our city, he is polite, honest, and respected by both races, white and colored."

Ahoskie, N. C. "This officer has done a very good job."

Asheville, N. C. "They have proven satisfactory."

Durham, N. C. "The use of Negro police officers has proved very satisfactory in this city. This city is thoroughly sold on making use of Negroes as law enforcement officers."

Guilford County, Greensboro, N. C. "We have one colored deputy sheriff and his work has been excellent. We pay him a full-time salary and furnish him with a car that is equipped with radio."

Fayetteville, N. C. "The Negro policewoman works entirely in school areas with school traffic and has proven a capable worker. Three of the Negro policemen have proven to be very capable, intelligent, and reliable policemen. They are well liked by other officers of the Police Department and have been a definite asset to the Department."

Greenville, N. C. "The Negro officer employed by this department has proven satisfactory."

High Point, N. C. "Negro Policemen have proven satisfactory to the City."

Kinston, N. C. "So far, the work has been satisfactory."

Lenoir, N. C. "Results, very good."

Ponca City, Okla. "If the right type Negro is employed, which is entirely up to the employer, a Negro officer can be one of the best, most reliable and respected on any department. In my tenure as chief of police we have had two different Negro policemen; the first one was not reliable in any way, was not respected and we had a lot of trouble with our Negro people; at the present time we have a highly respected Negro officer and have had very little trouble with our Negro population in the six years he has been employed; his own personal conduct is beyond reproach and he is firm and impartial in his enforcement. I would recommend a Negro officer any time, if he is the right type to earn and keep the respect he deserves."

Stillwater, Okla. "Duties: satisfactory."

Tulsa County, Tulsa, Okla. "These boys are doing an ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ exceptionally good job and we are very proud of their work."

Beaufort, S. C. "The colored policemen have been very helpful in enforcement of the law in colored areas."

Beaufort County, Beaufort, S. C. "Jessie Laurence has been a policeman and deputy sheriff of Beaufort County, S. C. for 48 years. Very efficient."

Charleston, S. C. "I would like to state that they have been serving our community well."

Conway, S. C. "Negro police have been a big help in law enforcement in the Negro section of the city."

Lake City, S. C. "The colored policemen are doing a good job. It really works out O K here."

Mullins, S. C. "This man is making us a good officer."

Rock Hill, S. C. "We think our colored officers have done a fine job."

Timmonsville, S. C. "We have been cautious about hiring a Negro policeman, trying our best to get one that will best fill the job."

Chattanooga, Tenn. "They have worked out very satisfactorily."

Fort Worth, Tex. "These officers are foot patrolmen in Negro populated areas and are doing a good job."

Galveston, Tex. "Satisfactory service."

Orange, Tex. "We have had very good service by having colored police in our colored town. They are in closer contact with the colored people and know their habits better than we do."

San Antonio, Tex. "Applicants are appointed in this Department on the basis of grade made in entrance examination conducted by the Civil Service Commission, and after clearing physical examination and character reference check. Promotions are based on examination grades which combines written examination, efficiency, and longevity. Neither race nor color are a factor in either qualifying function."

Travis County, Austin, Tex. "We find our colored deputy very efficient."

Cape Charles, Va. "The writer (Mayor) believes it is a good idea to employ Negro policemen for the Negro sections of the town or city."

Newport News, Va. "Our Negro policewomen work part time for school traffic only, and are doing an excellent job. Our Negro policemen have been a great asset to our Police Department and are also doing an excellent job as police officers."

Richmond, Va. "Work in the colored districts. Services are satisfactory in most cases."

QUOTES FROM 1953 POLICE SURVEY

Hot Springs, Ark. "Satisfactory"

Clearwater, Fla. "Their work has been satisfactory in handling our colored population, and has eliminated possible Civil Rights infringements, which any Law Enforcement Officer subjects himself to, while enforcing the law with colored people."

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✓ Columbus, Ga. "These officers are doing a good job."

✓ Macon, Ga. "We hired 2 officers in 1951, as an experiment, but found them to be entirely satisfactory so added 2 more in 1952."

✓ Savannah, Ga. "They are doing a splendid job."

✓ Louisville, Ky. "They have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination, or mistreatment of the colored people by white officers."

Gulfport, Miss. "These men are doing a fair job."

✓ Indianola, Miss. "Our negro policeman, Nathaniel Jacks, has been and (is) still satisfactory in ever(y) respect, he works with his own color, and is LAW AND ORDER with his race. He is called upon many times by the Law Enefocement Officers of this community to work with them, our policement is an asset to our City, he is polite, honest, and respected by both races, white and Colored."

Ahoskie, NC "This officer has done a very good job."

Asheville, NC "They have proven satisfactory"

✓ Durham, NC "The use of Negro Police officers has proved very satisfactory in this city. This city is thoroughly sold on making use of Negroes as law enforcement officers."

✓ Guilford County (Greensboro), NC "We have one colored deputy sheriff and his work has been excellent. We pay him a full time salary and furnish him with a car that is equipped with radio."

✓ Fayetteville, NC "The Negro policewoman works entirely in school areas with school traffic and has proven a capable worker. Three of the Negro Policemen

have proven to be capable, intelligent and reliable policemen. They are well liked by other officers of the Police Department and have been a definite asset to the Department."

Greenville, NC "The Negro officer employed by this Department has proven satisfactory."

High Point, NC "Negro policemen have proven satisfactory to the City."

Kinston, NC "So far, the work has been satisfactory."

Lenoir, NC "Results, Very Good."

Ponca City, Okla. "If the right type negro is employed--which is entirely up to the employer, a negro officer can be one of the best, most reliable and respected on any department. In my tenure as chief of police we have had two different negro policemen; the first one was not reliable in any way, was not respected and we had a lot of trouble with our negro people (there are approximately 1000 of them); at the present time we have a highly respected negro officer and have had very little trouble with our negro population in the 6 years he has been employed; his own personal conduct is beyond reproach and he is firm and impartial in his enforcement. I would recommend a negro officer any time, if he is the right type to earn and keep the respect he deserves."

Stillwater, Okla. "Duties--satisfactory."

Tulsa County (Tulsa), Okla. "These boys are doing an exceptionally good job and we are very proud of their work."

Beaufort, SC "The colored policemen have been very helpful in enforcement of the law in colored areas."

Beaufort County (Beaufort), SC "Very efficient"

Charleston, SC "I would like to state that they have been serving our community well."

Conway, SC "Negro Policemen have been a big help in law enforcement in the Negro section of the City"

Lake City, SC "The Col. Policemen are doing good job. It realy work out OK hear."

Mullins, SC "This man is making us a good officer."

Rock Hill, SC "We think our colored officers have done a fine job."

Timmonsville, SC "We have been cautious about hiring a negro policeman trying our best to get one that will best fill the job."

Chattanooga, Tenn. "They have worked out very satisfactorily."

Fort Worth, Tex. "These officers are foot patrolmen in negro populated areas and doing a good job."

Galveston, Tex. "Satisfactory Service."

Orange, Tex. "We have had very good service by having colored police in our colored town. They are in closer contact with the colored people and knwo their habits

better than we do."

San Antonio, Tex. "Applicants are appointed in this Department on the basis of grade made in entrance examination conducted by the Civil Service Commission, and after clearing physical examination and character reference check. Promotions are based on examination grades which combines written examination, efficiency and longevity. Neither race nor color are a factor in either qualifying function."

Travis County (Austin), Tex. "We find our colored deputy sheriff very efficient."

Cape Charles, Va. "The writer believes it is a good idea to employ negro policemen for the negro sections of the town or city."

Newport News, Va. "Our Negro Police women work part time for school traffic only, and are doing an excellent job. Our Negro Policemen have been a great asset to our Police Department and is also doing an excellent job as police officers."

Richmond, Va. "Services are satisfactory in most cases."

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Distribution
7963

1953 Negro Police Survey

Attached letter and questionnaire sent to the following sources August 8, 1953:

1) All police chiefs and sheriffs on SRC's 1952 Negro police list

2) All towns of 50,000 or more population in 13 Southern states not already on police list

3) All towns of 20,000 or more population in these states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas.

4) Thirty-four county sheriffs picked at random from list of cities who have had police for some time.

All counties with city police — all counties with cities 50,000+

Working copy of list attached.

Total chiefs and sheriffs queried: 195

Response: 65%

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

For several years now, the Southern Regional Council has kept as accurate a record as possible of the employment of Negro police in the South. This information has been much in demand. It has proved particularly helpful to chiefs of police and sheriffs considering the addition of Negro police as an aid to law enforcement in their communities.

If your city or county is among the many Southern law enforcement agencies using Negro police, please fill out the enclosed questionnaire and return it to our office. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

We greatly appreciate your cooperation in keeping our records accurate and up-to-date.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

ah
encl

CITY
COUNTY _____

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen	_____	_____

This city / county has used Negro policemen since . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city / county will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Date _____ Signed _____

Position _____

Also send to: cities 50,000+ (19)

~~Sheriff, Caddo Parish, Shreveport, La.~~

Chief of Police, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Chief of Police, Lake City, SC
Chief of Police, Albany, Ga.
Chief of Police, Kinston, NC
Beaufort, SC

Alexandria, Va
Baton Rouge, La
Birmingham, Ala
Covington, Ky
Gadsden, Ala

Laredo, Tex
Greenville, SC
~~Montgomery~~, Ala
San Angelo, Tex
Shreveport, La
Wichita Falls, Tex
Jackson, Miss
Mobile, Ala.
Pensacola, Fla.

County Sheriff — (34)

Caddo Parish, Shreveport, La
Nansemond County, Suffolk, Va
Pinellas County (St. Petersburg), Fla.
Pulaski County (Little Rock, Ark)
Dade County (Miami), Fla
Fayette County (Lexington), Ky
Jefferson County (Louisville), Ky
Mecklenburg County, NC (Charlotte) NC
Durham County, (Durham), NC
Duval County, Jacksonville Fla
Oklahoma County, Oklahoma city, Okla
Tulsa County, Tulsa, Okla
Knox County, Knoxville, Tenn
Marion County, Chattanooga, Tenn
Shelby County Memphis, Tenn
Fulton County, Atlanta, Ga
Travis County, Austin, Tex

(over)

Jefferson County, Beaumont, Tex
Galveston County, Galveston, Tex
Harris County, Houston, Tex
Bexar County, San Antonio, Tex
Norfolk County, Norfolk, Va.

2/8/

~~High Point, NC~~ —
Ft Myers, Fla — Lee County
2/8/ Raleigh, NC — Wake County
W-S, NC — Forsyth County
Muskogee, Okla — Muskogee, Okla
~~Sarasota, Fla~~ —
Orlando - Fla — Orange
Savannah, Ga — Chatham County
Burlington, NC — Alamance County
Rocky Mt, NC — Edgecombe County
~~Stilwell, Okla~~
Charleston, S.C — Charleston County
Columbia, SC — Richland County
Sarasota, Fla — Sarasota, County
Richmond, Va — Henrico County
~~Portsmouth, Va~~

Cities 20,000 plus not reached by 1st list (40)

Ala — _____, Florence, Bessemer, Anniston

Ark — Pine Bluff, El Dorado, Fort Smith, Texarkana

Fla — Ft. Lauderdale, Lakeland, Panama City

Ga — [We know] OMIT

Ky — Ashland, Newport, Paducah

La — Alexandria, Lafayette, Lake Charles, Monroe

Miss — [Biloxi, Greenville, Hattiesburg, Laurel, Meridian
Vicksburg, Natchez.] OMIT

NC — Wilmington

Okla — Enid, Lawton, Norman, Ponca City Shawnee,

SC — [LTH + IDUF coverage] OMIT

Tenn — Jackson, Johnson City

Tex — Brownsville, Brownwood, Abilene, Denton, Ft. Worth
Harlingen, Longview, McAllen, Marshall, Midland,
Odessa, Paris, Sherman, Temple, Tyler

Va — [Charlottesville, Danville, Lynchburg] OMIT
SNL + GUIDE coverage

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Job Opportunities Project for Minorities

2600 Flora Street

DALLAS 4, TEXAS

TELEPHONE PR-4861

NATIONAL OFFICE
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Olcutt Sanders, *Executive Secretary*

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Applicants and Advisers

SUBJECT: Job Opportunities for Apprentice Policemen in Dallas

In an interview last week with Chief of Police Carl F. Hansson we learned that there are no longer any Negro policemen in uniform in Dallas. At the present time the four Negro members of the force are assigned as plainclothesmen on the vice-squad.

Chief Hansson states that City Civil Service has not been able to recruit enough qualified Negro applicants for the Apprentice Policemen openings. We both agreed that standards should remain the same for all applicants. In order to prove to the community that the important "showcase" job of police officer can be successfully filled, the following plan is suggested:

1. Refer interested applicants to this office during December.

2. The applicants will be carefully screened and tested. They will receive a special written examination, physical examination, and a record will be made of their background and fitness for the job.

3. A few of the most competent applicants will then be referred to City Hall by January 1, 1954 to take the City Civil Service Apprentice Policemen examination, and their records from this office will accompany their applications.

Requirements for Apprentice Policemen:
*Equivalent to high school education.
*Minimum height 5 ft. 8 inches.
*Minimum weight 150 pounds.
*Age 21 through 35.

This important subject will be discussed at the next Advisory Committee meeting (Thursday, December 10, 8 P.M. at this office) and your suggestions and ideas will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Byron Buckeridge
Almita S. Robinson

September 6, 1949

Duplicate list giving date of employment —

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

CITY	DATE EMPLOYED	UNIFORMED	PLAIN-CLOTHES	POLICEWOMEN
Alabama				
*Dothan	9/2/47	1		
Arkansas				
*Hot Springs	4/47	2		
*Little Rock	1942	6		
Florida				
*Clearwater	8/48		2	
*Cocoa	1/49	1		
Dania		1		
*Daytona Beach	1930	5		
*Deland	1932	2		
*Ft. Meyers	1934	2		
*Gainesville	3/46		2	
*Key West	1/1/43	2		
*Melbourne	1947	1		
*Miami	9/44	30		
*Sanford	1933	1		
*St. Petersburg	5/1/49	4		
*Tampa	1945	6		
*West Palm Beach	9/4/48	4		
Georgia				
*Atlanta		6		
*Macon	6/7/48	2		
*Savannah	5/47	10	2	

*Figures obtained August 1949,

CITY	DATE EMPLOYED	UNIFORMED	PLAIN-CLOTHES	POLICEWOMEN
Kentucky				
*Lexington	1939	2		1
*Louisville	8/23	26	6	2
*Owensboro		2		
Mississippi				
*Gulfport	3/1/49	2		
North Carolina				
*Ahoskie	1946	1		
Asheville		2		
* Burlington	Sept 1949	2		
*Charlotte	1939	10		
*Durham	6/44	8		
*Fayetteville	9/12/49	2		
*Gastonia	6/1/48	5		
*Goldsboro	8/1/49	2		
*Greensboro	1944	5		
*High Point	8/9/43	4		
*Raleigh	9/1/49	2		2
Salisbury		2		
*Winston-Salem	1941	7		
Oklahoma				
*Muskogee	1935	2		
*Oklahoma City		7	5	
Tulsa		13		1
South Carolina				
*Clover	11/43	1		
*Columbia	1948	2		
*Conway	1/1/47	2		

*Figures obtained August 1949.

CITY	DATE EMPLOYED	UNIFORMED	PLAIN-CLOTHES	POLICEWOMEN
*Rock Hill	7/15/49	2		
Tennessee				
*Chattanooga	1940	7		
Knoxville		7		
*Nashville	5/1/48	6		
TEXAS				
*Austin	1904	6		
*Beaumont		2		
*Corpus Christi	1938	2		
*Dallas	2/10/47	4		
*El Paso	12/1945	4		
*Galveston	1890	9	6	
Houston	1940	16	1	
Orange, Tex		2		
*Port Arthur	4/3/46	10		
*San Antonio		7	4	
Virginia				
*Cape Charles	1947	1		
*Newport News	5/46	5		
*Norfolk	3/15/46	4	5	
*Petersburg	10/38			1
*Portsmouth	8/48	1		
*Richmond	5/1/48	7		
*Roanoke	6/16/46	6		
CITIES 62		UNIFORMED ~~299~~ 301	PLAIN-CLOTHES 33	POLICEWOMEN 7

Total Negro Policemen and Policewomen in Southern Cities - ~~339~~ 341

* Indicates figures obtained August 1949.

Southern Regional Council
July 2, 1948

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF SOUTHERN CITIES USING NEGRO POLICE

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Punta Gorda, Fla.		1	
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Lakeland, Fla.	12 (auxiliary)		
St. Augustine, Fla.		1	
Atlanta, Ga.	8		
Macon, Ga.	2		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	5	2 (already listed in Oct. New South)	
Nashville, Tenn.	7		1
Gastonia, N. C.	3		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
El Paso, Tex.	2		
Newport News, Va.	5 (listed in Oct. New South as having 4 policemen; have added a fifth since publication of report)		

TOTALS	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
	11	54	244	27	8

S.R.C.
3/8/48
corrected 55/ 48

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES (with sources of information given)

City	Source of Information	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Hot Springs, Ark.	Chief of Police	2		
Lakeland, Fla.	letter of city manager to SRC member	12 (auxiliary)		
St. Augustine, Fla.	letter of city manager to SRC member		1	
Punta Gorda, Fla.	letter from SRC member		1	
Atlanta, Ga.	news paper article	8		
Conway, S. C.	news article in Atlanta Daily World, 12/26/47	2		
El Paso, Tex.	Chief of Police	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	letter from Chairman Intercultural Committee of Corpus Christi YWCA	2		
Gastonia, N.C.	newspaper article	3		
Newport News, Va. (listed in New South with 4 Negro policemen; have recently added a fifth)	newspaper article	5		

TOTALS (correcting those given in New South, 10/47)	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
	10	~~49~~ 50	~~220~~ 228	27	7

Note:

The following cities have recently voted to add Negro police:

Chattanooga, Tenn. ~~4~~ 5 uniform - P.C.
Nashville, Tenn. ~~6~~ 7 " 1 p.w.
Melbourne, Fla. 1
St. Petersburg, Fla. 4 (?)
Houston, Tex. is to hire 12 to 14 additional Negro policemen sometime during 1948; the city presently employs 4 Negro policemen

SRC
1/14/48

The following cities have indicated to the Southern Regional Council that they are planning to hire Negro police some time in 1948:

Atlanta, Georgia --action by City Council, Dec. 1947

Melbourne, Florida (1) (letter from chief of police, 10/15/47

St. Petersburg, Florida (Chief of Police says budget calls for hiring 3 or 4 Negro uniformed officers) --10/1/47

Gastonia, N. C. (Chief of Police told SRC member that 3 or 4 Negro uniformed policemen will be employed as soon as adequate quarters can be arranged. Action already taken by Board of Aldermen--11/5/47)

Houston, Texas -- Houston Chronicle says 12 to 14 additional Negro policemen to be hired in 1948--11/12/47

SEPTEMBER 1949

Vol. 4 No. 9

New South

changes in list, as of 9-20-50

All material presented in New South may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.

363
43
17
423

NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.		2	
Cocoa, Fla.	1		
*Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5		
Deland, Fla.	2		
Ft. Meyers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	~~2~~	~~1~~	
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	~~30~~ 31	1	
Sanford, Fla.	~~1~~ 2		
St. Petersburg, Fla	4		
Tampa, Fla.	6		
West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
Atlanta, Ga.	~~6~~ 12		6 (school)
Macon, Ga.	2		
Savannah, Ga.	10	2 + 2 dep. sheriffs	
Lexington, Ky.	2	1	1
Louisville, Ky.	26	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	~~4~~ 3		
Burlington, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	~~7~~ 10		
Fayetteville, N. C.	~~2~~ 3		
Gastonia, N. C.	5		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	~~5~~ 7		
High Point, N. C.	4		
Raleigh, N. C.	~~2~~ 4		~~2~~ 3 (school)
Winston-Salem, N. C.	7		
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla.	7	5	
*Tulsa, Okla.	~~11~~ 9	5	1
Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	~~7~~ 4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		1
Knoxville, Tenn.	~~4~~ 9		
Nashville, Tenn.	~~6~~ 7		
Austin, Tex.	6		
*Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex.	4		
Galveston, Tex.	9	6	
*Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Port Arthur, Tex.	10		
San Antonio, Tex.	7	4	1
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Newport News, Va.	~~5~~ 7	1	
Norfolk, Va.	4	5	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		
Richmond, Va.	7	1	1
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
Revision TOTALS:	~~12~~ 13	~~62~~ 76	~~301~~ 363	~~33~~ 43	~~7~~ 17 (to 12/15/50)

*Most recent figures: September, 1948

(See 9/20/50 list of add'l cities, included in the above revised totals.)

Southern Church Women Draft Action Program

I AM concerned that our constitutional freedoms are not shared by all our people; my religion convinces me they must be and gives me courage to study, work, and lead others to the fulfillment of equal justice under the law. I will respond to calls from the Southern Regional Council to serve my faith and my community in the defense of justice.

With this pledge, 150 church women leaders from twelve Southern States concluded a two-day conference in Atlanta on "the spiritual approach to social issues." The delegates met September 8 and 9 at the call of the Southern Regional Council, in cooperation with church women's groups and the National Board of the YWCA. The meeting was inter-faith, inter-denominational, and inter-racial.

Guest speaker and participant in the conference was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who is presently serving as the United States delegate on the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. She took part in the workshops Thursday, September 8, and addressed an audience of some 1,800 in the evening. Her subject was "The Declaration of Human Rights and the Community."

Individual Responsibility

Mrs. Roosevelt stressed the responsibility of the individual to work for a broader democracy at the community level. Citing her experiences as a delegate to the United Nations, she declared that every failure of democracy in the nation weakens us in the eyes of the people of the world.

"The economic and military leadership of the United States," she said, "is unquestioned. But we have not yet succeeded in giving the world the moral and spiritual leadership which it so desperately needs."

During the workshop session, Mrs. Roosevelt strongly endorsed the suggestion of Mrs. M. E. Tilly that church women visit the courts and make their influence felt in the interest of equal justice. "I miss my guess," she said, "if you do not find a lot of things that will surprise you."

The conference opened Thursday morning with a keynote address by Mr. Paul D. Williams, president of the Southern Regional Council.

"It is important," he told the conference, "that we ponder our spiritual heritage, for there are many people in the world and in our own country who think otherwise.... In a sense there are no such things as Catholic rights, or Protestant rights, or Jewish rights — or, for that matter, Mongolian rights, or Negro rights, or Caucasian rights. There are only human rights..."

Speakers and Workshops

In the course of the morning, the church women heard Dr. W. J. Faulkner, dean of the chapel at Fisk University, on "The Spiritual Beginnings of Law"; Mr. Morris Abram, Atlanta attorney, on "Law and Morals"; and Mr. Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, on "County Government." The afternoon was devoted to workshop discussion of law enforcement, administration of justice, and "building a spirit of brotherhood" through the church, the press, and the schools.

The night meeting, held in the Wesley Memorial Church, was open to members and friends of the co-sponsoring organizations; the main auditorium, which seats 2,000, was filled almost to capacity. Mrs. Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, gave the invocation, and Mr. Williams introduced Mrs. Roosevelt. Following her speech, hundreds of the audience filed past to speak briefly to her.

Friday morning the conferees held their concluding workshop session, at which a program of action for the home community was adopted. (See page 3.) Mrs. Lowry Hunt reported to the group on a self-survey now being carried out in Madison, Georgia, and urged the church wom-

en leaders to initiate similar self-studies in their own communities. Mrs. Irving Cohn, executive secretary of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, gave an account of the interracial Teachers Institute held annually in that city.

Dr. Hugh Brimm, executive secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, spoke on "The Church: Her Responsibility and Opportunity." A concluding address, "Courage for the Task," was given by Dr. Faulkner. His words summed up the spirit of the entire conference.

"Today," he declared, "we have seen the vision of a new Southland. But we must remind ourselves that for every bit of progress in human relations a price must be paid. Those of us here today will have to pay that price."

A Program of Action

We, as Southern church women joined in a "Fellowship of the Concerned," pledge ourselves to enlist the aid of others in putting the following program of action into effect in our communities:

Law Enforcement

- To inform ourselves of the areas in our communities where law is not equally enforced, and to work for corrective action.
- To do our part to see that opportunity for registration and voting is legally and actually secure for all.
- To visit the courts and make our influence felt in the interest of equal justice.
- To encourage better selection and training of policemen.
- To work for appointment of Negro policemen.
- To commend public officials when they show courage and integrity.
- To call to the attention of authorities violations which are known to us.
- To get in touch with the Southern Regional Council when tension arises and to take all possible local action to prevent violence.

Public Opinion

- To affirm in personal relations and religious and civic work our conviction of the dignity of all human beings and the ideal of equal justice.
- To support and encourage pastors who offer progressive leadership in the community.
- To affiliate with other groups working for the same objectives.
- To discuss problems with our newspaper editors; to commend their good works; and to urge the adoption of improved practices in the handling of racial news (as outlined in the Southern Regional Council pamphlet *Race in the News*).
- To urge local schools to cooperate in using existing materials to build better human relations.
- To begin, on however small a scale, an institute on race relations.
- We endorse the Home Town Self-Survey as a means of self-education and constructive action. (Information available from the Southern Regional Council.)

SRC ANNUAL MEETING

Members of the Southern Regional Council are asked to note that the annual membership meeting will take place Wednesday, November 9, in Atlanta. You will be notified well in advance of the time and place of the meeting.

Meanwhile, make your plans to attend and help shape the future of the South's leading interracial organization.

Law and Discrimination

"You can't legislate morality!"

More often than not, that statement sounds the death knell of any discussion of law and discrimination. And it is a very effective death knell. It is so patently true. It has about it an intimidating ring of finality. The only trouble with the statement is that it silences without answering. For, true though it is, it is also irrelevant. The question is not whether a law can instill in people a particular moral attitude, but whether it can effectively influence their behavior.

That question is particularly timely now, when we are concerned as a nation with ridding our society of undemocratic practices. We have become uncomfortably aware of the eyes of the world upon us. Every example of discrimination, every evidence of "second-class citizenship" for any of our fellow-Americans is magnified to international dimensions. We are convinced, and have set out to convince the rest of the world, that our way of life offers the most in freedom and opportunity for the individual. But we are often on the defensive because of the gap between our ideals and our practices; the failures of our democracy have taken on enormous importance. As a result, many more of us are taking a second look at the sore spots of prejudice and discrimination, and instead of looking away, we are facing ugly facts and seeking ways to remove them.

Two years ago, this growing concern found public expression in the appointment of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The Committee's report offered concrete proposals for controlling the widespread discrimination it had found in our society. Some of the proposals — notably those dealing with legislation — have met with opposition from various sources reflecting various motives. We are concerned here with only one sort of opposition — that which accepts the broad objective of a more democratic society but which questions the effectiveness of legislation as a means to that end.

It is natural that there should be difference of opinion in this field. As yet, there are no hard-and-fast rules for achieving social change. Unfortunately, however, too many people have let their ideas harden at one extreme or the other. There are those who say, "Human relations can only be improved by education." And, at the opposite pole, there are those who know only one answer—"There ought to be a law." With these blanket generalizations, they close their eyes to everything between the two extremes.

The role of law in changing human relations is a mammoth subject. Volumes can be, and have been, written about it. But without attempting to examine and resolve the whole problem, it is useful to look at a few of the arguments currently offered on each side. As in any public controversy, certain stereotypes have developed and, through constant repetition, have obscured the real issues. Each of the exclusive points-of-view in the argument over legislation vs. education rests quite firmly on a set of quite shaky assumptions. Let us look briefly at a few of them.

Laws and Morals

It is a commonly accepted notion that "law" and "morality" are two entirely distinct things. The anti-legal position assumes that, of the two, morality is the more fundamental. Hence, you "can't legislate morals" — but morals can and do produce legislation. According to this view, laws are wholly the product of public opinion, and a law is meaningless unless its provisions are already accepted in custom and tradition. The opposite view holds that law actually generates morals, that the mere passage of a law is grounds enough for assuming its workability. As is so often the case, this is the truth violently torn apart; the two mutilated halves must be put together again before any sound conclusions are possible.

The separation of law and morals is an artificial one. Actually, they are closely interwoven and each is partly the product and partly the producer of the other. The

morals or customs of any society are the rules which the members of that society agree upon as essential to their safety, unity, and order. Those rules most vital to the welfare of the society are usually codified into law. Once enacted, laws become positive influences in the shaping of public attitudes, for they set uniform standards by which people govern their behavior. In this sense, laws too are "education". There is no more effective way to learn new attitudes than by the actual practice of new behavior patterns. This does not mean that no legislation will work unless it is already a part of the folkways. Paradoxically enough, it is quite possible for legislation both to lead and to follow public opinion at the same time. To understand this, we need only pause to remember that our society entertains simultaneously ideals and practices which directly contradict each other. This is the conflict that Myrdal termed the "American dilemma." Our national ideals, as expressed in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, clearly affirm the dignity of each individual and his right to equality of opportunity; yet our day-to-day practices reflect many discriminations completely out of keeping with these ideals. A law which is far ahead of our actual practices may simply affirm an ideal stoutly rooted in our national thinking.

Accordingly, it is not wise to measure public support of a proposed law solely by the yardstick of everyday practices. Even when a majority of people act in a manner inconsistent with the aims of a projected piece of legislation, it does not necessarily follow that the law will prove ineffective. As we have suggested, a law's potential effectiveness must also be measured by how well it harmonizes with our American ideals. Certainly this would tip the scales in favor of legislation designed to strengthen the rights and opportunities of the individual. The common values we regard most highly — in our laws, our institutions, our traditions — are those which guarantee the protection of human rights.

Examples are often cited of laws which, once passed, were openly disobeyed. Admittedly this has happened. But, in most such cases, the laws in question had no deep national roots; they merely reflected the moral standards of special groups at certain times. Consequently, their appeal was limited and most people simply did not accept them as relevant or important. Laws embodying traditional values, however, are seldom openly or widely defied. Such laws are not attempts to "legislate morality." They are public expressions of an already existing morality — sometimes extensively violated, to be sure, but agreed upon by the major groups in our society. When we make the violations punishable, we are not legislating against the inner attitude, but against the outward expression of it.

Prejudice and Discrimination

Prejudice, in one form or another, will no doubt continue to exist for a long time to come. It cannot be eradicated directly by legislation — nor for that matter by "education". As a part of personality, it must be attacked through all the institutions that bear importantly on the individual's experience. That is a long, slow process about which we know much too little. But we do not have to wait for a solution to that problem before we can take action against discrimination. Our laws have always regarded discrimination as behavior detrimental to the general welfare. Although they are not concerned with individual prejudice, the bills of rights of our federal and state constitutions, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, and the civil rights laws enacted by many States all apply directly to acts of discrimination. Implicit in them is the distinction between *prejudice*, a purely private attitude not subject to public regulation, and *discrimination*, overt behavior which expresses prejudice in ways harmful to the persons or groups subjected to it.

This clear distinction between prejudice and discrimination should not obscure their close relationship. Each feeds on, and can be used to justify, the other. It is a fact of history that the disabilities of a minority group are always used to reinforce prejudice against it. For example, members of a group suffering discrimination may react in one of two ways: by accepting their inferior status, however reluctantly, or by openly refusing to accept it. In either case, their behavior provides an excuse for continued discrimination. If they accept a subordinate sta-

tus, the dominant group can point to their lack of resistance as evidence that the minority likes things as they are and is not interested in change. Then, too, the by-products of discrimination — poverty, lack of educaton, "shiftlessness," and low standard of living — can be used to support a theory of in-born inferiority. On the other hand, if members of the handicapped group rebel against the injustice of their lot, their "aggressive" behavior becomes added ground for discrimination. Thus the very conditions created by inequalities provide fertile soil for the growth of further prejudice and discrimination.

Needless to say, all this can work the other way, too. With the elimination of discriminatory treatment, many of the conditions which reinforce prejudice disappear.

Law As A Negative Influence

Law has been an important influence in this vicious circle — unfortunately, not always a positive influence. Nowhere is the effectiveness of legal action in group relations more striking than in those cases where law itself has created or perpetuated discrimination. The classic case, of course, is Negro slavery. Many of the social patterns and public attitudes created by that legal institution still surround us. Although slavery was abolished almost a century ago, other legal instruments served to keep the Negro deprived of full citizenship.

Among these instruments were the decisions of the conservative U. S. Supreme Court in the latter half of the last century. The case of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* in 1896, is a good example. The ruling of the Supreme Court in that case set an important and damaging precedent. The suit involved a Louisiana statute separating white and Negro passengers in railroad coaches. The Court upheld the statute, on the grounds that social prejudices could not be eradicated by law. Mr. Justice Harlan — himself a Kentuckian and former slave-holder — wrote a famous dissent in words so vigorous and so prophetic that they are startling to read, even today. He wrote, in part:

"Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens.... It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a state to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race....

"The destinies of the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all *shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law.* What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments which in fact proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens?...

"If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon the public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race...."

We have only recently seen examples, at the state level, of the relaxation of laws prescribing segregation. In Kentucky, the Day Law, forbidding education of white and Negro students in the same institutions, was amended. This was done to permit the training of sorely needed Negro doctors and nurses in institutions formerly limited to white students only. In Oklahoma, under the pressure of supreme court rulings, laws were altered so that Negro students might be admitted to graduate schools of the state university.

Here were two cases in which laws *enforcing* discrimination had to be modified because their effectiveness was all too great. It was impossible to reduce the discrimination so long as they remained in full force. If the validity of this action is granted, one must conclude that legislation is at least negatively effective in the area of discrimination.

What was substituted in Kentucky was the principle of local option — that is, a transfer of the whole matter from the realm of law to that of private choice. The policy on admission of colored students, instead of being prescribed by law, was left to the decision of the individual institution. This is an intermediate step in

the legislative operation that has received little attention. In those places where adverse public opinion (or public opinion believed to be adverse) has prevented the passage of anti-discrimination laws, it should at least be possible to grant wider latitude to private choice. Those persons who oppose the legislation of "morality" might well apply the same reasoning to the legislation of "immorality." All of our Southern States have laws prescribing more or less rigid patterns of interracial behavior — the net result of which works to the disadvantage of Negro citizens. The removal of many or all of these laws would be eminently consistent with the view that custom and tradition should govern in human relations. In the present situation, it is often difficult to distinguish what is custom and what is simply a legally perpetuated practice.

The existence of discriminatory laws exerts an inhibiting influence on even the purely "educational" efforts to foster better relations. Any attempt to mold more democratic public attitudes suffers from an unsympathetic legal climate. The need everywhere is for responsible persons in the community to support wholesome practices and to take the lead in getting desirable changes. This they are more reluctant to do when the law either expressly sanctions the discriminatory practices or obviously fails to oppose them. The passage of favorable laws — or, at the very least, the removal of adverse laws — can do much to create an atmosphere in which healthy social change will flourish.

The Courts and the Law

The most striking examples of effective legal action in the field of civil rights are the court decisions of recent years. These do not represent the passage of legislation, it is true, but the resemblance is close. What the courts have done is to reinterpret existing law in such a way that quite often the effect was the same as that of new legislation. The most ardent supporter of education as the proper medium of social change must observe that court decisions have proved remarkably effective, even when they have run counter to deeply entrenched public practices.

Ten or fifteen years ago, there was little doubt in most minds that "public opinion" in the South was opposed to Negro suffrage — perhaps as strongly as, today, "public opinion" rejects the proposed civil rights legislation. Then came a series of vigorous court rulings which made it clear that denial of the right to vote cannot be countenanced under our Constitution; and the Negro began to assume his rightful importance as a voting citizen. The right to the ballot is still not secure in all parts of the South. But responsible elements in the region no longer maintain that voting is the white man's exclusive privilege.

How does one account for this change in public attitudes? One view might be that the change would have come even without the intervention of the courts, that the South was ready for the change, and that the explanation is largely one of voluntary acceptance by Southern leadership. The opposite view is that the new public attitude was the direct result of the court decisions, that it was actually created by judicial fiat.

There is a third more plausible explanation. The court decisions in question affirmed a principle of basic equality fundamental to American democracy. Once armed with authority, that principle could not long be defied by thoughtful Southerners without serious misgivings. As is often true in our personal lives, the South needed the force of authority to strengthen its better impulses. Similar instances might be cited in the case of Negro jury service, equalization of schools, and so on. Each of these desirable reforms, prodded by court action, is growing in practice and in public support throughout the South.

This is not to say that *any* legal action based on Constitutional grounds will necessarily achieve the desired end. We have seen, in the Civil War, one outstanding example of the failure of coercion by government. The lesson to be learned from that tragic conflict is the vital importance of statesmanship. The legal mechanism alone is never enough. Moral leadership and an awareness of the social and economic workings of society are indispensable.

Law and Living Conditions

Both proponents and opponents of the civil rights program have largely overlooked the value of legislation that would improve the material status of depressed

groups. The executive committee of the Southern Regional Council put the matter well in its statement on civil rights:

"Jobs and farms and homes and schools and health — these are the underpinnings of civil rights. In all of these basic needs, the South is below the rest of the country, and in the South the Negro population is below the white population. The job is to raise the whole South, white and Negro, up to the level of the rest of the country . . . It is clear that without a conscious and costly national effort general conditions in many parts of the South will remain backward for years to come. We cannot afford the luxury of waiting for slow, unaided growth in those areas."

One of the weaknesses of the civil rights program is its failure to recognize the importance of legislation bolstering the economic position of the most underprivileged segments of our population. For those who do not see the relevance, the executive committee pointed out: "A person, black or white, who can stand on his own feet economically, who can make his own way without fear or favor, is in a much better position to assert his individual rights. Moreover, when men see in their fellow citizens people who are doing about the same kind of work as they, who have pretty much the same education, live in the same kind of houses, and have the same kind of self-respect — then they more cheerfully accord equal rights to all."

Law and Public Policy

A final point should be touched on briefly; that is, the importance of legal protection of human rights to our world position.

Those who oppose federal legislation in the realm of group relations frequently do so from a purely regional or local point of view. This is understandable, but not always valid. For the problem is not of purely regional or local concern. Discrimination in any part of our country works to the discredit of the whole nation in international relations. Hostile propaganda spotlights it and alleges that it is fundamental in our democracy. If we are to exonerate ourselves of this charge, we must make it quite clear that our national policy is firmly opposed to discrimination of any kind. The most convincing way to demonstrate this fact is through our national Congress, which is the only body representing our people as a whole. Thus, it is at least arguable that, even when there is doubt of the complete effectiveness of a particular measure, it may be desirable as an affirmation of public policy. Our statesmen would at any rate be relieved of some of the difficulty in answering charges that our government winks at, or even connives in, various forms of discrimination.

Probably no legislation is ever passed with the unanimous support of every group in our society. Often it is necessary to defer to the wishes of a particular group rather than apply coercion. But when the national welfare is seriously involved, there should be no question of precedence: regional traditions, group interests, or whatever, should voluntarily yield to the broader necessity. If they do not, they may well be over-ridden.

It is a hopeful sign that more and more people in the South are looking at the problem of racial discrimination in the light of national and international opinion. There is greater acceptance of the fact that the entire nation cannot dam back its legislative action until its most reluctant areas are persuaded. We are, in short, realizing that private prejudices and local customs must make way for more urgent demands.

NEW SOUTH

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, SEPTEMBER, 1949

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

1950 Check of Negro Police

All towns listed in Sept. 1949 NS.

Plus:

✓Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	—	no ?
✓Jacksonville, Fla.	—	6 unif.
✓Augusta, Ga	—	6 unif.
✓Baton Rouge, La	—	?
New Orleans, La.	—	2 plainclothesmen
✓Tuskaloosa, Miss.	—	1 Uniform
✓Jackson, Miss	—	?
✓Biloxi, Miss	—	?
✓Clarksdale, Miss.	—	1 unif.
✓Chapel Hill, NC	—	1 unif
✓Carrboro, NC	—	1 unif
✓Reidsville, NC	—	2 "
Salisbury, NC	—	2 "
*Beaufort, SC	—	1
Charleston, SC	—	4 "
✓Darlington, SC	—	1 "
Florence, SC	—	2 "
✓Spartanburg, SC	—	1 "

*1947 info

Summerton, SC ——— 1 Unif.

Johnson City, Tenn. ——— ?

Memphis, Tenn. ——— 14 Unif.

Amarillo, Tex. ——— 2 Unif.

~~Beaumont, Texas ——— ?~~

Orange, Texas ——— 2 unif.

Letters to towns where # of Negro police is unknown will have to be individually typed (6 of these).

Police - Negro

January 3, 1950

Mr. Morroe Berger
American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Berger:

Here are our figures on Negro policemen in the South. I believe the confusion resulted from a faulty news story which consisted largely of typographical errors.

Enclosed is a copy of September 1949 New South and a typewritten supplement which brings that listing up to date, to the best of our knowledge. The revised totals on the typewritten sheet are probably what you will want to use. Also enclosed is a page from September 1948 New South which carries a table for that date and, on the reverse side, the totals for 1947.

The listing of Negro policemen is a continuous job. No sooner do you get it completed than revision is needed. But the Council has tried hard to keep an accurate count, and I think our figures are the most complete.

If more clearing up is needed, let me know and I will answer quickly. Meanwhile, I look forward to seeing the advance copy of the Balance Sheet.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enclosures

MORROE BERGER
89-40 RUTLEDGE AVENUE
GLENDALE, L. I., NEW YORK

RECEIVED
JAN 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dec. 31, 1949

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Going over some balance-sheet material at home, I find some confusion in our files with respect to the Conference's reports on the number of Negro police officers in Southern cities. I think the best thing for us would be a simple statement from you as to your data on the number of such officers and the number of cities employing them.

In order that we may accurately compare the 1949 figures with those for 1948, would you please let me know whether the following quotation from our balance-sheet for 1948 is correct or incorrect?

"In October, 64 Southern cities were using a total of 236 Negro police officers, an increase of 8 cities and 43 officers over 1947."

Some of the confusing material we have seems to suggest the foregoing statement is incorrect.

I'd appreciate your replying to me at the Office of the American Jewish Congress, 1834 Broadway, N.Y. 23, N.Y. We are very grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

Morroe Berger

P.S. We hope to be able to send you a mimeographed preliminary copy in about a week — that also tells you we'd like your reply quickly, if convenient. Thanks again.

Police — Negro

March 22, 1950

Mrs. Irving H. Cohn, Executive Secretary
New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

What a good plan!

Guy Johnson at Chapel Hill, North Carolina probably knows more than any one else about criminology and police administration in the South, and you ought to write him for some suggestions.

The best I can say is that the Personnel City Manager in Charlotte, North Carolina, Mr. Henry A. Yancy has had rich experience in the field. He himself brought the first Negro policemen to Greensboro and then brought them into Charlotte. I am trying to find in the files a speech of his that will give you some of his points. He is well liked in Charlotte as he was in Greensboro. I do not know him personally.

Joseph D. Lohman is, of course, the best in the country and you ought to try hard to get him.

Gordon Lovejoy could tell you whether somebody on the Miami force would be really helpful or not.

Such instances as I have heard of of Negro police themselves addressing smallish audiences on their work have been excellent.

I think very probably the chief here in Atlanta would do you a good job. He is a gentlemanly person who always wanted Negro policemen and is delighted that he has them. His name is Herbert Jenkins. If Atlanta, with its overhanging state problems, can do it and do it well, that ought to be a fairly good push to New Orleans.

Keep in mind the rural side of the problem. Negro deputy sheriffs are quite as much needed as are Negro policemen. A few southern counties have them.

Sincerely,

GSM:wgd

George S. Mitchell

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1122 LOWERLINE STREET

NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

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MR. ROSWELL WEIL
MR. ERNEST WRIGHT

March 16, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Committee has decided to invite one of two police superintendents from Southern cities to come here to speak at a membership meeting which will be open to the public. We want them to talk about their experiences with Negro police in their communities and perhaps have one of them bring with him one of the Negroes on his force. We need some suggestions and turn to you. Naturally we'd like someone who is a good speaker and who could present the subject in a sympathetic manner.

This week a group of us went to see our superintendent and the man who is head of police training here and made the enclosed sugges tions to him. We were well received and were told that we would be hearing from them. They plan to begin their program in about three months. Prior to this they have done nothing for the past eight or nine months as they have been busy building a school with their own labor. So we're hopeful that we can do something about one of our local problems, even though this is an indirect approach. I pass it on to you as police brutality must be a problem in many Southern communities.

We're also planning to have a study group composed of public school teachers next fall who will use human relations materials in their classrooms and then discuss and evaluate that material in the study group. Another big project is another Institute on Human Relations such as was held about four or five years ago. You'll hear more from us about this.

My best regards,

Sincerely,

Helen

Plans are being made for a Police Training Institute at the University of Louisville. Capt W.G. Keefer of the Louisville Crime Prevention Bureau and Capt. G.C. Kopp, of the Police Education Bureau are working with University officials and others. The tentative plans call for three twelve week sessions beginning in September, January, and April, over a five year period. Police from all over the South will attend , twenty-five (?) at each session. It is hoped that sufficient funds will be obtained to pay all their expenses, traveling, maintainence, and tuition, so that the cost to a city sending one or more officers will only be that of continuing his salary for twelve weeks during his absence.

Below is the tentative content of the courses to be offered:

1. Legal aspects of Police Adminitsration
2. Police Organization and Administration
3. Socio-legal Problems of the Southern Region
4. Crime Prevention and Juvenile Delinquency
5. Teaching and In-service Training Methods
6. Scientific Investigation and Identification
7. Criminal Psychology and Sociology
8. Police Records System
9. Police Patrol and Communications
10. Combat Methods and Safety Techniques
11. Traffic Control

We recommend that when this Institute is set up, possibly next fall, one or more policemen be sent from New Orleans.

We also recommend that some training in minority problems be introduced in the regular training for new members of the police force, for the regular members of the force, and for members of the Juvenile Bureau. We suggest that the material listed below be integrated into the courses by devoting class periods every other day, rather than isolating this material. Consideration should also be given to the suggested order of the sessions.

1st session -- A brief talk by the Mayor or Commissioner McCloskey about the role and efficient and fair police force plays in the progress of our city. Followed by a film, such as Frank Sinatra in " The House I Live In" or BDon't Be a Sucker." Possibly a few minutes of discussion about the film.

2nd session -- A Talk on the moral aspects of police work as related to law and justice. Suggested speakers, Father Vincent O'Connell, Mr. Charles McGavern, or others.

3rd session -- A talk on Crime in the South by a criminologist. Suggested speaker, Dr. Harlan Gilmore of Tulane. Followed by questions and discussion.

4th session -- A panel of two or three persons to discuss the laws dealing with minority groups, due process, and other related legal aspects of police work. Suggested speakers, Dr. Vernon Miller of Loyola, Mr. Monte Lehmann, Mr. Irving Ferman. Followed by questions and discussion.

5th session -- A report and discussion lead by Mr. Scheuring or Major McNamara on " The Police and Minority Groups" by joseph D. Lohman.

6th session -- A talk on criminal psychology and race by a psychologist

7th session -- A panel composed of three or four civic leaders to discuss " What the Negro in New Orleans Wants" suggested persons, Dr. Dent, Mr. Clayton Fritchie of the Item, Mr. Clarence Laws of the Louisiana Weekly, Mr. John McCann, businessman

Police - Negro

March 22, 1950

Mr. Clarence A. Laws
Public Relations Director
The Louisiana Weekly
601 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Laws:

I have mailed to you five copies of each of two issues of New South, with the dope on Negro policemen. The October, 1947 issue has some accounts from cities already using them. There is one copy of a middle issue, with the 1948 table.

We know of five or six other cities that have added Negro policemen since our last "police" issue.

A year after Atlanta had put on its (eight) Negro policemen the Atlanta Journal quoted the Chief of Police as saying that in that year the Negro homicide rate had dropped fifty per cent.

Best luck, and let us know if we can help you further.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

C. C. DEJOIE
PRESIDENT

The Louisiana Weekly

OLDEST AND FOREMOST IN SOUTH LOUISIANA

C. C. DEJOIE, JR.
MANAGING EDITOR

601 DRYADES STREET
NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.
PHONE RAYMOND 6596

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1950
Southern Regional Council

March 20, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am in need of some factual data concerning the employment of Negro police officers in Southern communities and some of the methods and techniques used in creating the proper climate for such appointments where this was necessary.

In discussing this matter with Mrs. Irving Cohn, Executive Secretary of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, just a few minutes ago, she advised me that a recent issue of the New South gave a very comprehensive picture of Negro police. Unfortunately, I do not have this particular issue even though I am a member of the committee. Mrs. Cohn it seems had distributed all of her copies also.

As you know the Administration of Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison is committed to the appointment of Negro police. I believe if we can assure this administration that it would not be pioneering if it added Negroes to the force and that more than three scores of Southern cities are employing Negro police to fine advantage, we might get some action here.

Thanking you in anticipation of your cooperation in the above, I am

Sincerely yours,

Clarence A. Laws

Clarence A. Laws
Public Relations Director

CAL:dd

Police Negro-

April 18, 1950

Mr. Frank P. Thomas
The Alabama Citizen, Inc.
1307 27th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Sorry to hear that you aren't still at Lincoln, but I value your running your paper.

I met Mr. Swingler in Memphis last week and he said he is about to repair to Lincoln himself for a spell.

We have put out three issues of New South relating to Negro police. The oldest is the best, as giving most coverage of what chiefs, etc., had to say, but the last is a better table, of course.

I send you quite a bundle of them and hope that they will do some good.

Do try to get us a local group in Tuscaloosa. We ought to have it.

The Alabama Citizen comes in each week and is greatly valued.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

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TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
APR 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

April 14,1950

Dr.George S.Mitchell,Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta,Ga.

Dear Mr.Mitchell:

As the result of several unfortunate developments in the affairs of our newspaper,I have been forced to withdraw from school temporarily.This action has caused me deep regret but I had no alternative.I do hope to return soon as I do enjoy the atmosphere of college.

Once more I am in need of your assistance.Don't worry I am not seeking a loan yet.The Council is broke.The Citizen is broke so we are not in position to help in that way.

I am trying to get our city to employ some Negro policemen.You have plenty of data on the use of Negro police in the south.I want copies of the NEW SOUTH with this information plus other that you may have.I shall write police officials in these cities concerning the efficiency of Negro police and publish their replies.I will also try to obtain pictures of these Negro policemen and use these too.

I am happy to report that the local interracial committee is doing a nice job.I will send you the names of several persons to write concerning the formation of a Council here. You may rest assure that I will not stop untill we have a local Council in this city.

I am still looking forward to receiving my copy of the NEW SOUTH every month.Do you get the CITIZEN I send each week ? If not please inform me immediately so that I can check your name with the mailing list.

Sincerely

Frank P.Thomas

Frank P.Thomas

FPT:lmt.

RC — Negro Police ~~New South~~

August 25, 1950

Mr. John A. Harris
22 Mary Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Harris:

We were very pleased to receive a copy of your "Progress Report to the Members of the Interracial Committee." Both the story and the telling of it are excellent.

The September issue of New South will contain our annual round-up on Negro policemen in Southern cities. The object, as you know, is to help local people get their own communities to adopt the practice. I wonder if we might have your permission to reprint your "Progress Report" in that issue. It would be useful to our members and friends throughout the South.

Any necessary changes could be made, of course. I myself think it is most effective as it stands. But if, for example, circumstances in Charleston made it advisable to omit the individual names used, that could be easily done. In any case, I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Again, our congratulations to you and to the Committee for an excellent piece of work.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

CITY OF Dothan, Alabama

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	1	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 9-2-1947
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-25-1950

Signed Eddie D. Kelley

Position Chief Of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Little Rock, Ark.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	6	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1942 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... ——— (Date)

Comments At the present time we have no need for additional Colored officers. ~~and~~

Date 8-31-50

Signed M. H. Patts

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1950
NASHVILLE
Southern Regional Office

2

CITY OF Clearwater Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	0	2
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1948 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments Doing a Very Good Job in Colored Section.

Date 8-11-50

Signed Geo. T. McClamma.

Position Chief of Police.

AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Cocoa, Fla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	1	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... about 3 years
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-11-50

Signed E. Rocerin

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Daytona Beach Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	5	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments There has been no change since this information was last furnished

Date _____

Signed T. N. Jackson

Position Chief of Police.

2

CITY OF Deland, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... January 1954 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments 2 Colored one full time one Part time

Date August 11-50 Signed Geo Stone

Position Chief

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... never
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... unknown
(Date)

Comments

Date Aug. 28, 1950

Signed Roland D. Kelley

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

2

CITY OF Key West, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	None
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1942 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments These Negro policemen are used only in colored town, and prove very satisfactory . Of course, if a white man or person gets in trouble down in colored town, the negro policeman always calls a white policeman to do the arresting.

Date August 14, 1950

Signed Maizie R. Albury

Position Deputy City Clerk

AUG 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Melbourne, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	1	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1947 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date Aug. 25, 1950

Signed John D. Thomas
John D. Thomas
Chief of Police

Position _____

CITY OF Miami, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	39	1
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... September, 1944
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments The above total or 40 Negro policemen as of October, 1950. Authority for employing six (6) additional over the present 34 has been approved.

Date August 15, 1950

Signed W. E. Headley

Position W. E. Headley
Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	4	-
Number of Negro policewomen.....	-	-

This city has used Negro policemen since.... May, 1949 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... — (Date)

Comments

Date August 12, 1950

Signed J. R. Reichert

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Sanford Fla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	1 - full time 1 Extra man	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1935 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments ok.

Date 8/12/50

Signed Roy H. Williams

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Tampa, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	6	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1945 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 12, 1950

Signed M. C. Beasley

Position Chief of Police

AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Augusta, Ga.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments There is a probability that this city will employ some Negro policemen sometime in the future, but the date is not definite at this time.

Date Aug. 25, 1950

Signed F. B. Green

Position Chief of Police.

AUG 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Macon, Ga

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	—
Number of Negro policewomen.....	—	—

This city has used Negro policemen since.... June 1948 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments These two officers are doing a good job

Date Aug 11-50

Signed Pen S. Watkins

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Savannah, Georgia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	10	2
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... May 1st 1947
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments It is the experience of this Department that the negro Officers are doing and have done an excellent job of Law Enforcement as well as Race and Public Relations.

Date October 11th 1950

Signed S P Butler

Position Commissioner of Police.

Rec'd Oct 13, 1950
Added to 1950 NS List

CITY OF Lexington, Ky.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	none
Number of Negro policewomen.....	[illegible]	1
This city has used Negro policemen since....	over ten years (Date)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on.....	---- (Date)	

Comments

Date August 12, 1950

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police
Lexington, Ky.

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Louisville, Ky.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	21	6
Number of Negro policewomen.....		2

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1925 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments Included in the uniform officers are 1 Lieutenant ~~and 3 Sergeants~~

5 additional uniform officers will be ~~employed to fill existing~~ vacancies when qualified applicants are available.

Date 26 August 1950

Signed C. E. Hunstin

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Owensboro, Ky.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	—
Number of Negro policewomen.....	—	—

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-12-50

Signed R. S. Wukelich

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Baton Rouge, La

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	0	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments No Negroes have qualified as yet on Civil Service Exams. None have taken the Exams.

Date Aug 15 - 1950

Signed Fred C Parker Jr

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1950
Regional Council

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS, LA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen (Patrolmen)	2*	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has used Negro policemen since	16 June 1950 (Date)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments Appointments made from City Civil Service eligible rosters.

Date 29 August 1950

Signed J. W. Fenerty
James W. Fenerty, Major
Position Supervisor of Personnel.
New Orleans Police Department.

*Total number is 2, whom are presently working in plain clothes.

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

City of Clarksdale

COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT

DELTA LONG STAPLE COTTON

Clarksdale, Mississippi

26 August 1950

KINCHEN O'KEEFE, MAYOR
H. L. STODDARD
WATER AND LIGHT COMMISSIONER
R. E. MONTGOMERY
STREET COMMISSIONER

H. D. SCHERCK
CHIEF OF POLICE
W. R. JOYNER
ASSISTANT CHIEF
VINCENT J. BROCATO
POLICE JUDGE

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

Reference is made to your request for information concerning negro policemen.

This Department does not now use any negro policemen nor does it intend the employment of negro policemen at this time.

In order that your records may be complete we wish to inform you that your present information as indicated on your letter of 11 August 1950 is incorrect.

We would be interested to see a copy of the official roster that you send, if such is distributed.

Very truly yours,

H. D. Scherck,
Chief of Police

HDS/slf

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Biloxi Mississippi

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	None	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	

This city has used Negro policemen since... None (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... None (Date)

Comments None

Date Aug. 12th 1950 Signed B. T. Weber

Position Chief of Police

No. F.E.P.C.

for Biloxi Miss.

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Gulfport, Mississippi

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... First of 1949 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... (Date)

Comments The Mayor and I met with a colored civic group, explained what was most desirable for an appointee, and left the selection to that body, who did a remarkable job. These men were trained along with the white personnel in special one and two week courses and have done a most satisfactory job.

Date Aug. 27, 1950

Signed R. H. Hart
RICHARD H. HART

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
AUG 29 1950

CITY OF Indianola, Miss.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	1	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... Dec. 1948 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments Has proven very satisfactory.

Date August 12 1950

Signed W. W. Billings

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Ahoskie, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	1	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1946 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments Negro Policemen have proved very successful in Ahoskie

Date 8/26/50

Signed J A Bunch

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Asheville, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	3	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1946 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... (Date)

Comments

Work from above has been very satisfactory.

Date Aug. 12, 1950

Signed Erick Hall
E R. Hall

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Burlington, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	—
Number of Negro policewomen.....	—	—
This city has used Negro policemen since....	Sept 1st. 1949 (Date)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on.....	— (Date)	

Comments

Date August 14 1950

Signed D. D. Mathews

Position Chief of Police

AUG 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Charlotte - N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	10	✓
Number of Negro policewomen.....	✓	✓
This city has used Negro policemen since....	1942 (Date)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on.....	✓ (Date)	

Comments This present set up is working entirely satisfactorily.

Date _____

Signed F. M. Littlejohn

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	10	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... July 1, 1945.
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments The hiring of negro policemen has proved very satisfactory for the city of Durham.

Date August 14, 1950

Signed H. E. King,
Position Chief of Police

AUG 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Fayetteville N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	3	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	—	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 10-1-49 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments Negro Policemen has been doing an excellent job in this City.

Date Aug. 15, 1950

Signed S. F. Worrell

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Gastonia, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	5	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... Feb 4th, 1948 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8/12/50

Signed G M Mings - Depu

Position Deputy Clerk

CITY OF Goldsboro N.C

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....2	Yes	X
Number of Negro policewomen.....X		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... August 1.1949
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on.....X
(Date)

Comments They have proven very satisfactury since they were employed

Date 14.1950 August

Signed H. L. Morris

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Greensboro, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	7	–
Number of Negro policewomen.....	–	–

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1944 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments The colored officers are an asset to our Department. They are used in districts populated solely by negroes and they receive coopitation from the white officers + citizens

Date 8-17-50 Signed L L Jarvis

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF High Point, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	4	none
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... August 9, 1943
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments The employment of negro policemen on the force has proven satisfactory.

Date August 12, 1950

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Raleigh N. Car.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	4	0
Number of Negro ~~policewomen~~ School Patrol Women.....	3	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... Several yrs. (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... (Date)

Comments Very Satisfactory

We have had two policemen for several yrs. ~~Eight~~ Seven mos. ago we put on the two others.

Date Aug 25-50

Signed R. R. Hargrove

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Reidsville, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... August 1, 1950
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date August 11, 1950

Signed M. F. Loftis

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF SALISBURY, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... Aug 31, 1949 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments THEIR WORK HAS BEEN VERY SATISFACTORY.

Date 8/25/50

Signed D. L. Shuler
D.L.SHULER, CHIEF

Position 1

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Winston-Salem, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	7	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1944 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-14-50

Signed John M. Gaed

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1950
RICHMOND
Regional Office

CITY OF Muskogee, Oklahoma.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or Several years date not known.

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-12-50

Signed Houston Johnson

Position Identification Officer.

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF TULSA, Okla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	8 patrolmen 1 traffic	5
Number of Negro policewomen.....		1

This city has used Negro policemen since.... a very long time-- almost from the first-
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments We have found that in several cases the Negro officers have succeeded where the white officers failed. We feel that they are not only beneficial, but absolutely necessary

Date August 14, 1950

Signed Fred J. Graves
Fred J Graves

Position Chief of Police
Tulsa Police Department

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Charleston, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	None	None
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since.... None, Yes Prior to 1921
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... 8/16/50?
(Date)

Comments This City is contemplating hiring 4 colored policemen by August 16, 1950.

Date August 12, 1950

Signed Chris H. Ortmann
Chris H. Ortmann

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Columbia S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	4	00
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	00

This city has used Negro policemen since.... approximately 18 months
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... unknown
(Date)

Comments Theme men have been very satisfactory thus far.

Date 8/11/50

Signed L. J. Campbell
L. J. CAMPBELL
CHIEF OF POLICE
COLUMBIA, S. C.

Position

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Conway S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... January 1-47 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-12-50

Signed H. T. Barker
H. T. Barker

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950

CITY OF FLORENCE

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	TWO	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... June 1, 1950 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments No comments at this time

Date August 11, 1950

Signed J A Price

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Rock Hill, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... July 1949 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date Aug. 11,1950

Signed E. M. Hanna

Position Chief

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1950
ARCHIVES
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Spartanburg S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	One	None
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 6-5-1950 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... One - Later on (Date)

Comments This Policeman is doing a very good job.

Date August 26 - 1950

Signed Ralph D. Prince

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

✓

CITY OF Summerton, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	none	none
Number of Negro policewomen.....	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments We have no negro policemen or negro policewomen on our force.

Date 8/11/50

Signed Francis Davis

Position Chief

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Chattanooga, Tennessee

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	7	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	1 Matron

This city has used Negro policemen since.... June 10, 1948
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... -
(Date)

Comments We have found our colored officers to be very satisfactory in the colored districts to which they are assigned. They are not allowed to arrest a white person.

Date August 25, 1950

Signed Ed Ricketts

Position Chief of Police

AUG 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Johnson City Tenn

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments We have 29 white Policemen no Negroes and will not Hire Them

Date aug 11/19/50

Signed Earl Laughrin

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Nashville, Tenn.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	7	None
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 2 years (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... X (Date)

Comments Seven negro policemen were appointed here about 2 years ago.

Date 8/14/50

Signed Paul D. Morrison

Position Secty Police Dept Nashville, Tenn.

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Amarillo, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1948 (May 28)
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments Working out very well. Especially in getting information from the Negro people and recovering stolen goods.

Date _____ Signed A. S. Harper, Chief

Position _____

By D. E. Sipes, Supt.

AUG 1950
RECEIVED
IDENTIFICATION BUREAU

AUG 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF AUSTIN, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	6	0
Number of Negro policewomen,,,

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Corpus Christi

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....2.....	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....0.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1934 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... As replacements when other negro (Date) policeman resign.

Comments

Date August 28, 1950

Signed Roy Fay

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF El Paso, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	4	—
Number of Negro policewomen.....	—	—

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-14-50

Signed W. J. G. Rainger

Position Secretary of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Orange, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	Two	none
Number of Negro policewomen.....	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1942 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments The Colored Officers of our Dept. have proven the fact that they are needed in Police work by doing a good job among their own people.

Date Aug.12,1950

Signed Henry L. Stanfield

Position H.L.Stanfield, Assist. Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF San Antonio, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	7	4
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	1

This city has used Negro policemen since.... Approximately the last forty years
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... Indefinite
(Date)

Comments This department is fortunate in having very fine colored Police Officers. The duties performed by all of them have proven very satisfactory. We do not hesitate in recommending Colored Police Officers for any department having colored citizens in their city.

Date August 29, 1950

Signed Fred Palmer
Fred Palmer,
Chief of Police

Position

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Cape Charles, Va.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	1	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1947 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 28, 1950 Signed R. Gerniwel.

Position Mayor

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	7	1 (Juvenile Officer)
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... May 17, 1946 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... -- (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 12, 1950

Signed J. M. Peach

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1950
NASHVILLE
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Norfolk, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	3	5
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since.... November 7, 1945
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date August 14, 1950

Signed [illegible]

Position Police Chief

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Petersburg Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....		
Number of Negro policewomen.....		1

This city has used Negro policemen WOMEN since.... 1939. (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... (Date)

Comments

Date 9-12-50

Signed Chief W.E. Trayler (W.E Trayler)

Position Chief of Police
Petersburg Virginia

DISCONTINUED
AUG 15 1950
LIBRARY
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Portsmouth, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	1	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... August 1st., 1948
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments The Portsmouth Police Department is under Civil Service and at the present time we have no negroes on the eligible list.

Date August 26th., 1950

Signed L. C. Warren

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Richmond, Va

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	7	1
Number of Negro policewomen.....		1

This city has used Negro policemen since.... May 1st 1946 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... (Date)

Comments Sufficient at present

Date Aug 14/50

Signed D. Farley

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

Stuart A. Bruce
CAPTAIN R. C. FERGUSON
SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE

City of Roanoke, Virginia

August 12, 1950

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We have filled out your questionnaire pertaining to negro policemen and are returning it herewith for your information.

Very truly yours,

Stuart A. Bruce
Superintendent of Police

RSH:dmg

CITY OF Roanoke, Va.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	6	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 6-16-46 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments satisfactory service

Date August 12, 1950

Signed S. A. Bruce

Position Superintendent of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

SRC ~~Negro South~~
Police

August 30, 1950

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

I do appreciate the clippings.

The police one is especially helpful, as it fits into our current putting together of the 1950 figures.

We have written to Mr. John Harris for permission to reprint in the forthcoming police issue of New South, the story of how Charleston managed it.

I have a new and more comfortable car and shall hope some time between now and Christmas to steer its nose to Charleston.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

September 13, 1950

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Childs:

Several weeks ago we received here a copy of the mimeographed "Progress Report" to members of the Charleston Interracial Committee, in which was recounted the history of the successful effort to get Negro policemen employed. We were much impressed with the report as a well written account of how such things happen.

On August 25 I wrote Mr. John Harris and asked permission to reprint the report in the September New South, which is our annual Negro police issue. As yet, we have had no answer.

Since our deadline is upon us, I wonder if I might ask you to help us get whatever consent is necessary to reprint the report. Perhaps Mr. Harris has been out of town, or for some other reason has not been able to give the matter his attention. In any case, if you could prompt an answer from him or one of the other officers, it would help us greatly.

The Charleston experience was a valuable one, and I am sure you will agree that it should be shared.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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1950 SEP 20 PM 12 40

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A.LLM297 PD=GREENVILLE MISS 20 1055A=

HAROLD FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL= TU ATLANTA

:63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ROOM 432 TU ATLA=

:AIR MAIL REPORT ON USE OF NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN TOWNS=

:HODDING CARTER=

RECEIVED
SEP 20 1950
GREENVILLE
Southern Regional Coun

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

AIR MAIL September 20, 1950

Mr. Hodding Carter, Editor
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

We are right in the midst of preparing our annual report on Negro policemen for the next issue of New South, so I must send you the current figures in improvised form.

The table from the September 1949 New South has been revised to show our figures as they stand today. Cities added since last year are listed on the typewritten sheet attached.

Also enclosed is a copy of the Negro police issue of October 1947, which contains two short articles on the successful use of Negro policemen.

I hope this is what you need. If we can be of further help, let me know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc.

September 20, 1950

CITIES TO BE ADDED TO REVISED LIST OF
NEGRO POLICEMEN
IN SOUTHERN CITIES

CITY	NEGRO UNIFORMED POLICEMEN	NEGRO PLAINCLOTHESMEN	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
Jacksonville, Fla.	6		Press
Augusta, Ga.	6		Press
New Orleans, La.		2 (Juvenile officers)	SRC Questionnaire
Indianola, Miss.	1		SRC Questionnaire
Chapel Hill, N.C.	1 (part-time)		Press
Carrboro, N.C.	1 (Part-time)		Press
Reidsville, N.C.	2		Press
Salisbury, N.C.	2		SRC Quesstionnaire
Charleston, S.C.	4		SRC Questionnaire
Darlington, S.C.	1		Press
Florence, S.C.	2		Press
Spartanburg, S.C.	1		SRC Questionnaire
~~Summerton, S.C.~~	~~1~~ 0		~~Press~~ Questionnaire
Memphis, Tenn.	14		Press
Amarillo, Texas	2		SRC Questionnaire
Orange, Texas	2		SRC Questionnaire
TOTAL (To be added to revised list).....	48	2	

Augusta

Esleeck
Glarcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

July 21, 1950

CHANGES AND/OR ADDITIONS TO LIST OF NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES, AS PUBLISHED IN NEW SOUTH, SEPTEMBER 1949

Sanford, Fla.: 2 unif. (Quest.)

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Other	Source
Gainesville, Fla.	2	0	SRC Quest
Jacksonville, Fla.	6	1	Press
Miami, Fla.	39		SRC Quest.
Atlanta, Ga.	12 (6 added since publication of list. Also, Negro police recently equipped with 2 radio patrol cars.)	6 part-time policewomen for school traffic duty.	Press
Augusta, Ga.	6 (To be hired by end of 1950.)		Press
Savannah, Ga.		2 deputy sheriffs	Press
Louisville, Ky.	(1 of Louisville's 26 Negro policemen made a Police Lt.)		Press
New Orleans, La.		2 plainclothes officers in Juvenile Dept.	SRC member
Indianola, Miss.	1		SRC member
Asheville, N.C.	3 (1 added since publication of list.)		SRC Questionnaire
Chapel Hill, N.C.	1 (part-time)		Press
Carrboro, N.C.	1 (part-time)		Press
Durham, N.C.	10 (2 added since publication of list.)		Press
Reidsville, N.C.	2		Press
Salisbury, N.C.	2		SRC Quest.
Charleston, SC	4 ~~(To be hired as soon as trained)~~		Press + SRC mem.
Columbia, S.C.	4 (2 added since publication of list.)		Press
Darlington, S.C.	1		Press
Florence, S.C.	2		Press
Spartanburg, S.C.	1		Press + SRC memb.
Summerton, S.C.	1		Press
Knoxville, Tenn.	9 (2 added since publication of list.)		Press
Memphis, Tenn.	14		Press
Amarillo, Texas	2		SRC member
Orange, Texas	2		SRC Quest.
Richmond, Va.		1 Negro policewoman	Press

Additional Negro Uniformed ~~[illegible]~~ Policemen: ~~[illegible]~~ 58
Additional Negro Policewomen: 7 (6 are part-time traffic duty)
Other additions: 2 deputy sheriffs; 2 plainclothes Juvenile officers

REVISED TOTALS:	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen	Deputy Sheriffs
	13	~~76~~ ~~[illegible]~~ 78	~~341~~ ~~358~~ 359	35	14	2

Sent to All Police Chiefs Queried for 1950 Roundup-
Oct. 4, 1950 — JP7

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 4, 1950

NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES

You will be interested in this most recent tabulation of Southern towns and cities employing Negro policemen. It is based, insofar as possible, on firsthand correspondence with chiefs of police themselves. We are grateful for the cooperation of these officials in keeping an accurate record of this growing practice. The Southern Regional Council will welcome corrections or additions to its figures.

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.		2	
Cocoa, Fla.	1		
*Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5		
Deland, Fla.	2		
*Fort Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
*Jacksonville, Fla.	6		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	39	1	
Sanford, Fla.	2		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Tampa, Fla.	6		
*West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
Atlanta, Ga.	12		6 (school)
Macon, Ga.	2		
*Savannah, Ga.	10	4	
Lexington, Ky.	2		1
Louisville, Ky.	21	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
New Orleans, La.		2	
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	2		
*Carrboro, N. C.	1		
*Chapel Hill, N. C.	1		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	10		
Fayetteville, N. C.	3		
Gastonia, N. C.	5		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N.C.	7		
High Point, N. C.	4		
Raleigh, N. C.	4		3 (school)
Reidsville, N. C.	2		

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Winston Salem, N. C.	7		
Muscogee, Okla.	2		
*Oklahoma City, Okla.	7	5	
Tulsa, Okla.	9	5	1
Charleston, S. C.	4		
*Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
*Darlington, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartanburg, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		1
*Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
*Memphis, Tenn.	14		
Nashville, Tenn.	7		
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
*Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex.	4		
*Galveston, Tex.	9	6	
*Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Orange, Tex.	2		
*Port Arthur, Tex.	10		
San Antonio, Tex.	7	4	1
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Newport News, Va.	7	1	
Norfolk, Va.	3	5	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		
Richmond, Va.	7	1	1
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS:	13	76	363	43	17

* Information based on newspaper account or report from SRC member; not confirmed by Chief of Police in 1950.

SEPT.-OCT., 1950

Vol. 5 Nos. 9 & 10

New South

All material presented in New South may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.

Why An Atlanta School Suit?

By Benjamin E. Mays

THE SUIT filed September 19 by 200 Negro patrons of the public schools against the Atlanta School Board has attracted more attention and discussion than any local suit in recent years. The suit has been condemned by the Atlanta Press and some Negroes have condemned it. It is very difficult for people to speak and write on the subject of race with calm and objectivity, especially when the question of segregation is involved, for segregation is a sacred institution in our native South.

I think it was the great Woodrow Wilson who said that an educated man is one who can lend more light in an argument than heat. It seems to me that since September 19, we have generated more heat on this subject than light. I hope I can shed light and not heat. If I should succeed in helping to clarify a difficult issue, I will have rendered my community a distinct service. Whether I succeed or fail, believe me, my intentions are good.

The purpose of this address, therefore, is to give what I conceive to be the motives that lie behind the suit and to place it in its proper perspective. To argue that the suit makes an attack on segregation because the initiators of the suit want Negro children to go to school with white children is to miss the point entirely. Mixed schools is not the heart of the suit. Negroes opposed the curtain and the partition on the dining cars not because they wanted to eat with white people, but because the curtain and the partition were embarrassing to Negroes and because they set Negroes off as inferior persons. This the Negro resented. Eating with white people on the diner was not the issue.

Dr. Mays is President of Morehouse College and a member of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors. This article was drawn from a speech recently delivered at the Hungry Club of Atlanta. While it deals primarily with the suit filed last month in Federal Court against the Atlanta Board of Education, both the suit and Dr. Mays' comments on it have important implications for the whole South.

'Separate but Equal'

The motive behind the Atlanta suit represents the growing conviction, rightly or wrongly, among Negroes everywhere that there can be no equality under segregation — the growing belief that the "separate but equal" theory is a myth. Even the Negroes who argue that the suit was ill-timed are likely to say when talking among themselves that segregation means inequality. There is a growing conviction among Negroes that if one racial group makes all the laws and administers them, holds all the power and administers it, and has all the public money and distributes it, it is too much to expect that group to deal as fairly with the weak, minority, non-participating group as it deals with its own. If the Negro were a part of the policy making body, the situation might be different — but as things are now the Negro has grave doubts that equality in education

can be reached.

There is also a growing conviction that the gulf of inequality is so wide that in order for the Negro schools to be brought up to the standard of the white schools, appropriations for Negro schools must be increased over a long period — beyond the appropriations for the white schools. This would mean that the rate of improvement in white schools would have to be slowed down while the improvements in the Negro schools would have to be speeded up. The conviction exists among Negroes that the School Board will hardly reverse the appropriations in this way and that it would not accelerate the improvement in Negro schools sufficiently to bring them up to the standard of white schools within a relatively short time.

The Negroes who believe this way may be in error, but there is one thing that sustains their belief. The history of segregation is a history of inequality. History seems to be against the idea of "separate but equal."

Supreme Court Rulings

The Supreme Court seems to say as much. It seems to say in both the McLaurin and the Sweatt cases that segregated education could not be equal. It stated that, even if the school at Houston were equal in faculty and facilities, it would not be comparable to the Law School at the University of Texas. The McLaurin Case in the University of Oklahoma seems to say something similar. McLaurin's education in the University of Oklahoma under segregated auspices was not adjudged to be equal education.

I am convinced that the emphasis in the Atlanta suit has been wrongly placed. The emphasis has been placed on that phase of the suit which speaks of the white public schools being opened to Negroes. The emphasis, if rightly located, would be placed upon the reason why the suit was filed as it was. It says clearly that the conviction exists that that is the only way Negro children of Atlanta can have equal educational opportunities. The stress is not on mixed schools, but on the inequality that results from the dual educational systems. The responsibility, therefore, rests upon those in power to provide equal educational opportunities for all of Atlanta's children. Since our laws plainly say that there must be separation, but equality under separation, it should never have been necessary to file suits anywhere in the South to get what the law provides. The law should have been obeyed from the beginning. Now our own laws and, speaking as a minister, our own sins are catching up with us.

Comparative Facts

Honestly, I do not believe that it sheds much light on the subject to talk about the great improvements that have been made in Negro schools in recent years without at the same time pointing out the improvements that have been made in the white schools in a comparable period. The Atlanta public should know the facts comparatively. For, after all, in a dual civilization such as ours, which insists theoretically upon "separate but equal," one does not run a race alone. It is always a biracial race. We should take a second step. After making the comparison and if we find, as we surely will, that the Negro schools are in the main inferior to the white schools, we should find out in dollars and cents how much it will take to equalize the Negro schools.

We should face this problem honestly and courageously. And if a careful, scientific study should reveal that several million dollars are needed to bring the Negro schools up to the whites, we should accept the findings in good faith and with good intentions. It has been estimated that it would cost the State of Georgia anywhere from $100,000,000 to $175,000,000 to equalize the Negro schools. Is the State of Georgia willing to spend $100,000,000 or $175,000,000 to equalize Negro schools? Are the citizens of Georgia willing to be taxed for this purpose? If not, what is the solution? Then a third step should be taken. We should find out how long it will take to bring the Negro schools up to the standard of the white schools. If it will take ten years or twenty-five years or a century, that would suggest one thing. If it would take two, four, or five years that would be different. We could improve Negro schools for a half-century and not make them as good as the white schools. Honesty, democracy, and the Christian religion all require that we face this situa-

tion with a determination to give every child in Georgia an equal educational opportunity. The burden of proof is upon the South to prove to the world that it can have two separate but equal school systems.

If we believe in the democratic way of perfecting social change, we should be willing to trust the Federal Courts. This is the machinery which our founding fathers have set up as one of the ways to resolve differences and to adjust grievances. Negroes should not be criticized too severely if they take advantage of the democratic way which our founding fathers have bequeathed to us in the Federal Constitution. The Negro has always relied upon the machinery of the law and the courts to gain his objective, the machinery which the white man has created.

Faith in the South

I have another conviction and that is this: When the Supreme Court of the United States hands down a decision that decision will be respected and obeyed. When the highest court of the land speaks, the South, like the rest of the country, obeys. At this point I have faith in my native South. When the United States Supreme Court said that the University of Texas had to admit Sweatt, the University of Texas admitted him. When the Supreme Court ruled against segregation of McLaurin, the University of Oklahoma obeyed the court and stopped segregating him. When the University of Virginia barred a Negro in July, the Attorney General said that the action of the University would not stand up in court, and it did not. The officials of the University of Virginia accepted the ruling of the court and admitted the Negro. The Attorney General of the State of Tennessee has recently ruled that Negroes can attend the graduate, the law, and the dental schools of the University of Tennessee. The people of Tennessee will accept the Attorney General's decision. When the Day Law was amended in Kentucky, the colleges of Kentucky opened their doors to Negroes. Negroes are in the University of Arkansas by the voluntary act of the University.

When in King George County, Virginia, ten Negro children tried to enroll in the white schools in the fall of 1948 because the King George School officials had not followed a Federal Court order of the year before to equalize schools, the parents of the children took the officials to court. In order to equalize the facilities, the local judge suggested that the white school drop science. The white parents rose up in arms. As a result the white school got back its science and the Negroes got a new high school. When the Supreme Court ruled against the curtains and the partition on the dining cars, the South took down the curtains. When the Supreme Court ruled against disfranchising the Negro, the South permitted the Negro to vote. The South does not flaunt the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. I have faith to believe that we in Georgia will respect the decisions of the Federal Courts.

If the Negroes were resorting to illegal, un-Constitutional, undemocratic means to achieve their rights, they should be greatly condemned. But as long as they trust the peaceful ways of the Federal Courts, we should be calm and poised and wait with patience the decision of that Court. There is no need to be panicky, there is no need for rabble-rousing, this is no time for name calling, and there is no need for fear. For when we get through rabble-rousing, the question will still be: Can there be two separate but equal school systems?

I conclude, as I began. Let us not confuse the issue. The question is not mixed schools; the question is — can there be equality in segregation?

SRC ANNUAL MEETING

Members of the Southern Regional Council are asked to note that the annual membership meeting will take place Wednesday, November 8, in Atlanta. You will be notified by an enclosure with this *New South* of the time and place of the meeting.

Meanwhile, make your plans to attend and help shape the future of the South's leading interracial organization.

Southern Graduate Schools Come Abreast of Court Decisions

THE DOORS of Southern graduate and professional schools are opening to Negro students. Little more than four months ago, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the University of Texas must admit a Negro student to its law school. At the same time, the Court held that the University of Oklahoma must stop treating a Negro student, already admitted, differently from white students. In both cases, the Court repeated the doctrine already advanced by the Gaines decision of 1938, the Sipuel decision of 1948, and others. That doctrine, briefly, is that the state must provide its Negro citizens equal educational opportunity within state boundaries "as soon as it does for applicants of any other group."

The Court went a step farther in the Sweatt and McLaurin cases by defining more completely what it meant by equal. It had already established that equality is not achieved by the state's agreeing to pay a Negro's tuition at an out-of-state school. Nor, it now added, is it achieved by hastily erecting a building, stocking it with a collection of books, staffing it with a few teachers, and labeling it a "separate-but-equal" law school. Nor, it said further, is it even achieved by admitting a Negro to the white graduate school and then requiring him to sit, study, and eat apart from the other students.

Texas had gone to some expense to provide a special law school for Negroes, in order to offset Sweatt's lawsuit. Here is how the Supreme Court measured its inequality: "In terms of number of the faculty, variety of courses and opportunity for specialization, size of the student body, scope of library, availability of law review, and similar activities, the University of Texas Law School is superior." The Court also made comparisons between such qualities as faculty reputation, community standing, traditions and prestige, and opportunity to associate with those who would later make up most of the lawyers, witnesses, jurors, and judges in the state.

It was immediately apparent that Texas — or any other state, for that matter — could hardly provide separate graduate facilities which would meet these standards. Accordingly, the University of Texas without fanfare admitted Sweatt, as well as two other Negroes seeking graduate work in other fields.

Following is a state-by-state summary of developments in the rest of the South:

Oklahoma

The major question of Negro admittance to the University of Oklahoma was settled by the court ruling in the case of Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher in 1948. But the University had subsequently followed a practice of separating Negro students from white in classrooms, libraries, and the cafeteria. One of them, G. W. McLaurin, had filed suit maintaining that he was being discriminated against. The Supreme Court agreed. McLaurin, it declared, having been admitted to a state-supported graduate school, "must receive the same treatment at the hands of the state as students of other races."

"It may be argued," the Court declared, "that (McLaurin) will be in no better position when these restrictions are removed, for he may still be set apart by his fellow students. This we think irrelevant. There is a vast difference — a Constitutional difference — between restrictions imposed by the state . . . and the refusal of individuals to commingle where the state presents no such bar." The University of Oklahoma conformed to the ruling by eliminating differential treatment for the approximately ninety Negro students who were enrolled in its summer school.

Arkansas

Arkansas is the only Southern state in which graduate facilities were opened to Negroes voluntarily, without the necessity of any litigation. When the Supreme Court ruled in the Oklahoma suit in 1948, state officials saw the implications and proceeded to set their house in order. A qualified Negro student was admitted to the law school of the University of Arkansas that

year; the following year, another law student was admitted and a Negro girl entered the medical school. In the early stages, the Negro students were partially segregated, but that practice has gradually been eliminated.

Kentucky

Kentucky has likewise taken voluntary action, though a law suit figured early in the changes. In March, 1949, Federal Judge H. Church Ford ruled that the University must admit Negro students to its graduate schools until comparable courses were made available in Negro institutions. A year later, twelve Negroes were pursuing their studies at the University. The General Assembly in 1950 amended the state segregation laws to permit any institution of higher learning, on its own initiative, to admit Negroes to those courses not matched by Kentucky State College for Negroes. The governing boards of the University of Louisville, Berea College, and several other institutions have already exercised their local option by dropping racial bars.

Virginia

When Gregory Swanson, a Negro attorney of Martinsville, made application for the law school of the University of Virginia, the University's Board of Visitors rejected it, on the grounds that state law forbade his entrance to the white institution. The state attorney general had previously expressed his opinion that if Swanson chose to appeal to the Federal Courts, he would be sustained. That proved to be the case. After a brief hearing, in which no serious defense was offered by the state, a three-judge Federal tribunal ordered Swanson's admission. Since that ruling on September 5, a second Negro has been admitted to graduate work at the University, and several others have asked for admission to the Richmond Professional Institute.

North Carolina

Four students of the North Carolina College for Negroes have in the past few weeks suffered an adverse decision in their suit for admission to the state university's law school. The points at issue closely resembled those in the Sweatt case. The Negroes maintained — and produced distinguished witnesses to testify — that the separate law school established for Negroes is in no way equal to that at the University of North Carolina. The Federal Circuit Court in Durham, however, held that the two schools are "substantially equal" — the first such ruling since the Sweatt decision. An early appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court is anticipated.

Delaware

On August 9, the Court of Chancery ruled that Negroes must be admitted to the state university on the same basis as white students. The ruling came in response to ten separate suits against the University and its trustees. Vice-Chancellor Collins J. Seitz, who rendered the opinion, did not discuss segregation as such. He simply compared the facilities at Dover State College (for Negroes) with those at the University, and found them "grossly inferior." Since state laws provide that there must be equal educational facilities for all citizens, Seitz declared, the University had no choice but to admit qualified students without regard to race.

Maryland

A Supreme Court decision opened the law school of the University of Maryland to Negroes as long ago as 1935, but the other schools have remained closed to them. The Maryland Court of Appeals has upheld the right of Miss Esther McCready not to be excluded from the School of Nursing because of her race, and that decision has been unheld by the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, a graduate student in sociology, Parron J. Mitchell, has been admitted. An effort was made by the University to give him his instruction off-campus, but the Baltimore City Court, following the McLaurin case, ordered that he be given the same treatment as other students.

Missouri

Last June, the Board of Curators at the University of Missouri asked the circuit court for a declaratory judgment defining the educational rights of Negroes and defining the duties of state institutions. The court held that the State University and other state colleges must admit Negroes to all courses not matched at Lincoln University (for Negroes). The judge commented, "It seems to me that the Supreme Court of the United States has already written my opinion in this case."

(*Continued on page* 8)

NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.		2	
Cocoa, Fla.	1		
*Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5		
Deland, Fla.	2		
*Fort Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
*Jacksonville, Fla.	6		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	39	1	
Sanford, Fla.	2		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Tampa, Fla.	6		
*West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
*Augusta, Ga.	6		
Atlanta, Ga.	12		6 (school)
Macon, Ga.	2		
Savannah, Ga.	10	2	
Lexington, Ky.	2		1
Louisville, Ky.	21	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
New Orleans, La.		2	
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	2		
*Carrboro, N. C.	1		
*Chapel Hill, N. C.	1		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	10		
Fayetteville, N. C.	3		
Gastonia, N. C.	5		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	7		
High Point, N. C.	4		
Raleigh, N. C.	4		3 (school)
Reidsville, N. C.	2		
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Winston-Salem, N. C.	7		
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
*Oklahoma City, Okla.	7	5	
Tulsa, Okla.	9	5	1
Charleston, S. C.	4		
*Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
*Darlington, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartanburg, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		1
*Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
*Memphis, Tenn.	14		
Nashville, Tenn.	7		
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
*Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex.	4		
*Galveston, Tex.	9	6	
*Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Orange, Tex.	2		
*Port Arthur, Tex.	10		
San Antonio, Tex.	7	4	1
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Newport News, Va.	7	1	
Norfolk, Va.	3	5	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		
Richmond, Va.	7	1	1
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS	13	77	369	41	17

*Information based on newspaper account or report from SRC member; not confirmed by Chief of Police in 1950.

How Charleston Got Negro Policemen

By John A. Harris
Chairman, Charleston Interracial Committee

A LITTLE more than three years ago some members of the Charleston Interracial Committee took notice of the city of Savannah's innovation in making the police force bi-racial. Upon inquiry at the Mayor's office in Savannah in July, 1947, it was reported to us that the addition of qualified Negro personnel was a complete success, and that the police force had taken on five additional Negro officers, bringing the number up to 14. All the anticipated advantages of decline in crime rate, less juvenile delinquency, and improved Negro morale had come to pass. If Savannah could take this great step forward in race relations and crime prevention, why couldn't we?

The leadership of the Negro community was fully aware of the importance and possibility of attaining this change. In October, 1947, our vice-chairman and two members in the course of an informal discussion with Mayor Morrison were told that he personally favored the employment of qualified Negroes on the force, and that if the Negro community would look about and compile a list of suitable candidates and submit them to the Mayor's office with full endorsement of the Negro community, the Mayor was fairly certain that favorable action would result. At the October, 1947, meeting the Interracial Committee voted for the appointment of a sub-committee to consider ways and means of bringing about this improvement in Charleston. . . .

A timely event for our project was the publication by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta of its excellent study, "Negro Police in Southern Cities." Mr. Thomas P. Jones of the Mayor's office in Savannah also supplied a most valuable and interesting account of that Georgia city's experience in this line. Armed with these two reports . . . members of the committee wrote letters to influential individuals and made talks to several organizations. When Griffenhagen and Associates were engaged to survey and criticize the municipal government, the expert assigned to study the Police Department received from this committee's secretary a letter suggesting that recommendations for Negro personnel might well be in order and enclosing the Savannah and SRC reports. The Griffenhagen report did contain these recommendations, and later served to strengthen the Mayor's hand.

Before our project was really well launched, in January, 1948, the Pan-Hellenic Council, an important group in the Negro community, asked us to join with them, as they also wanted to work for the addition of qualified Negro personnel to the force. It was agreed that the Pan-Hellenic Council and the Veteran's Civic Committee would work with the Interracial Committee for the common purpose. Without the backing of the Negro community, as expressed through important organizations such as these, the Interracial Committee would have gotten nowhere.

Among the white groups who at the start encouraged us with their endorsement, we mention with thanks the Council of Jewish Women, the Woman's Auxiliary of St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Charleston Clericus. . . .

Search for Applicants

The purpose in talking before Negro groups, such as the Ministerial Union and the Postal Employees Association, was not only to enlist their support but to ask their help in finding young men of good character, intelligence and, if possible, military training. It seemed for a long time impossible to find young men interested in trying for jobs that did not exist. Since we wanted to be discreet in seeking applicants, and since the principal of the high school attended by veterans could not or would not cooperate, we were really at a standstill for over a year. Then Mr. Leroy Anderson, instructor in English at the Burke School, hearing of the committee's project . . . began to talk to some of his ablest and most promising students, and through him we obtained the names of several fine young men. These were

interviewed and their applications kept on file. Other young men heard of the chance of openings and came to apply. In due time, in March of 1950, the names of nine young men were presented at a meeting of the Negro Citizens' Committee, a supercommittee of representatives from organizations numbering about 10,000 people. After discussion and consideration, the Negro Citizens' Committee endorsed the names and resolved to hand them on to the Mayor with a short letter. Accompanying the letter and the list of candidates was a petition bearing the names of about 200 white citizens. . . . These papers, given to the Mayor's secretary April 13, 1950, received formal acknowledgment May 8. Then in the heat of a political campaign, with words of ill will and race antagonism crackling over the air waves and jumping out of the headlines, there was no further answer; not even any hope hovered in the background.

Pessimism was unfounded, however. On Friday, August 4, the *News and Courier* ran a factual routine coverage of the Mayor's decision to employ qualified Negroes on the force, four of them. The following Tuesday, City Council unanimously approved of this point in the Mayor's program along with other items. Editorials in morning and evening papers have also been favorable.

We are very glad that after three years of ups and downs, long waits and slow progress, this goal has been achieved. We are proud to have had some part in bringing it about. We believe it is the kind of civic work the Interracial Committee should do, and can do.

Southern Graduate Schools

(*Continued from page* 5)

Louisiana

The Board of Supervisors of Louisiana State University rejected the applications of twelve Negroes, on grounds of race, on July 28, 1950. One of the Negro students, Roy S. Wilson, sought an injunction in Federal District Court to restrain the Board from enforcing its resolution barring Negroes. On October 7, the Court ruled in Wilson's favor and ordered the University to admit him to its law school. According to the first news reports, the decision, by prior agreement, applies only to the law school, leaving the question of other graduate courses still to be resolved.

Florida

The State Supreme Court ruled last summer that out-of-state scholarships do not satisfy Constitutional requirements for equality of opportunity. But, as a substitute, the Court gave its sanction to a compromise plan: Negroes would be enrolled in Florida A. & M. College (for Negroes) and would then be allowed to attend the University of Florida on a segregated basis until equivalent courses are made available at A. & M. The validity of this arrangement has been questioned in the light of the Sweatt and McLaurin decisions.

Other States

As yet, there have been no similar lawsuits in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Georgia political figures declared recently that they would "go to jail" before obeying any Federal Court order to admit Negroes to the University of Georgia. They were promptly answered by Negro leaders, who promised to "give them an opportunity to do just that." Court action, however, has not yet been taken.

NEW SOUTH

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A Special Report

from the S O U T H E R N R E G I O N A L C O U N C I L

PRO-SEGREGATION GROUPS

IN THE SOUTH

This is a summary report of a continuing field study of the pro-segregation "resistance" organizations in the Southern States, prepared by Paul Anthony.

Revised
May 23, 1957
SR/7
(See Supplement)

THE RESISTANCE GROUPS OF THE SOUTH

The following is a brief summary of resistance group activity in eleven Southern states. This information was collected during a three-month field study conducted in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and South Carolina. Information on Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia is drawn from the Southern Regional Council's files and correspondence.

In the majority of these states the groups concerned use the designation "Citizens' Councils." This alteration of the original "White Citizens' Councils" is a significant index to the striving for respectability. To eliminate confusion, this report will refer to all groups that use any form of the Citizens' Council title as "WCC's." Such groups now exist in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Fifteen other states have similar organizations which are closely associated with the WCC's, including the Georgia States Rights Council, Inc., and the North Carolina Patriots, Inc. To coordinate the activities of the state groups there is now a "Citizens' Councils of America" with offices in Greenwood, Mississippi.

Resistance groups claim a total membership of more than half a million and, based on the information gathered during this survey, they do have well over three hundred thousand in the eleven states covered. Funds at the disposal of these groups are estimated to be in excess of $2,000,000. Their influence and effectiveness vary widely state by state. But in general it may be said that they represent a considerable and growing power.

Following is a state-by-state summary of the status of the organized resistance movement during January, 1957.

ALABAMA - "The Citizens' Councils of Alabama"

Alabama has a strong WCC movement, headed by Sam Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, a planter and state senator. (Currently, Engelhardt is also Chairman of the Citizens' Councils of America.) Other major leaders include Walter C. Givhan of Safford, also a planter and state senator; Alston Keith of Selma, an attorney; Luther Ingalls of Montgomery, an attorney; and, Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, an attorney and state senator.

This group does not have the support of the state administration, but it does have considerable support from the legislature, as indicated by the nature of the WCC leadership. In turn, the WCC is particularly active in politics and can be expected to have a significant influence on future state elections.

The Montgomery bus boycott and the Autherine Lucy incident at the state university have been helpful in recruiting members, though it is difficult for the WCC leadership to maintain the emotional pitch created by these controversies. The membership of some 80,000 is located primarily in the central and southern portions of the state, with the greatest concentration being in the Montgomery area, site of the state association headquarters. There is little membership in the extreme southern portion of the state and no organized activity in the upper third of the state north of Birmingham. Membership fees vary from $3 to $5, of which a minimum of $1 is designated for the state office.

A second organization, the North Alabama Citizens' Council has been expelled from the state association because of its extremist approach. As a result the majority of the members in the original NAWCC have transferred to the state association. Asa ("Ace") Carter, the leader of this expelled faction, has little influence in the state but remains active throughout the

South. Carter's participation in the Clinton, Tennessee, disturbances and his association with John Kasper of Washington, D. C., has given new strength to his movement. In addition to his NAWCC Carter has been active with the Alabama KKK.

ARKANSAS - "The Citizens' Councils of Arkansas"

This state has a weak resistance movement, though in the past year the WCC has shown considerable growth under the direction of James D. Johnson of Crossett. Johnson, who leans to emotionalism and advocacy of extreme measures, is a former state senator and an unsuccessful candidate for governor in the May 1956 Democratic primary. He is assisted in the movement by Curt Copeland of Hot Springs, long active in resistance-group activity. (Membership claims run high, but 20,000 is probably the maximum figure.)

The strongest WCC unit in the state is located in Little Rock. There, in December, 1956, the WCC and White America, Inc. merged and adopted the name, Capital Citizens' Council. Robert Ewing Brown, promotion and publicity director of Little Rock stations KTHV and KTHS is president.

FLORIDA

While there are several resistance groups in Florida, none has achieved a position of importance. A WCC movement, largely directed by former Klan leaders, has had little success. A. C. Shuler, a retired Baptist minister, is reported to serve as acting president of the WCC of Florida and M. B. Sherill of Fort Pierce (a co-founder of the 'Pro-Southerners"), serves as secretary. Thus far activity has been limited to the Jacksonville, Tallahassee and Tampa areas. These same areas have experienced some Klan activity during the past year.

A new movement, the National Association for the Protection of White People and Fair Treatment of Negroes, was chartered in Miami in September,

1956, with former Governor Fuller Warren as its attorney. Thus far nothing further has been heard from this group.

Resistance groups have less influence in Florida than in other Southern states. The growing pro-segregation atmosphere is such, however, that this situation could change if the proper resistance leadership presents itself.

GEORGIA - "The States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc."

The States' Rights Council of Georgia was incorporated on December 27, 1954. On September 23, 1955, at the invitation of Governor Marvin Griffin, 200 of the state's most prominent and influential political and business leaders met and voted to support the movement as "a statewide organization dedicated to the preservation of constitutional government and the maintenance of harmonious race relations."

The Rev. William T. Bodenhamer of Ty Ty, who is a member of the General Assembly, a member of the State Board of Education, a Baptist Minister, and a former school superintendent, was appointed executive secretary and instructed to form local groups in each of the state's 159 counties, with a total membership of at least 150,000. There are no indications that any significant portion of this membership has been secured. However, the downtown Atlanta office of the group is active and distributes an unusually expensive collection of publications. A visiting school teacher who requested such literature was given a generous supply of "teaching materials" which included: a history of the organization; a statement of aims and purposes; a series of expensively reproduced pro-segregation statements by such historical figures as Jefferson and Lincoln; a booklet, "The Supreme Court, The Broken Constitution, and the Shattered Bill of Rights"; "The Cause of the Confederacy"; Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook's booklet, "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP"; a copy of the third party movement newspaper, "Free Men Speak,"; and a copy of the anti-Semitic "Williams Intelligence Summary."

Since its formation the group has enjoyed the unqualified support of the Governor, the state Attorney General, Senator Herman Talmadge, and most of the other significant political leaders of the state. It has not, however, developed into a grass roots movement.

GEORGIA - "The U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan"

During August 1955, announcements were made that an Atlanta auto-assembly plant worker named Eldon L. Edwards had been appointed Imperial Wizard of a revived Klan movement. Since that time the group has obtained a charter and has begun to hold public meetings of robed but unmasked members.

At its inception, the caliber of leadership and strong public opposition to a Klan movement indicated that this new movement was to be of little significance. This may still be the case. However, during the past several months there has been a conspicuous flurry of public activity by the Klan. Public meetings, some impressive in size, have been held in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. These states, with the possible exception of North Carolina, have formal organizations and officers, and most claim to be divisions or associates of the Atlanta group.

A pattern of Klan activity is now developing which gives some indication of adequate leadership and financing. This leadership may come from Edwards, and the funds may come from membership fees (of $10). The Klan effort to recruit mass membership can be a highly lucrative endeavor. However, if the current trend continues, the possibility must be considered that leadership and financing have been injected which are far superior to that represented by the known Atlanta group.

Under any circumstances the development of a new Klan movement, its leadership, and its support comprise that area of resistance group activity

which most commands attention in the near future.

LOUISIANA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Louisiana"

The Louisiana WCC has its headquarters in Homer, site of the first organized resistance activity in that state. The group has an impressive list of officers headed by the chairman, State Senator William M. Rainach of Summerfield, and the executive secretary, attorney W. M. Shaw. Others are J. Stewart Slack of Shreveport, a member of the L.S.U. Board of Supervisors; Malcolm Dougherty of Baton Rouge, president of the Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation; Dr. Emmett Irvin of New Orleans, past president of the Louisiana Medical Association; C. Carneal Goldman of Waterproff, an attorney and farmer; and Harry P. Gamble, Sr., of New Orleans, president of the American Association for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity.

The WCC claims a membership of 75,000 to 100,000 with over 50,000 members in New Orleans; however, it is doubtful if there are actually more than half that number. The membership fee of $5.00 includes $2.00 for the state office. In addition, considerable wealth is represented among WCC supporters - for example, B.H.J. Balter, a prominent realtor in whose downtown office building the New Orleans WCC has its headquarters.

The group is having a growing influence in the state, especially through the legislature where the WCC state chairman is also chairman of the Joint Segregation Committee of the Legislature. The original legislative program of the WCC has been accomplished and it is now turning its attention to Negro registration. Chairman Rainach has issued this warning: "...We are going through the familiar pattern set by registration of Negroes in the early days of reconstruction. Our forefathers knew well the disastrous consequences of that pattern in the South."

In October, 1956, WCC units began challenging the qualifications of registrants in 13 parishes. Thus far some 10,000 names, mostly Negro, have

been removed from the lists of qualified voters.

(Article 8, Section 1 of the Louisiana Constitution requires that any applicant for registration shall be able to read or understand any clause in the constitutions of Louisiana or of the United States. Any two qualified voters may challenge the qualifications of a registered voter or of a person desiring to register. The WCC has served notice that, through these two approaches and through the support of the Joint Segregation Committee of the Legislature, "the problem of Negro registration will be solved in a legal way".)

Other groups in the state include the Federation for Constitutional Government, (James U. Barr, New Orleans); the Southern Gentlemen, Inc., (J. B. Easterly, Baton Rouge); the Ku Klux Klan (Edgar Taylor, Baton Rouge); the Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity (Harry P. Gamble, Sr., New Orleans -- largely inactive); and the Knights of the White Christians (Alvin A. Cobb, New Orleans -- inactive). Free Men Speak, a newspaper devoted largely to third party movements, is published in New Orleans by Kent H. Courtney.

MISSISSIPPI - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi"

The Mississippi WCC headquarters are in Greenwood, with "administrative" offices in Jackson. Robert B. Patterson, planter, businessman, and founder of the WCC movement, is executive secretary. W. J. Simmons, a Jackson businessman, is "administrator."

A few counties in the northern part of the state and others along the Gulf do not have WCC units, but this state movement is the strongest in the South and will have considerable influence for years to come. The major opposition to the movement comes from the governor and others of the state Democratic Party, who have refused to lend their official support to the WCC and who took issue with WCC support of the third party movement in the Fall of 1956. This is primarily a fight for political control, however, and does not represent a weakening of the nearly universal white pro-segregation sentiment of the state.

From slightly more than 85,000 members, plus a women's auxiliary, the WCC collects a membership fee of $5.00, of which $1.00 remains in the local unit, $2.00 is sent to the state office, and the remaining $2.00 is used as a subscription to the Citizens' Councils, the official paper.

This state is the fountainhead of the region-wide WCC movement and it is significant that the "temporary national office" of the Citizens' Councils of America is located in Greenwood. The basis of the movement was well expressed in the Mississippi WCC second annual report (1956), which stated: "The best prophet of the future is the past. History proves that the supreme power in the government of men has always been public opinion. Public sentiment is the law!"

This movement has the support of, or is feared by, the majority of the people of Mississippi. In the smaller communities, and generally throughout the Delta, the WCC is almost all-powerful. In these areas, elementary steps in race relations toward achieving the fundamentals of a democratic society have yet to be taken.

NORTH CAROLINA - "The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc."

A charter for the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., was filed in Raleigh on August 22, 1955 bearing the patriotic date July 4th. It carried the names of 356 men and women from 59 North Carolina counties about whom the Winston Salem Journal and Sentinel commented: "All in all few North Carolina corporations can boast a more impressive list of charter members. For that reason it is unwise to dismiss lightly the Patriots of North Carolina. The group represents something more than a scrubbed-face revival of the Ku Klux Klan in new haberdashery."

The Patriots, estimated to have some 20,000 members, is headed by Dr. W.C. George, a professor at the University of North Carolina Medical School. Its

executive secretary, with offices in Greensboro, is A. Allison James, a Winston Salem druggist and one-time head of the U. S. Savings Bond Sales in North Carolina. Among the charter members and officers are three former Speakers of the state House of Representatives, a trustee of the University of North Carolina, several major industrialists, a former U. S. Attorney, a former state commander of the American Legion, and several respected ministers. This caliber of leadership has set the tone of resistance as being restrained but uncompromising in opposing any possible move toward desegregation. The recent acts of the state legislature are some indication of the measure of their success.

Outside elements have recently attempted a Klan revival in the state, especially in the Kannapolis area. They may be successful, since a potential Klan membership exists there.

SOUTH CAROLINA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of S. C."

The South Carolina WCC is a moderately strong movement with a membership of approximately 30,000. The largely inactive state office is located in Charleston and a businessman of that city, Micah Jenkins served as first chairman of the group. S. Emory Rogers, an attorney in Summerton was first executive secretary and the actual leader of the movement. Through Rogers the group has become thoroughly involved in politics, especially in the 1956 third party movement. Rogers resigned in December, 1956, due to poor health and, thus far, no replacement has been selected. T. D. Keels, an original worker in the WCC movement and former chairman of the Sumter WCC, is current state chairman.

Much of the work which might be done by the WCC is accomplished through the Gressette Committee, a legislative body charged with maintaining segregation in South Carolina. The Chairman, State Senator Lawrence M. Gressette, is a supporter of the WCC movement but very carefully distinguishes its activities from

the work of his committee, reportedly because he has political ambitions which require that he, not the WCC, receive the credit for maintaining segregation. This type of potential conflict among pro-segregation leaders represents one of the major threats to the continued effectiveness of the WCC.

A number of South Carolinians who might otherwise support the WCC have failed to do so because of these political activities and conflicts and because of the extreme measures, including economic reprisals, taken by the WCC. Economic pressure and other means of intimidation have lessened, at least temporarily. Political activity and support of the third party movement grew during the Presidential campaign and were probably more evident in the South Carolina WCC than in any other statewide resistance group.

The state has denied a charter to the Klan, but considerable and increasing Klan activity is led by Georgia Klansmen. A second and smaller Klan group is now functioning in competition with the Georgia affiliated group.

TENNESSEE

There are several resistance groups in Tennessee, each active in its own area to the general exclusion of the rest of the state. All, however, claim to be statewide organizations.

In Chattanooga there is the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation headed by Arthur A. Canada, long a disruptive influence in organized labor in the state. Canada and his group receive substantial support from Judge Raulston Schoolfield and attorney Charles Coleman, both political figures of Chattanooga.

In Nashville there is the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, headed by Donald Davidson, well known writer and professor of English at Vanderbilt University. This group has a slate of officers, largely business executives, who represent considerable wealth and influence in the area.

In Memphis there is the WCC headed by the Rev. Wayne Cox, pastor of Woodlawn Terrace Baptist Church. This group has gone through several reorganizations and seems to have much difficulty with membership and finances. Also in Memphis, the Tennessee Citizens for Progress has been formed reportedly as a partial revival of the old Crump organization, interested primarily in political power through a pro-segregation platform. All of the leaders of this group have been identified by Memphis newspapers as being "former lieutenants" of the Crump machine.

A second WCC group, with headquarters in Clinton, was chartered in December, 1956, and is led by John Kasper.

The resistance groups of Tennessee, all of which have insignificant membership, have found it difficult to cooperate with each other and are often in open competition for attention, membership, and finances. Therein lies their greatest weakness. All, with the possible exception of the WCC, are primarily interested in politics and one questions whether the activity is a primary end in itself or merely a means to an end.

Klan activity, which is light, has been limited to the Chattanooga and the Georgia-Tennessee border areas.

TEXAS - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Texas"

Texas has several resistance groups, of which the WCC is the strongest. Dr. B. E. Masters, retired educator and former junior college president, is chairman of the Association, and attorney Ross Carlton of Dallas is chairman of the WCC executive committee.

Thus far the major activity of the group has been that of campaigning for the pro-segregation referendum of the Democratic primary election of July 28, 1956. More recently WCC members have been active in the several disturbances which have occurred where integration has taken place, as in Mansfield. The

estimated membership of 25,000 and its activities are located largely in east Texas.

Ku Klux Klan activity has shown an increase during the past year though the Texas Attorney General has publicly stated his opposition to a revival of the Klan movement.

VIRGINIA

Virginia has a number of small, and largely ineffective, resistance groups of which the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty, headed by W. E. Maxey, Jr., of Richmond is probably the strongest. This group claims some 15,000 members in 37 chapters throughout the state; however, the infrequent meetings, spasmodic programs, and lack of publicity indicate little power or effectiveness.

The "Ace" Carter faction of the WCC has been organized under the direction of John Kasper, a book store operator in Washington, D. C., as a unit of the "Seaboard White Citizens' Councils." The group has little membership and less financing but it has been outspoken and has received considerable publicity, especially in Charlottesville. There are no indications of Klan activity, but there are few differences between this WCC faction and the Klan.

These groups cannot claim credit for the considerable change in atmosphere in Virginia during the past year. However, partially because of that change, the state could become a fertile ground for a "respectable" resistance movement.

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MEMBERSHIP, BY STATE, AND ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FEES PAID.

(Omissions represent those areas where a meaningful estimate cannot be made)

State	Estimated Membership	Estimated Funds
Alabama	80,000	$240,000.
Arkansas	20,000	- - *
Florida	5,000	- - *
Georgia	- -	- - **
Louisiana	40,000	200,000
Mississippi	85,000	425,000
North Carolina	20,000	- - **
South Carolina	30,000	50,000.
Tennessee	- -	- - **
Texas	25,000	- - **
Virginia	15,000	- - *
TOTAL	320,000	$1,015,000.

* Represents those states where specific estimates are difficult but where conditions indicate little financing.

** Represents those areas where specific estimates are difficult but where conditions indicate considerable financial backing.

These estimates indicate that approximately $1,000,000 is represented in membership fees. It might be assumed that memberships where no evaluation is made, plus contributions and fund drives, would account for at least $1,000,000 more.

The following are publications in regular circulation among Southern resistance groups. Sample copies or subscriptions may be obtained by writing to the indicated addresses.

The Citizens' Council
("Official Paper of the Citizens' Councils of America."
originated as official paper of the Mississippi WCC.)
605 Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi
(Monthly - $2.00 per year)

The Augusta Courier
1300 Southern Finance Building
Augusta, Georgia
Roy V. Harris, Editor & Publisher
(Weekly - $4.00 per year)

(The Courier is an independent weekly paper, not published by any group, however it receives considerable circulation among pro-segregation forces, especially in Georgia.)

The White Sentinel
("Official Organ of the National Citizens' Protective Association")
(Published outside the South but distributed by a number of WCC groups, in lieu of printing a local paper)
P. O. Box 156
St. Louis 3, Missouri
(Monthly - $2.00 per year)

SUPPLEMENT

(May 23, 1957)

The resistance movement is currently characterized by three developments: (1) a substantial decrease in total membership, probably to the lowest level in several years, (2) a continuing growth of Klan activity, and (3) a change in tactics.

Reports indicate substantial losses of membership in South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana -- three of the states with the largest WCC memberships. Mississippi, where the Councils are most firmly entrenched, continues an active program, though the group is no longer enjoying the uncontested growth and influence of a year ago. Only in this state does the WCC movement continue to reflect widespread "grass roots" support. The South Carolina group, much involved in state politics, has not announced the appointment of a new executive secretary following the December 1956 resignation of S. Emory Rogers.

In North Carolina, Dr. W. C. George has resigned as executive secretary of the Patriots. The group is still organized, capable of action, and seems to enjoy considerable financial support, though it is probably at its lowest point in membership and activity since it was founded. There has been some Klan activity and the KKK has announced a goal of at least one meeting in every North Carolina county during 1957.

Of the Southern states, Florida has experienced the strongest recent WCC and Klan organizing activity. In February 1957, Robert Patterson, founder and chairman of the Mississippi WCC, helped to organize a state-wide Florida WCC. Homer Barnes, a Tallahassee drug clerk, has become the secretary-treasurer of the new group. This movement is now stronger than at any time in the past, though still with a small membership. John

Kasper was very active in the state during 1957 until his former associations with Negroes in New York's Greenwich Village came to light. This and other information were disclosed during a special legislative committee investigation of the NAACP and several of the resistance groups. There has been much Klan activity in Florida. Bill Hendrix, one-time gubernatorial candidate, claims to be "National Adjutant of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," presumably the Atlanta headquartered group. W. J. Griffin of Tampa, who disbanded the"Florida KKK" in 1955, has announced official revival of that group.

The strongest Klan group continues to be the U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, whose Imperial Wizard is Eldon Edwards of Atlanta. Recently, through national magazines and television, Edwards has enjoyed considerable notoriety. The Klan is unquestionably growing, but it is unlikely that it has reached the 100,000 mark estimated by several sources. The group's biggest problem remains that of competition among rival Klans, especially in South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana. This rivalry has caused one Florida Klan official to complain that Klan groups are springing up like "rabbits and rats." The movement has attracted a number of opportunists.

Public acceptance, too, continues to be a problem. In South Carolina, a Klan group (rival of Edwards' Klan) has been refused a charter by Secretary of State B. Frank Thornton. The refusal was based on an opinion of Attorney General T. C. Callison that "public policy" would not be served by chartering the group. In Montgomery, violence has been attributed to the Klan and several Klansmen have been arrested. In Birmingham, Ace

Carter, recently defeated in his bid for police commissioner, is under indictment charged with shooting two men at a Klan meeting. One of the victims has testified that Carter was leader of the group and the argument arose over the handling of funds.

Despite considerable growth and activity, the Klan has not achieved a position of importance. Its growth does indicate current feeling among extremists and their disappointment with the WCC. The Klan's major significance is its ability, with even a small membership, to create disturbances, violence, and fear.

The new tactics of the more established resistance movement are aimed at swaying public opinion -- especially that of the rest of the country. The recent losses of membership probably do not greatly disturb the top WCC leadership. This was not in the strict sense a grass roots movement and new surges of membership may be expected where segregation is threatened. Of more importance is the move (carried on in many instances in conjunction with state governments and/or officials) to sell to the nation the idea that "the South must be allowed to handle this problem." Current successes in Congress by the opposition to civil rights legislation have encouraged these efforts to influence national opinion.

The fact that the resistance movement is losing in membership should not be misinterpreted. This is a disadvantage to them to be sure, but it may very possibly be only a temporary one. The real strength of the pro-segregation movement has not been its mass membership, but its access to the institutions of power and control. By these standards the resistance forces remain strong. State legislation, national opinion, attacks against pro-integration forces, and increased restriction of the

ballot, all indicate continuing unity and effectiveness among state WCCs and related groups.

In many of the Southern states the once clearly defined resistance group membership may well have been absorbed into the larger society. At no time since May 1954 has public opinion been more akin to the expressed opinions of the WCC.

SPECIAL REPORT

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Southern Reg Council

DAILY NEWS RECORD, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1947

Economic Survey of the South

Article No. 10—MOTOR FREIGHT IN THE SOUTH

By LLOYD SCHWARTZ
Washington Bureau
Fairchild Publications

UNLIKE the railroads, trucking is purely a 20th Century phenomenon. From a fleet of only 700 vehicles in 1904, the industry which hawls goods to factories and markets by day and night over the nation's highways blossomed to a strength of 1,006,082 trucks in 1920; 3,486,019 in 1930; 4,590,386 in 1940, and 5,725,692 in 1946. For 1947, the total is expected to reach an estimated 6,492,000 motor carriers, or an increase of 13.4 per cent over last year and 33.6 per cent more than the 4,859,244 trucks registered in 1941.

Roughly 20.8 per cent of the motor carrier fleet—or some 1,641,016 trucks—does its work exclusively in the 13 Southern States with which this series is concerned. Because textiles and other non-durables generally move in less-than-carload lots, which frequently get a better break in rates from motor carriers, Southern manufacturers have been relying heavily on transporting their goods over the highways. Recent rail freight increases, pyramided atop one another by the Interstate Commerce Commission, have accelerated the trend.

STATE REGISTRATION.

Figures are helpful in measuring the undeniable importance of trucks to the economic well-being of a highly industrialized South. A significant barometer is truck registration by States. For 1946, Texas led the Southern States in sheer numbers with 369,409 trucks in operation. Next ran Oklahoma with 128,124; North Carolina with 123,748; Georgia with 122,114; Florida, 117,624; Virginia, 116,746; Alabama, 103,837; Tennessee, 101,598; Kentucky, 100,568; Mississippi, 95,536; Arkansas, 94,241; Louisiana, 92,169, and South Carolina, 74,322.

Anything which restricts the efficiency of the motor carrier industry necessarily injures the service it provides for Southern industry. Truckers have plenty of gripes on this score. They are plagued by disorganized and non-uniform State restrictions as to maximum loads, safety requirements, truck proportions, license terms, State and local taxes, etc. Through the American Trucking Association, and its Statewide units, they are constantly beseeching Congress and whoever else will listen to take the lead in eliminating State differences in the interest of a more sensible national transportation policy.

However, what generates most sparks in the now historic tooth-and-nail competition between railroads and truckers? A little background is essential to focus the issue in its proper perspective.

Before 1935, motor carriers were not subject to Federal regulation. Each trucker had his own rate card, which he was free to revise at will. A motor carrier could simply tell a shipper he would haul freight at a certain rate, which was confidential between them.

One result was red-hot competition with the railroad, and the latter soon demanded that motor carriers, like themselves, be placed under Federal regulation. According to the American Trucking Association, most motor carriers had no objection to this proposal, since they were out to see the industry stabilized and destructive competitive practices outlawed.

In 1935, Congress passed the Federal Motor Carrier Act, which put motor carriers under the ICC's jurisdiction. The law required truckers to publish tariffs listing rates and charges. These were always available for public scrutiny.

COMPETITION BEGINS

Then competitive war really began, according to William A. Bresnahan, ATA research director. Railroads began filing numerous rate reductions, in most instances lowering freight rates below truck schedules. Most of the cuts were on less-than-carload merchandise traffic, backbone of the trucking business. Motor carriers immediately were confronted with a choice; ignore the rail rate cuts and risk loss of business or meet the cuts and dissipate revenues. Ever since, they have been wrestling with that problem, cutting rates when forced to do so, holding them when the pressure was lighter.

The railroad cut-rate program reached a climax in September, 1940, when the rails launched what truckers dubbed "the Southern blitzkrieg." With one stroke, they slashed less-than-carload rates on more than 3,500 commodities in Southern territory and ICC let the cuts stand, despite truckers' protests.

There have been many rate increases since that time but, in general, the railroads still are accused by truckers of keeping less-than-carload rate schedules below cost in order to beat motor carriers at their own game. And the squawks are continuing just as heatedly.

"It is not a case of the truck rates being too high but a case of the rail rates being too low," Mr. Bresnahan complains. "They were intended to do just what they are doing — to put the squeeze on highway competitors."

On July 24, 1945, Chairman Clarence F. Lea (R., Cal.), of the House Interstate Commerce Committee invited comment on the national transportation problem.

10 YEARS UNDER ICC

The trucking industry submitted a detailed report, describing the effect of 10 years under ICC regulation. The conclusion: We do have a national transportation policy but we do not have a reasonably consistent body of administrative actions by ICC which implement and carry out the expressed intention of Congressional policy. Truckers argued that ICC still functioned as a regulator and guardian of the railroads, rather than as coordinator of the different modes of transportation. Motor carriers are bitter about being treated as "a stepchild" in transportation.

"ICC's interpretations of its authority disclose a definite pattern of favoring the railroads to the detriment of other types of carriers," the truckers told the House group. "This bears out the repeated charges of various members of Congress that the commission is 'railroad-minded'."

Truckers are convinced the condition can be cured only by reducing the range of ICC's administrative discretion. Carriers say it's essential to amend the statute by making more specific the present standards that are directly related to the basic policy of preserving competition between independently owned and operated types of carriers.

"TRADE BARRIERS"

"Trade barriers" is the term truckers use to describe non-uniform State requirements which, they say, act as a roadblock to more efficient service. Surveys have shown that the most objectionable State restrictions on the movements of commercial trucks are size and weight limitations on the vehicles or their loads, burdensome license and tax requirements, and certain methods of administration.

Because of diverse State size and weight regulations, the Board of Investigation and Research (a governmental investigatory body), found, a motor vehicle allowed to operate in one State may be of such dimensions that its operations in another State would be frustrates motor carriers and, presumably, keeps some of them from expanding to the lengths they might otherwise go.

In addition, motor carriers which transport goods or persons in a number of States are required to register in each State they cross. Multiple State license fees and taxes on interstate carriers pile up costs and impair the economy of motor carrier transportation, truckers claim. Another thing which rubs the industry the wrong way is the port-of-entry device used by some States.

It has been correctly pointed out that all inequalities are not necessarily inequities. Some State size and weight limitations, for example, are admittedly necessary to prevent injury to public roads and to keep highway maintenance costs within reasonable bounds. But genuine inequalities are fostered by State restrictions which obstruct free movement of interstate commerce more than is logical or desirable from the standpoint of proper and economical use of the highways.

CORRECTIVE MEASURES

To correct this situation, which truckers consider completely senseless, the Board of Investigation and Research examining interstate trade barriers advanced a number of recommendations. These still have some way to go before being universally adopted as a public policy.

The board urged that a uniform basis of taxation of commercial vehicles be developed and established in each State to replace the present intricate and unscientific methods of licensing and taxing. Some improvement was noted during the war in the interest of the war effort. But after hostilities ended, many States slumped back into their old ways, intent upon drumming up more revenues for postwar projects.

Under the board's plan, all commercial vehicles, for tax purposes, would be classified either as those largely engaged in interstate transportation or as those predominantly intrastate in operation. Interstate vehicles would be registered in the home State for a nominal fee and be taxed in all States in which they operate on a

South Carolina, with 128,783; Georgia with 122,114; Florida, 117,624; Virginia, 116,746; Alabama, 103,837; Tennessee, 101,598; Kentucky, 100,568; Mississippi, 95,536; Arkansas, 94,241; Louisiana, 92,169, and South Carolina, 74,322.

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Because of diverse State size and weight regulations, the Board of Investigation and Research (a governmental investigatory body), found, a motor vehicle allowed to operate in one State may be of such dimensions that its operations in another State would be illegal, even though the vehicle is in interstate commerce. It is this sort of contradiction which so

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Continued on Page Five

Smart Location

Spotting a sprig of mistletoe is a matter for careful judgment. It has to be located in a promising spot, or it fails completely.

So it is with plant location. Smart plant location takes into careful consideration the advantages of the territory as weighed against the needs of the industry. Weighing of these two factors has demonstrated many times that the territory served by the Norfolk and Western is a land filled with "promising spots" for the textile industry.

The Norfolk and Western maintains complete, detailed information about all sections of this land. The railroad's Industrial and Agricultural Department is staffed by men with intimate knowledge of industry needs — men who have been helpful to scores of others seeking *smart locations,* and who are eager to help you. For confidential advice with your problem, communicate with the Industrial and Agricultural Department, Roanoke, Va.

In Norfolk and Western territory, you will find an abundance of varied raw materials . . . plenty of power and pure water . . . intelligent, native labor . . . favorable tax policies . . . an almost unlimited supply of superior, all-purpose Bituminous coal . . . and Norfolk and Western Precision Transportation to markets of the nation and, through the Port of Norfolk, to the markets of the world.

Norfolk and Western RAILWAY

FOR BETTER PLANT LOCATIONS

Liberalization of Truck Size, Weight Limit Rules Sought

LIBERALIZATION of truck size and weight limits is one of the goals projected by motor carriers and their trade associations. Here again the motivation is competition on more even footing with railroads.

In a nutshell, what the motor carriers want is State-by-State authority to haul loads appromixating those handled by railroad boxcars, which carry about 92,600 pounds each when crammed to capacity.

Most of the difficulty centers around the major combination for heavy duty hauling by highway—a full truck plus a full trailer. The trailer cannot move independently. It rests on front, rear and often center wheels as well.

In general, Eastern States do not permit such a full truck-full trailer combination to operate within their borders. The South is slightly better from the truckers' point of view, but still a sorespot.

Consequently, State-wide trucking association are continuing their efforts to convince States that the heavy-duty combination should be legalized and weights authorized which correspond as closely as possible with those afforded regulation-type boxcars.

Only the West has been comparatively liberal with motor carriers who would like to be able to offer shippers full carload service.

Arizona, for example, has a technical truck limit for the combination full truck-full trailer of 80,000 pounds, but a tolerance, or leeway stipulation, really jacks that up to 85,000 pounds the absolute limit.

California is much the same, its truck load limit being 76,800 pounds.

Motor carriers point out that most Southern States either do not allow full trucks and full trailers to operate at all, or else their weight limits are out of line with the only considerations which should apply—namely, public safety and protection of the highways.

Alabama outlaws the full truck-full trailer combination. So does Kentucky, which truckers rate "one of the toughest" of all States in regard to truck size and weight restrictions. Florida permits the heavy duty combination to haul a maximum of 60,000 pounds, while Georgia allows 56,000 pounds.

Motor carriers are first to concede that it is impossible to advocate any flat, uniform figure that would govern truck-trailer loads. They concede that regional highway conditions vary and that these have to be taken into account, Western roads, in general, are straighter, thereby justifying heavy loads. Eastern and Southern roads often are winding, and connecting bridges less secure.

However, truckers insist that many States now barring full truck-full trailer combinations are doing so wastefully, unscientifically and illogically. They blame poitics, usuay prompted by "railroad interests." No State should ban the heavy duty combination altogether, the truckers add, and all should base their weight limits on safety and highway protection considerations and no others.

As a case in point, the motor carriers often point to Texas where until four or five years ago the State used to base weight restrictions on the net weight of the merchandise carried by the truck. Ordinary over-the-road trucks could haul no more than 7,000 pounds, unless they were heading to or from a railroad terminal. In that case, the limit automatically was liberalized to a more satisfactory 14,000 pounds!

Truckers say that before this was repealed, it was obvious railroads had a hand in getting that regulation and keeping it on the State statute books.

Southern Series

ALABAMA • ARKANSAS • FLORIDA • GEORGIA • KENTUCKY • LOUISIANA • MISSISSIPPI • NORTH CAROLINA • OKLAHOMA • SOUTH CAROLINA • TENNESSEE • TEXAS • VIRGINIA

Continued from Page Four

intrastate class of vehicles would be taxed on a gross-weight basis and be allowed to make occasional interstate trips under reciprocal arrangements.

Other board recommendations included establishment of a Federal-State highway relations committee to work toward a cooperative solution of problems bound up with State taxes and licenses, size and weight standards, and other questions which arise among the States in regulating motor vehicle operation; authorization by Congress of joint selection and designation by State highway department and the Public Roads Administration of a national system of interstate highways following routes of existing Federal-aid highways and available as an inter-regional network over which interstate carriers could operate under standardized weight and size limitations; and, finally, revision of the frequently existing dual pattern of State regulatory and road building administration, combining the functions under one authority or at least coordinating them.

How the proposal for a national system of interstate highways has been implemented in the postwar era, and how the plan figures in placing markets closer to Southern producers, will be shown in this article.

STATE VARIATIONS

There is plenty of substance to protests over conflicting State restrictions as to motor carriers. For example, Charleston, S. C., has permitted no vehicle wider than 7 feet, 6 inches to operate in the city; the State law, on the other hand, has permitted 8-foot widths. As for pyramiding registration taxes on interstate truck operations, a trucker operating a 5-ton truck without trailer from a point in Alabama to a point in South Carolina has been required to pay a $400 registration tax in Alabama, a $400 registration tax in Georgia, and a $300 registration tax in South Carolina, or a total of $1,100 in the three States.

As a matter of fact, truck operators generally object less to individual State registration-rate schedules than to the piling up of costs through duplicate taxation by some or all States through which they pass. There is no defi-

end. Border wars and retaliatory measures hardly promote interstate good will. It is not surprising that during the depression of the 1930s they gave rise to the slogan, 'Let's Not Balkanize the United States.'

The Temporary National Economic Committee, studying monopoly, had much to say about the highway trade barrier question in its final report of March 31, 1941. The committee wound up by concluding that testimony before the TNEC had established the serious impairment of interstate trade traceable directly to State and local trade barriers erected ostensibly to augment revenues but actually operating to prevent the free flow of goods.

ECONOMIC BARRIERS

Said the TNEC report: "While isolated cases do not loom large in the national economy, the aggregate effect is detrimental. We therefore recommend that the Congress enact legislation establishing a continuing committee on Federal-State relationships which shall be charged with the responsibility of collecting current information as to trade practices between the States and of devising ways and means of preventing or restraining economic barriers to trade."

Wartime necessarily put a crimp in plans to improve highways in the South, as it did throughout the nation. It should, of course, be recognized that it is not enough just to construct more roads in the South and make those that exist sleek and serviceable. The South does not exist by and for itself. It depends upon some raw materials for its industries from other parts of the United States and it must reach the bountiful markets in the North and West if it is to realize its economic potentialities and thereby prosper.

Even while the war drew to a close, postwar highway blueprints were being shaped for the big push when funds became available. Congress passed, and President Roosevelt signed, the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944. It provided 500 million dollars for construction of highways in each of the first three postwar years.

In addition to the existing Federal aid system, there was to be the "National System of Interstate Highways," not to exceed 40,000 miles of road, to connect

state highways represents a real boon to the South. The map reproduced elsewhere in this article blocks in the outlines of the 37,681-mile network, which is expected to be expanded eventually to the even 40,000 miles. The difference will be distribution roads serving metropolitan centers.

INDIVIDUAL MILEAGE

Quick arithmetic indicates that fully 3.5 per cent of the entire road network will be in the 13 Southern States covered in this series. Individual mileage breakdowns made available by the Public Roads Administration are as follows:

Texas, 2,789 miles; Georgia, 1,141; Florida, 1,140; Tennessee, 1,052; Alabama, 915; Virginia, 911; Oklahoma, 816; North Carolina, 708; South Carolina, 706; Mississippi, 698; Kentucky, 662; Louisiana, 570, and Arkansas, 525.

The new network, most modern of its kind, will supplant the two-lane highway system established under the Federal aid system in 1925.

"That system, which was considered daring for its day, has been almost completed and has been found to be inadequate," Commissioner MacDonald says.

The new super-network will take time to become a reality but it definitely will be worth it, motor carriers and Southern industry believe.

How do motor trucks figure in the South's economy? Of what significance are they?

Latest statistics indicate that almost 5,000 trucks haul textiles, about 3,750 handling apparel of all kinds. Take Kentucky. All of the State's cotton moves from farms to gins by truck. The same holds true for its corn, milk, sorghum, soy beans, peaches and other commodities.

How about New Mexico, which isn't in the South as it is defined for these articles? Trucks haul 8,777,000 pounds of wool, or 100 per cent of the State's production, to market. And 96.2 per cent of the cotton — 95,661 bales — moves that way, too.

Some truckers in the South credit Horton Motor Lines and Barnwell Bros. Transportation Co., Burlington, S. C., both adjuncts of the Associated Transport system, with being first in the region to truck textiles on long trips. Associated operates about 250 trucks plus 1,030 semi-tractors, 1,461 trailers and about 50 cars. Before 1931, it is said, independent truckers engaged in brief hauls from textile mills to nearby Southern communities.

Then Horton and Barnwell inaugurated its long-distance service for textiles from the South to Eastern destinations, including New York. Associated Transport and its affiliates are now believed to haul more textiles, by volume, than any other trucker.

BIG TRUCK EXPANSION

The Johnson Motor Lines, Charlotte, N. C., is another of the major motor carriers transporting textile products. Recently the firm made known its plans for a

$250,000 expansion. J. D. Kluttz, vice-president and general manager, said the program provides for purchase of additional equipment, including rolling stock, construction of terminal facilities and improvements in existing freight handling equipment.

With a weekly payroll topping $14,000, Johnson Motor Lines is franchised by ICC to move textiles and machinery Northward and general merchandise Southward. Operating revenues now are running at an annual rate of more than $2,500,000, compared with $400,000 for the system about one and a half years ago when the franchise was purchased.

According to Mr. Kluttz, the carrier moves a weekly average volume of 2 million pounds of textiles from Carolina mills to Eastern markets. Johnson Lines now operates 169 motor units over 450,000 route miles per month between Carolina points and Baltimore, Philadelphia, Jersey City, Newark, N. J., New York City, and New England points.

Akers Motor Lines, Inc., based in Gastonia, N. C., operates 400 pieces of equipment daily and expects to do business of between 3 and 3.5 million dollars in 1947. About half of the volume is transportation of textiles, including cotton yarns, finished and unfinished cotton piece goods, synthetic yarns and piece goods.

Second largest in transportation of general commodities and one of the largest in shipment of

Continued on Page Six

All these... and more...
PROFITABLY
PRODUCED
...in an Oklahoma Factory!

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As a matter of fact, truck operators generally object less to individual State registration-rate schedules than to the piling up of costs through duplicate taxation by some or all States through which they pass. There is no definite indication that local registration taxes imposed by counties or incorporated places has caused serious impediment to interstate commerce.

"The tendency of State and locally-imposed restrictions upon the use of highways to create internal dissension and foster sectionalism must not be disregarded," the Board of Investigation and Research advised Congress with an eye to the South.

"These are not the only forces that promote sectionalism, but their operation certainly contributes considerably toward that

Motor Competition Has Improved Rail Service

Railroad-motor carrier competition has left its mark in improved service for rail merchandise traffic. Truckers are first to admit that, under this impetus, railroads have scored "creditable progress."

The Southern Pacific Railroad offers an example. Its No. 70, an overnight merchandiser running between San Francisco and Los Angeles, now leaves the Coast ahead of the crack Sunset Limited and makes the 470-mile run to Los Angeles in only 11 hours and 7 minutes, or 13 minutes better than the fastest overnight passenger train connecting the two California cities.

Truckers contend that railroads functioned many years without improving their freight service appreciably, adding:

"That they did not progress, until they were confronted by an alert and progressive competitor, clearly reflects the complacency and stagnation of monopoly."

At any rate, railroads have improved their services to shippers, especially those interested in less-than-carload freight. That's one fruit of highway-rail rivalry.

just to construct more roads in the South and make those that exist sleek and serviceable. The South does not exist by and for itself. It depends upon some raw materials for its industries from other parts of the United States and it must reach the bountiful markets in the North and West if it is to realize its economic potentialities and thereby prosper.

Even while the war drew to a close, postwar highway blueprints were being shaped for the big push when funds became available. Congress passed, and President Roosevelt signed, the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944. It provided 500 million dollars for construction of highways in each of the first three postwar years.

In addition to the existing Federal aid system, there was to be the "National System of Interstate Highways," not to exceed 40,000 miles of road, to connect metropolitan areas, cities, and industrial areas, and to serve the national defense, and also a system of secondary and feeder roads. Federal funds were to represent 50 per cent of construction costs, but with provision for larger contributions in special instances.

INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS

On Aug. 2, 1947, the Federal Works Agency approved routes for the national system of interstate highways as part of the estimated 3-billion-dollar postwar program. The system is to consist of 37,681 miles of north-south, east-west and diagonal routes. The linked express roads eventually will serve 42 State capitals and 182 of the 199 cities having a population of 50,000 or more. Wherever traffic is more than 800 vehicles an hour at peak hours, there will be four-lane, divided highways.

The super-network of interstate highway will leave its mark on the South. The plan, in part, calls for the following new roads serving that area and connecting it with other sections of the country:

North and South: Bellingham, Wash., down the coast to San Diego; Sweetgrass, Mont., along the Rockies through Salt Lake City to Nogales, Ariz.; Billings, Mont., through Cheyenne, Denver and Albuquerque to El Paso, Tex.; Sioux Falls, S. D., through Omaha, Kansas City, Wichita, Oklahoma City and Dallas to Houston and Galveston.

The east-west trunk line will cross through Memphis, Oklahoma City and Albuquerque to Los Angeles; New Orleans, through Houston, San Antonio, El Paso, Tucson and Phoenix to San Diego.

In some cases, construction of the roads has gotten under way but materials remain short and costs often are prohibitive. Public Roads Commissioner Thomas H. MacDonald believes the project will require 15 to 20 years to complete, although the job may be done sooner.

The plan calls for the highway networks to bypass smaller cities and lead as nearly as feasible into and through metropolitan centers. Trans-city road sections are to be depressed or elevated to provide city travel at 35 to 45 miles an hour without traffic signal stops or cross-traffic interference.

The national system of inter-

How do motor trucks figure in the South's economy? Of what significance are they?

Latest statistics indicate that

lotte, N. C., is another of the major motor carriers transporting textile products. Recently the firm made known its plans for a

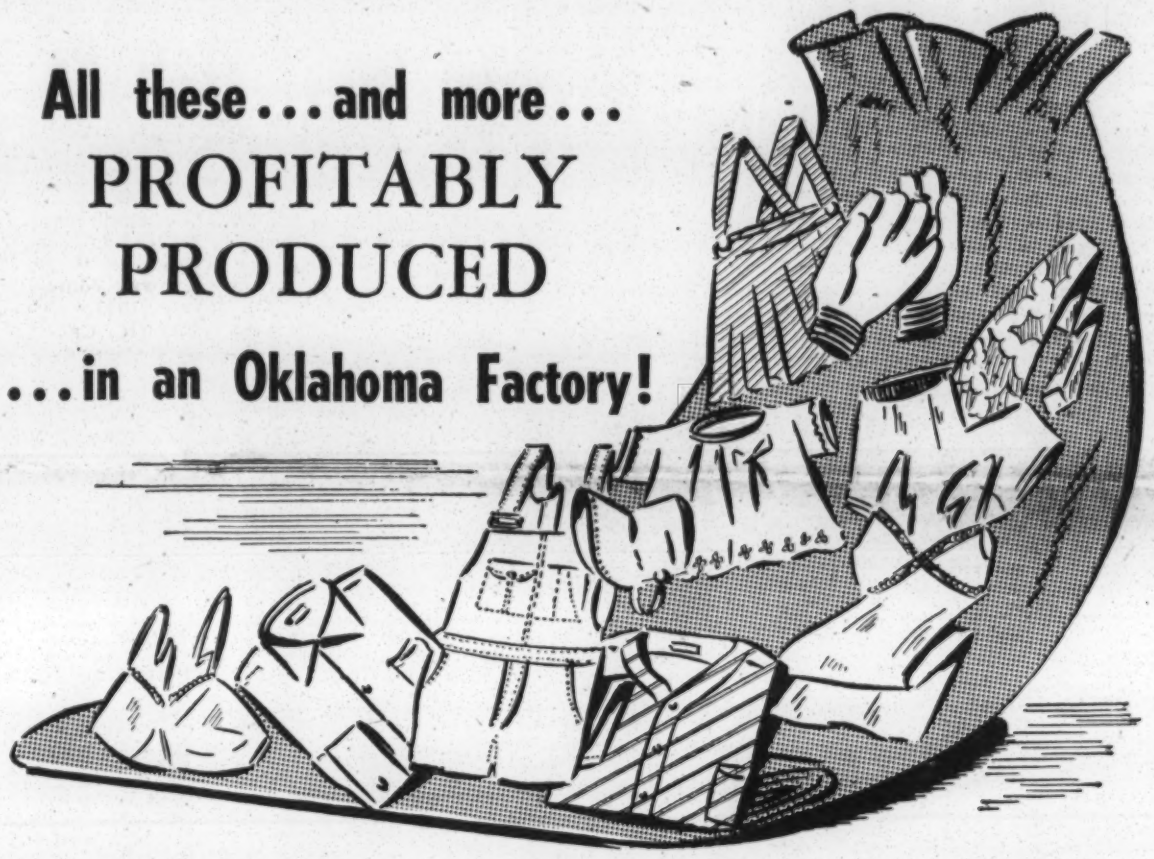
Second largest in transportation of general commodities and one of the largest in shipment of

Continued on Page Six

All these... and more...

PROFITABLY PRODUCED

...in an Oklahoma Factory!



An amazing variety of apparel and textile items are now being produced profitably... in Oklahoma. Garment factories throughout the state prove it every day, as they operate with intelligent, native-white labor, in soot-free factories and year-round mild climate.

In Oklahoma, too, you distribute from the center of the 18 BILLION dollar Southwestern market and take advantage of advantageous freight rates to the west coast.

Facts* prove that Oklahoma's "OK" for the garment industry. Find out for yourself.

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Continued from Page Six

that the State Governments will have the means to discharge their constitutional functions. They should not be heard pleading that they are stepping aside for the Federal Government — because they do not have the money to do their job."

Some Southern States have intensified efforts to improve transportation so that their territory will be made more attractive and more efficient for new producers who may wish to build there.

KENTUCKY'S EFFORTS

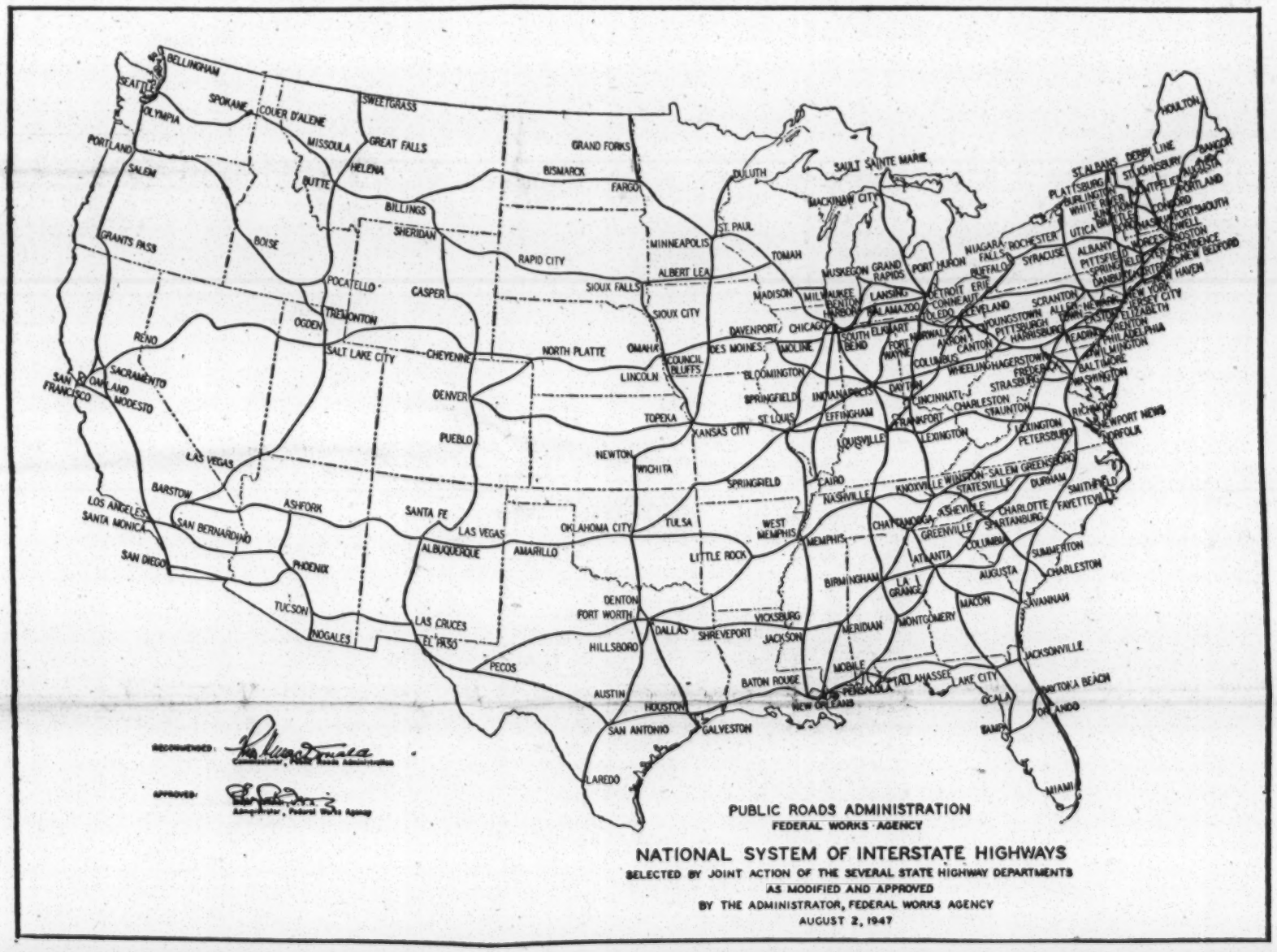
Postwar Advisory Planning Commision of Kentucky represents such an effort. The group's transportation committee exhaustively studied motor truck transportation. It noted that all industrial development and new construction was designed to meet the needs of trucking facilities. Many older manufacturing plants with only railroad sidings have been reconditioned with platform space, yards and loading equipment for truck transport in Kentucky.

Kentucky Highway Department surveys found that the State has 57,000 miles of roads, 10,000 miles of which were in the State highway system and 47,000 miles in the county road system. Only 2,100 miles have high-type surfacing. Some 27,000 miles have lower-type surfacing, including 3,300 miles of traffic-bound macadam, with the rest mainly stone or gravel. About 28,000 miles are unsurfaced, unimproved earth roads which require plenty of work before becoming satisfactory for heavy-the nation's poorest.

The Kentucky Postwar Committee emphasized that, because 65.9 per cent of the State's communities were not served directly by railroads, the commonwealth should assure the best facilities in highways and load limits, rather than the nation's poortest.

"It is the duty of Kentuckians to translate into action a program for the betterment of our highway transportation in order to elevate the State's position from a substandard classification to a position of which we may all be proud," the report said. "Additional revenue for highway consumption and correspondingly increased gasoline tax revenues. Similarly, a raising of weight limits on trucks will yield greatly increased revenues from license fees as well as increased gasoline tax revenue."

New National System of Interstate Highways



THE SOLUTION

Key, then, to improving trucking service for Southern industry rests with emphasizing extension

This is the sort of beneficent assistance the motor truck industry wants and needs if it is to translate its services and facilities into prosperity for an expanding South: Better roads, fair taxes, unified State laws on loads, sizes and weights, and a more enlightened national transportation policy—these are some of the planks on which the industry stands.

Truckers say they are growing with the South. The railroads are geared to the same tempo. This adds up to more accessible markets in a shorter time for Southern manufactures—a significant prerequisite for stepped-up industrialization.

(Next week's article concentrates on Southern agriculture, now riding the wave of prosperity, but fearing breakers ahead.)

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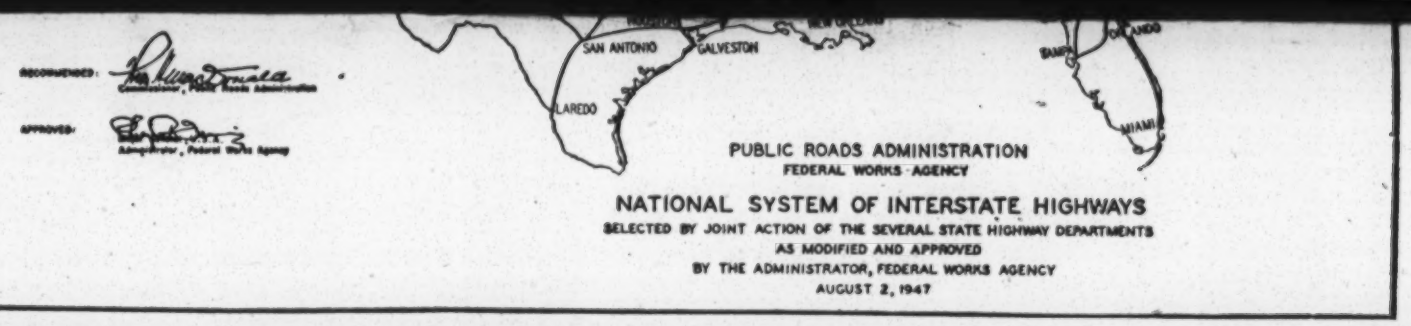

THE SOLUTION

Key, then, to improving trucking service for Southern industry rests with emphasizing extension and improvement of highways coupled with encouraging use of all types of trucking, as Kentucky has concluded. Kentucky found that much of its industrial development has been hampered or retarded by lack of adequate transportation, resulting from insufficient extension of suitable highways and restrictive trade barriers which virtually eliminated the State from interstate highway commerce.

The solution, which may be a pattern for all of the South:

1. Orderly and uninterrupted improvement and extension of through highways and the farm-to-market road system, and—

2. Enactment of State truck legislation which will permit safe operation of trucks carrying loads for which the highways they traverse have been engineered.

This is the sort of beneficent assistance the motor truck industry wants and needs if it is to translate its services and facilities into prosperity for an expanding South: Better roads, fair taxes, unified State laws on loads, sizes and weights, and a more enlightened national transportation policy—these are some of the planks on which the industry stands.

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(Next week's article concentrates on Southern agriculture, now riding the wave of prosperity, but fearing breakers ahead.)

"I certainly do not advocate a return to the low wage levels of the depression, nor do I feel that wool prices should return to the low levels of the early 1930s. However, there is palpable injustice in first encouraging incrased costs and then viewing the resultant price increases of manufactured consumer goods with an alarm which overlooks the very facts that have caused them."

—Curt Forstmann,
Forstmann Woolen Co.

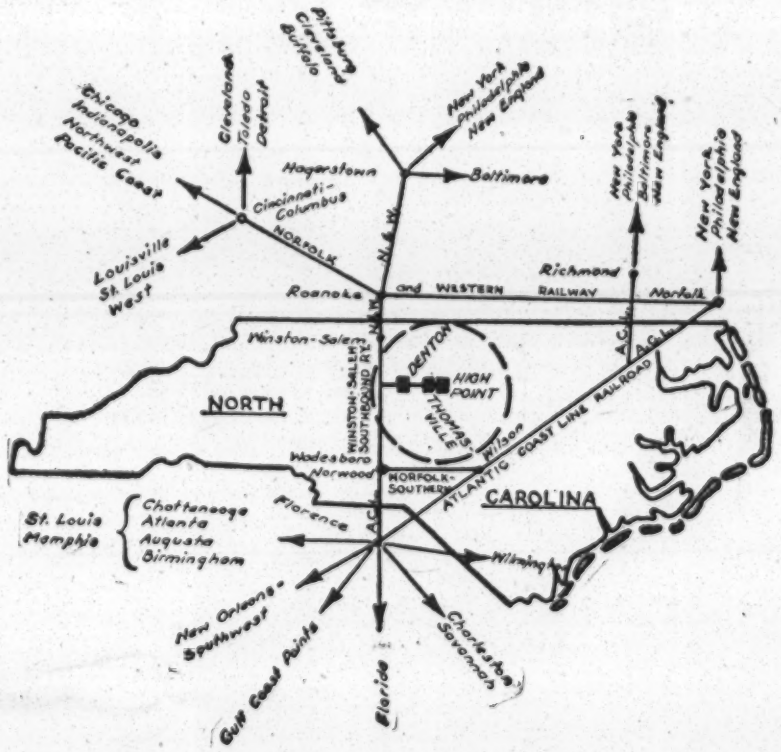
At Textile Bank Opening

DAILY NEWS RECORD Photo

Los Angeles.—Henry Louis (right), Brownstein-Louis Co., pioneer manufacturer, congratulates Nat C. Green (center), vice-president and manager, Bank of America's Textile Branch, on the opening of the branch's new quarters at Ninth and Los Angeles streets. Julian Cole (left), Brownstein-Louis Co., looks on. Members of the trade crowded the modern new branch during its recent formal opening.

HIGH POINT, THOMASVILLE AND DENTON RAILROAD

"Nothing But Service To Sell"



HIGH POINT—
furniture and hosiery center of the South.

THOMASVILLE—
furniture, hosiery, miscellaneous manufacturing.

DENTON—
a small and growing town having a strong appeal for industries seeking rural locale.

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Through our connections the HPT&D Railroad gives this industrial part of North Carolina competitive trunk line advantages. Concentrated into a small area as an efficient "Short Line" and transporting freight only, HPT&D serves, helpfully and courteously.

HPT&D offers regular schedules to all parts of the United States through the Winston-Salem Southbound, Norfolk and Western, Atlantic Coast Line, and Norfolk Southern railroads and their many connections.

Many industries are located along our tracks. Much new development is underway.

High Point and Thomasville are at the heart of an industrial circle, one hundred miles in diameter, which exceeds the combination of similar areas of equal extent around Richmond, Virginia, and Atlanta, Georgia, in annual value of manufactured products and annual wages paid.

Even "truck-minded" producers and distributors need to be "rail-minded" and be assured of the security of uninterrupted rail transportation.

For detailed information as to industrial sites, track locations, rates, routings, schedules, etc., write or call:

Traffic Department

HIGH POINT, THOMASVILLE AND DENTON RAILROAD

HIGH POINT **NORTH CAROLINA**

IN A NUTSHELL

The pending Registration Bill would erase the more than a million voters now registered and make registration so arduous that we would go back to the time when only a small minority of our people participated in elections. The smaller the number of voters, the easier it is for a controlled minority to hold the balance of power. The Bill:

1) Abolishes permanent registration. You would have to re-register every two years.

2) Requires a registration fee of $1. This is the old Poll Tax restored under a new name.

3) Puts such authority into the hands of the registering boards that in effect their judgment alone determines whether you or I would be considered qualified to vote, either morally or intellectually.

It is claimed that the Bill is needed to purge the registration lists. But actually the present law does this accurately, efficiently, and with a minimum of work. What we need is enforcement.

21 January 1949

1-21-49

ANALYSIS OF REGISTRATION BILL (HOUSE BILL 2)*

Introduced by Speaker Hand and Mr. Twitty of Mitchell, Mr. Smith of Emanuel, and others. Was drafted chiefly by former State Senator A. S. Weaver, who was employed as a special assistant Attorney-General for the purpose.

H. B. 2 would abolish the permanent registration system throughout the State and instead require each voter to re-register in 1949, 1952, and every even year thereafter. The announced purpose of this is to keep the lists purged, but present law requires that a voter who has not voted for two years shall be taken off the voters' list, after notice, if he does not re-apply. This keeps the list purged without requiring from dutiful citizens the inconvenience and expense of re-registering.

H. B. 2 would require the applicant to pay a registration fee of $1 (not refundable) every time he applies for re-registration. This money goes into a special county fund usable only for registration costs; if it is insufficient the county treasury must cover the deficit, and any surplus in the special fund must be applied to election expense. This is simply a revival of the poll tax in a worse form, without the exemptions for old people and the blind that were allowed under the poll tax.

H. B. 2 would wipe off the books the more than a million voters now registered and make registration so arduous that we would go back to the time when only a small minority of our people participated in elections. The smaller the number of voters, the easier it is for a controlled minority to hold the balance of power.

Under H. B. 2, in addition to signing a voter's oath similar to the present one, every applicant must:

(1) state whether he has ever been arrested or indicted, or accused or convicted of "any criminal offense", and if so, name the offense, the court, and the approximate date. This would require listing even minor traffic violations.

(2) either attempt to read and write selected paragraphs of the Georgia or U. S. Constitution (or interpret the same if unable to read due solely to physical disability), or submit to an oral examination by the registrars on his moral character and understanding of the duties of citizenship. The registration official must report on the registration card whether the applicant could (a) read the paragraph selected, and if so whether "intelligibly" or "unintelligibly;" (b) write the paragraph selected, and if so whether "legibly" or "illegibly"; and (c) if applicant claims inability to read due solely to physical infirmity, whether he could explain the selected paragraph "satisfactorily." This opens the way wide to the misuse of judgment by registering officials. If the applicant fails or chooses not to take the reading-and-writing test, he can qualify only by appearing before the registrars when notified to do so (notice must be given 1 to 10 days before the hearing, by service in the same manner as civil process or by handing the applicant notice when he applies, or the registrars may hold the hearing at the time of application and without notice if then in session) and passing an oral examination. The questions asked him must be from a list prepared by a "Central Registration Authority" (one citizen from each Congressional district

* Substitute bill reported out of House Committee on State of Republic, 1-18-49.

appointed by the Governor for an indefinite term, meeting biennially and with their expenses and compensation of $10 each a day paid by the State), and a record must be kept in each case of the questions and answers.

Under H. B. 2 applications to register can be made only at the office of the tax collector or tax commissioner, so that present law allowing him to travel to rural districts to register voters is repealed.

Under H. B. 2 the registrars must close the voters' lists for the general election 6 months before it is held (present law is 4 except in Fulton), and thereafter until the lists are prepared they may refuse to register anybody except on one day a week. On April 20 of each general election year, they must begin making the lists and by August 20 must file them with the superior court clerk. No one whose name is not on the lists could vote in the succeeding general election or in any primary to nominate candidates to be voted on at that general election. No provision is made for county primaries held during a general election year before the lists are prepared. For special elections held at any time, the latest general election lists plus supplemental lists (including voters registering up to 5 days after the call of such election, and filed within 10 days after such call) would be used. The registrars would be permitted, however, to purge all lists at any time on their own motion or on contest by any person himself registered, with proper notice to the questioned voter.

The registrars would be 3 in number appointed biennially by the superior court judge for each county, as at present; but apparently H. B. 2 would require new appointments, for it says "the first appointments hereunder" shall be for the three years ending with 1951. The present requirement that not all shall be "from any one political interest or party" is omitted from H. B. 2, but the present provision that any or all may be removed by the judge "at any time in his discretion, with or without cause" is re-enacted. The judge would fix the registrars' compensation (present law gives this power to the county governing authority but fixes a $2 per day minimum) and the registrars themselves would set their own expense budget. The tax collector or tax commissioner would be a deputy to the registrars, and they could name any of his deputies theirs or appoint additional deputies as they desired.

Under H. B. 2 the registrars must reject an application (1) if the applicant fails to pay the registration fee, (2) if the applicant admits conviction of crime which under the Georgia Constitution disfranchises him, and (3) if the applicant fails to give information sought from him by a direct question from any registrar or deputy, or gives false information. All blanks on the registration card would be filled in by the registering official and no applicant permitted to write on it except when he signed the oath or made his mark thereto. Registrars who disqualified an applicant in his absence would have to mail him a notice the same day, and their decision would stand unless appealed within 10 days to the superior court and until reversed by that court. Registrars' meetings would have to be public but they could examine any applicant apart from other applicants.

Prepared by

League of Women Voters of Georgia
220 Collier Building
Atlanta, Georgia

1. Hamilton-Talmadge-Creasy
2. Civil Service
3. Re-registration Bill
(Softened offer
where this home)
4. Libel law
5. Increasing fees notaries
salaries of county officials,
ingratiating w/ courthouse
gangs. St. John: "The
pattern for dictatorship
dictator not identified!"

Montgomery Advertiser (p. 7C)
(AP)

Ag. Herald (p. 2) (AP)

The State (p. 1) (AP)

Times-Dispatch (p. 4) (AP)

Washington Post

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

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Education Bill's Test Will Be Its Financing

UNANIMOUS PASSAGE in the House of Representatives of Georgia's Minimum Foundation program for education is a reflection of the general belief among people of this state that we must provide better schooling for our children.

Whatever it takes in the way of more adequate compensation for teachers and better physical equipment, Georgians are eager to supply. Whether they will be as ready to pay the necessary taxes remains to be determined.

Details of the Minimum Foundation program are being taken largely on faith, even by members of the General Assembly. Its formulas for fixing teachers' pay and allotment of funds to local school systems are complex. But the plan has endorsement of the Georgia Education Association, and no one wants to block what educators think is necessary and desirable.

The Senate can be expected to join the House in approving this measure. The test as to whether our schools really will benefit by its provisions will come on the question of financing the Minimum Foundation program. A sound tax program is just as much a part of the need as the bill which has now passed the House of Representatives.

A Tell-Tale 'Joker' in Re-Registration Bill

THERE IS one provision in the re-registration bill, now pending in the state Senate, about which its advocates have said little or nothing but which ought to give much concern to Georgians who value their ballot rights and who abhor a political dicta' ship. We refer to that peculiar provision which would require every qualified voter to re-register *in the years in which an election for governor is held.*

The bill as first introduced in the House [illegible] AT [illegible] while it could be so administered, also offers full opportunity for dishonest and unfair tests, and therefore could bring about a prostitution of our electoral system. Certainly, those who advocate this measure in good faith would do their cause as well as democracy a real service by amending the provision which puts re-registration in governor-election years. That device is all too much for a fair-minded citizenry to stomach.

Research Once Again Pays Off in the South

OUT OF SPARTANBURG has come news of high import to the cotton belt. The hull of the cottonseed, the Associated Press reports, is destined to overcome its hitherto lowly stature and become a raw material of worth to industry. Its potential value lies in a chemical it contains which is used in the manufacture of nylon and in petroleum refining. The mechanical extraction of the chemical has been perfected through a process evolved by Dr. Henry Edwin Shiver, a chemistry professor at Converse College.

Of greater significance is the fact that rights for the patented extraction process have been acquired by a major commercial manufacturer, and already existing machinery is being adapted for the extraction. Thus commercial utilization would seem assured.

Scarcely half a century ago cottonseed and hulls were considered worthless and were burned as trash. Since then the extraction of oil has created a growing industry, and hulls now are being used as stock feed roughage.

The wonders of science never cease. In this instance we have one more example of how research can help enrich the South. We discover that we have by no means exhausted the potential wealth which can come from our soil and that our quest for it—through the channels of research—can repay us in handsome dividends.

Georgia Loses Heavily In Death of C. B. Allen

GEORGIA HAS suffered a heavy loss in the [illegible]

or nothing but which ought to give much concern to Georgians who value their ballot rights and who abhor a political dicta' ship. We refer to that peculiar provision which would require every qualified voter to re-register *in the years in which an election for governor is held.*

The bill as first introduced in the House called for biennial re-registrations. An amendment increased the period to four years, beginning in 1949. This timetable, if consistently followed, would mean that there would be a re-registration in 1949, again in 1953, and so on for every ensuing fourth year. Curiously enough, however, the bill stipulates that the first re-registration shall hold for five years instead of four, so that the second re-registration would come in 1954 when a governor is to be elected. From then on the re-registration would coincide with gubernatorial election years.

This means that on January 1 of 1954, 1958, 1962, etc.—the years in which the people of Georgia elect a governor there will be zero registration. Then there will be only the months of January, February, March, and April in which all the people who are to vote on the most important office in our state must register. This makes it certain that in the years in which a governor is elected, registration will be at its lowest possible level.

What is the motive, the design, the purpose behind this calculated arrangement?

An answer may be found by considering first, the probable effect of the proposed act on the voters' lists. One effect, undoubtedly, would be to cut down the number of voters, irrespective of race or color. The franchise certificate of every citizen now registered would be wiped out and to regain it he would be required to appear before a board of registrars. If for any reason, or on any pretext, the registrars decided against him his chance of appeal would be fenced about with all manner of difficulties and uncertainties; and if he failed to surmount them he would be disqualified for the next four years at least.

In populous counties like Fulton, where there are now more than 130,000 registered voters, the mere mechanics of re-registering them would be an enormous task. And since, under the proposed new law, re-registration must be completed within the first four months of the year—or approximately 100 working days—it is certain that many voters would be left in the lurch for lack of time. It is an axiom of democracy that citizens should be encouraged to use their elective franchise and to do ballot duty. The bill now awaiting action by the Georgia Senate would have precisely the opposite effect. By reducing the number of the state's qualified voters —some authorities estimate by more than one-half—it would tend to put the balance of power in the hands of a minority that would be most susceptible to control by an entrenched political machine.

Therefore, we submit, the timing of the re-registration schedule so that it will always coincide with a governor-election year is a grave peril to free and honest government in our commonwealth. For this crafty arrangement means that whenever a state administration is to be chosen the entire list of voters will be canceled and the conditions renewed for political purging if not padding.

As we said in an editorial last Sunday, The Journal believes in a basic educational test for voting, provided it be administered with honesty and fairness. But the pending bill,

adusted the potential wealth which can come from our soil and that our quest for it—through the channels of research—can repay us in handsome dividends.

Georgia Loses Heavily In Death of C. B. Allen

GEORGIA HAS suffered a heavy loss in the death of Columbus B. Allen. For more than 50 years his editorial voice through the *Moultrie Observer* has been a sane, wise and brave counselor to the people of his community and his state.

He went to Moultrie from a nearby farm in 1896 and has seen the village with a population of only a few hundred grow into a bustling, busy city which is the hub of one of America's finest agricultural regions. Through those years he and his newspaper have been not only the chronicler of the growth and progress but a very inspiration to it.

The Journal knows of no citizen who has contributed more to his community and his state with keen prevision, unflagging confidence and practice of the highest civic virtues. It is fair to assume, certainly devoutly to be hoped, that the *Observer* will be for many years the fine newspaper which it has been under the direction of its late editor.

These Are Bald Facts And We Need to Face Them

A VERY BALD ATTEMPT to pass legislation reducing the price of haircuts for persons "having less than a full head of hair" has been defeated in the state of Washington's legislature. One of that state's representatives proposed as an amendment to a bill regulating barbering that "fees charged for haircutting for persons having less than a full head of hair shall be reduced in proportion to the quantity of hair the customer possesses." The amendment was successfully opposed on the grounds that barbers had to look harder when people have less hair.

Also defeated was a substitute amendment which would charge people with less hair more for shaves because they "would have a longer forehead."

Now these are matters which should not be dismissed too lightly. They are complex matters for a complex day, far removed from the era when we could whistle truthfully "Shave and a haircut—two bits!" Personally, we feel inclined in favor of both of the amendments proposed. It's only logical to assume that what loss the barbers might incur in cutting the hair of the bald and semi-bald would be balanced by the larger fees they could obtain for shaving these same persons. In the final analysis, nobody would actually be the loser.

Seriously speaking, if, in these rugged days in which we find ourselves, legislators can still turn aside for a moment from the weighty problems which harass them to consider such matters as these, we have hopes for our nation and for the world. Such a saving grace a sense of humor can be! And at no time have we been in greater need of it.

A LIGHT UNTO OUR PATH

Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall: but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with the wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint.
—Isaiah, xl, 30, 31.

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

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A Transparent Hoax On Our Ballot Rights

IT WAS REMARKED by one William Shakespeare, who knew a thing or two about language and also about politicians, that "They who dally nicely with words will quickly make them wanton." Authors of the Georgia Senate's substitute for House Bill 2, generally known as the re-registration bill, have carried that practice so far as to make certain words in the proposed measure ridiculously wanton and wantonly ridiculous. Consider Section 4 of the substitute, which reads as follows:

"The registration provided for in this act shall be permanent, but electors shall lose their place on the list unless they maintain their status as qualified voters by renewing their registration periodically as herein provided. The first period shall comprehend the years 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952 and 1953, and the periods thereafter shall be quadrennial periods beginning with the year 1954."

Registration shall be "permanent." But the citizen must *re-register* every four years after 1953 or else be disqualified to vote. That is to say, you will not be deprived of your present right of permanent registration but you will not be permitted to retain it. Two plus two shall equal four; however, two plus two shall equal only one.

Why have the sponsors of the Senate substitute bill thus dallied and trifled with words? The motive is quite transparent. The bill as it came from the House declared patly, "There shall be no permanent registration"—an avowal which brought forth a flaming public remonstrance. Georgia's qualified voters who have been free to cast their ballots without being put to the trouble of registering over again for every election of a governor, naturally resented the threatened loss of that right. So the Senate revisionists cast about for some means of evading public protest. But the hoax to which they have resorted is so absurd as really to insult public intelligence. In the name of the simplest common sense and merest honesty, how can registration be permanent if "electors shall lose their place on the list" unless they re-register every fourth year?

The Senate substitute also retains the "joker" in the House bill which so fixes the re-registration timetable that the entire voters' list will be wiped out and reduced to zero whenever an election for governor, the state's most important office, is to be held. Commenting on that device for serving an entrenched political machine, The Journal has said editorially, "That is all too much for a fair-minded citizenry to stomach." Now comes an added affront to such a citizenry—the hollow pretense that a registration which is to be blotted out at four-year intervals is *permanent*.

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STATE OF GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF LAW
ATLANTA

EUGENE COOK
ATTORNEY GENERAL

March 4, 1949

TO ALL TAX COLLECTORS AND TAX COMMISSIONERS:
TO ALL ORDINARIES:

Gentlemen:

I am attaching hereto a mimeographed copy of a letter I wrote Judge Arthur S. Oldham of Athens, Georgia in which I have given him my personal views on questions he ~~requested me to~~ answer concerning the application of the new ~~Registration Act~~ H. B. No. 2 and the Referendum Resolution H. R. No. 40-208B.

I am furnishing you with a copy of this letter as a matter of information which I hope will be helpful to you and your County Attorney in construing the meaning of two Acts of the Legislature as they relate to certain questions presented by Judge Oldham.

You will please understand that my views in this letter are of a personal nature and cannot be accepted as official or binding on anyone. I felt compelled to release my unofficial views on these points because of unprecedented demands made from county officials throughout the State.

Of course, your County Attorney is your primary advisor on such matters as the subject of this letter. But I felt that the need for uniformity in the application of our Registration and Voting Laws would justify whatever contribution I might be able to make.

Assuring you of my desire to assist you when called upon, I am

Sincerely yours,

Eugene Cook

The Attorney General.

STATE OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF LAW
ATLANTA

EUGENE COOK
ATTORNEY GENERAL

March 4, 1949.

Honorable Arthur S. Oldham
Clarke County Court House
Athens, Georgia

Dear Judge Oldham:

I am in receipt of your letter of February 25, 1949 in which you request information as to whether or not the old list of voters will be used in the forthcoming election of April 5, 1949, and, if so, what will be the last day for voters to qualify in order to be eligible to vote in that election.

I would like to preface my remarks by saying that there is absolutely no legal precedent to follow in interpreting the registration law nor the tax referendum resolution inasmuch as they are themselves the new law. I am trying to work out the logical solution to the problems which confront us due to the complexity of the registration system.

Section 5 of H. B. No. 2 (Registration Act) reads as follows:

> "At any special election, held before the first list under the terms of this Act shall have been prepared and filed, the general election list of qualified voters of the year 1948, in conjunction with a supplemental list prepared in accordance with the special election provisions hereafter set forth shall be used. In the same manner the last general election list of qualified voters shall be used for any special election occurring after said list is prepared but before the preparation of a new general election list. Nothing in this section shall be construed so as to prevent the Registrars from purging said old list and the supplemental list and remove therefrom those persons not entitled to vote."

The election which is to be held on April 5, 1949 is a special election. Therefore, it would seem that it would come under the provisions of the new law which provides for the use of the general election list of 1948 in conjunction with a supplemental list prepared in accordance with the special election provisions set forth in H. B. No. 2.

The only section dealing with the supplemental list which is spoken of in Section 5 is Section 31 which reads as follows:

"Any person who has registered for a general election shall, if otherwise qualified to vote at any special election before the next general election, be listed and entitled to vote at such special election. Five days after the call of said special election, the Registrars shall cease taking applications from persons desiring to register and qualify to vote therein, and proceed to examine into the qualifications of the applicants in the same manner as herein provided with reference to applicants desiring to qualify to vote in general elections. The Registrars shall then prepare a supplemental list showing the names of additional voters who are entitled to vote at such special election, and any person whose name appears on said list may vote at such special election, but the Registrars shall purge said list before filing it of all persons who will not be qualified to vote in the same manner as provided with reference to the list for the general election. The list so prepared and arranged alphabetically and divided according to districts and wards as in the case of general election lists shall be filed in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court within ten days after the call of said special election. It shall be the duty of the Registrars upon the call of a special election to purge the list of registered voters prepared for the last general election of any names subsequently disqualified for any reason and to furnish the managers of such special election two lists, one composed of the names of voters entitled to vote by reason of their registration and qualification for the last general election, and the other made up of the names of those entitled to vote by reason of their subsequent registration as hereinbefore provided, and no one shall be entitled to vote in said special election unless his name is on one of the lists furnished by the Registrars."

You will notice that this section provides that a supplemental list shall be prepared and shall be used for special elections in addition to the general election list. Applying this to the April 5th election, this would mean that the 1948 general election list plus the supplemental list prepared for a special election would be used on that date.

Section 31 provides that five days after the call of a special election, the Registrars shall cease taking applications from persons desiring to register and qualify to vote therein. This would seem to indicate that after the Ordinary has called the special election which is to be held on April 5, 1949, that no one could apply to register and qualify after the fifth day subsequent to the call.

This would lead one to believe that each county in the State would possibly have a different date after which no one could qualify to vote in said election, inasmuch as the Ordinary of each county could pick a different day to issue the call for special election.

H. R. No. 40-208B (Tax Referendum) provides in Section 3 as follows:

> "At such special election there shall be submitted to the voters of the county who are qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly as of February 1, 1949, the question . . . . ."

Taken alone, this sentence would seem to mean that only those people who were qualified on that specific date (February 1, 1949) to vote for members of the General Assembly would be eligible to vote in the special election on April 5th. However, it can be presumed that the Legislature intended this sentence to mean that persons who had qualified up to February 1, 1949, could vote.

This offers the interesting proposition that H.B. No. 2 and H.R. No. 40-208B are in conflict with each other as to the persons who are to be allowed to vote in the special election of April 5th.

It is my opinion that H.B. No. 2 is controlling on this point. It deals with all special and general elections, whereas, H.R. 40-208B deals only with the April 5th election and is in reality only a resolution to submit a question to the people to discover their wishes, and will be of no force and effect after April 5th.

Section 31 of H. B. No. 2 provides for a supplemental list to be used in special elections. However, Section 31 also says that this supplemental list shall be prepared in the same manner that general election lists are prepared under the provisions of H. B. No. 2.

Therefore, in order for a person to register and qualify to vote in the April 5th election, he would have to register according to the provisions of H. B. No. 2, even if only to get on the supplemental list to be used for special elections. Taking this proposition further, we can see that this means that unless a county sets up the new registration machinery within a very short time, then no one will be able to get on the supplemental list. Thus, only those persons qualified under the 1948 general election list could vote in the April 5th election.

As to the persons who are qualified under the 1948 general election list, it is my opinion that all those persons who qualified under such list up to February 25th will be eligible to vote in the April 5th election. The old law concerning registration

was in effect up until February 25th which was the date of the approval of H. B. No. 2 by the Governor of Georgia. Therefore, we reach the conclusion that persons who qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly up until February 25, 1949, and all those persons who are able to register and get their names on the supplemental list provided for special elections will be entitled to vote in the April 5th election.

It is my opinion that no one can register under the old law subsequent to February 25, 1949, but will have to register under the provisions of H. B. No. 2.

The point has been raised that under the Act approved February 5, 1945 (Ga. L. 1945, p. 129) notices have been mailed out to persons who did not vote within a two year period, to the effect that such persons would be disqualified unless by April 1, 1949 an application for continuance of registration was received by the Tax Collector or Tax Commissioner, as the case might be.

This raises the question as to whether or not a person who filed his application for continuance of registration after February 25th and before April 1st would be qualified to vote in the April 5th election.

H. B. No. 2 provides that effective from the date of the approval of this Act no person shall be permitted to vote unless such person shall have been registered and qualified as provided in H. B. No. 2. This would seem to indicate that a person who qualified after February 25th could not vote in the April 5th election, but inasmuch as under the 1945 Act a person who did not vote within the two year period was not automatically disqualified but was only disqualified in the event that he did not file his application for continuance of registration on or before April 1st, it would seem to follow that for the purposes of deciding only the point as to who is still on the 1948 general election list, the 1945 Act would still be effective up until and including April 1, 1949, as applied to this class of voters. These persons were qualified to vote in the 1948 general election and their status would not be changed except upon failure to file application for continuance of registration. This only applies to the general election list of 1948 which is to be used to compile a list of voters eligible to vote in special elections.

Briefly, here are the conclusions which I have reached regarding some of the questions which present themselves.

1. All those persons who were qualified to vote under the old law up until February 25, 1949 are eligible to vote at the April 5th election. This does not preclude the purging of the old list.

2. Those persons who are on the supplemental list as provided in Section 31 of H. B. No. 2 are eligible to vote in the April 5th election.

3. Those persons who file, under the provisions of the old law, their applications for continuance of registration prior to April 1, 1949 are eligible to vote in the April 5th election.

4. No person may register subsequent to February 25, 1949 under the provisions of the old law.

As the Attorney General is prohibited by law from rendering official opinions to persons other than the Governor and heads of the various departments, this letter must be considered as merely my personal views on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene Cook

The Attorney General.

EC-eg

35. Suffrage. Ga.

FOR RELEASE 7:45 A.M. Saturday Morning, January 28, 1950.

(Radio Address of Governor Herman E. Talmadge over a network of Georgia Radio Stations as a part of a weekly series of reports to the people.)

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

This morning I have an urgent message for all of the people of Georgia. I hope that you who are listening in on the radio today will take this message to your neighbors and I hope that you will discuss it with them, because what I have to say concerns the future destiny of every man, woman, and child in the State of Georgia.

This week in the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of Georgia, Benard South, an Atlanta merchant, and Harold C. Fleming, Public Relations Director for the notorious race-mixing Southern Regional Council, filed suit against Chairman James S. Peters of the State Democratic Executive Committee,and others seeking to outlaw Georgia's traditional county unit system.

There is more behind this suit than meets the eye. Ellis Arnall started all this. It is a part of a master plan that has been underway in Georgia since the Arnall administration, to disfranchise the white people in rural areas and enfranchise the great horde of bloc voters in the urban centers.

The suit filed this week constitutes a grave threat to the political integrity, sovereignty, and influence of practically every county in Georgia.

For that reason, this morning I want to review for you the series of events which have led up to its filing. I want you to go back with me to the plotting and scheming of the Arnall administration to destroy the county unit system. I want to bring you up to the present day, so that you, the people, may know with what we are faced so that we can gird ourselves to do it battle in the courts and at the ballot boxes.

At the 1945 session of the General Assembly, during the Arnall administration, the then governor had a measure introduced which, if passed, would have done away with our county unit system of voting. The bill sponsored by Arnall would have required a candidate for for state office to receive not only a majority of the county unit vote, but also, a majority of the popular vote. This bill would have for all effects and purposes, completely swept away our county unit system. It was part and parcel of the opposition's master plan to slip up

on the blind side of the small counties of Georgia and strip them of their influence until only a hollow shell remained.

Ah, my friends, Ellis Arnall knew what he was doing when he tried to dupe the legislature into passing this monstrous proposal. He knew then that the candidate he sponsored might, because of the bloc vote, be able to muster more popular votes, but yet, might be resoundly defeated in white votes and in county unit votes. The memory of Georgians is not so short but to remember that this was exactly the case, and had Mr. Arnall been successful in his plot to destroy the county unit system at that time, his hand-picked candidate would now be sitting in the governor's office.

Having failed in this attempt to bulldoze the General Assembly into destroying the county unit system, the State Executive Committee, then dominated by Governor Arnall, made threats that they would not even let my father, Eugene Talmadge, run for governor in 1946. This threat had been made several times before, but everytime righteous indignation of practically all the people in Georgia rose up and scared them off. The State Executive Committee dominated by the then governor backed off of this scheme and decided to place their faith in the bloc vote. Eugene Talmadge carried this issue to the people in 1946 and won the election by a resounding victory of over 100,000 majority of white votes and and overwhelming majority of the county unit vote.

But even with this great victory, Arnall and the opposition crowd here in Atlanta, who seek to boss the affairs of our State and eliminate our rural counties, could not take their defeat.

A state employee under the Arnall administration, one Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell, filed a suit in the federal court, seeking to void Eugene Talmadge's election by the people of Georgia, and seeking further to have our county unit system declared unconstitutional. This Dr. Gosnell, is professor of Political Science at Emory University in a full-time job. But during the Arnall administration, he drew thousands of dollars from the State as "Director of the Government Panel" for the old, now defunct, "Agricultural and Industrial Development Board". This was a panel Ellis Arnall had set up to help him plan on how to destroy the rural counties of the State of Georgia.

After filing the suit, this Dr. Gosnell said: "Ellis Arnall, the Atlanta Journal, C.I.O., and a few others are giving me all aid and assistance behind the scenes." Dr. Gosnell did not tell the public who was really behind this suit, but he organized a so-called "front" group called the "Georgia Veterans for Majority Rule". This is typical of the opposition's stereotyped practice of forming fake citizen groups, while lurking behind the scenes are powerful and influential vested interests here in Atlanta who seek pecuniary and political gain by destroying the influence of our small counties.

Fortunately, a three-judge federal bench upheld our county unit system of voting in Georgia, saying "The county unit system does not violate the equal protection clause because it is a rational classification in that it accords with consistent party practices, a republican form of government, and prevents political control by large centers of population." In other words, the court held clearly and decisively that under our system of checks and balances, written into the Constitution by our founding fathers, a state has a perfect right to insure a diffusion of political initiative among all its sub-divisions. The most outstanding example of this basic ~~[illegible]~~ precept of democratic government is our United States Senate, where each state, no matter what its population, be it New York with its teeming millions, or Nevada with its relatively small population, has two Senators who always represent it in the greatest lawmaking ~~[illegible]~~ body in the world.

Not satisfied with this ruling by the three-judge federal bench, Gosnell and his crowd took the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, but the Supreme Court refused to take jurisdiction, thus, affirming the decision of the lower court.

Well, after that decision, the county unit system went unchallenged until early in 1947 when former Governor Ed Rivers and the then acting-governor Melvin E. Thompson, called a "rump" convention to meet in Macon in an effort to steal the machinery of the Democratic Party of Georgia away from those officers who had been duly elected by the people. Even the Atlanta Journal admitted that the sole purpose behind this maneuver was to force two democratic primary elections in 1948, thus, throwing the real test into the general election where the county unit system does not apply. This was a bold and brazen and desperate move on the part of the opposition. Not only did they seek to avoid the county unit system by this maneuver, but they even fell back on the old sing-song that they

were going to bar me from even getting on the ticket. This is the same kind of trickery that the opposition is resorting to today.

Fortunately again for everyone, public resentment rose to such a crescendo that the courts of the state assumed jurisdiction in a suit brought by Chairman James S. Peters declaring that the "rump" convention in Macon was illegal, null, and void.

Now, this week the same old opposition crowd brings another suit in federal court against the county unit system.

For the purposes of the record it might be well to consider who the plaintiffs are in the suit, their connections, and the attorneys bringing the suit.

Harold C. Fleming, a resident of Atlanta, who is listed as one of the plaintiffs in the complaint, is employed as full-time Public Relations Director of the Southern Regional Council. The aim of this group and their associates is to hold mixed meetings and to sponsor dances and banquets where Negroes and whites mingle together in gay frivolity. The police records of the City of Atlanta bear this statement out. The Southern Regional Council is directed by Dr. George S. Mitchell, a former professor of Economics at Columbia University in New York City. This same Dr. George S. Mitchell and Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell, Emory University Professor, who filed the previous suit, are co-editors of a race-mixing anthology titled "Readings on the New South". This book includes articles designed to break down segregation in Georgia, and in it are prominently featured writings of former Governor, Ellis Gibbs Arnall.

Leading counsel in the case, Morris Abram, Atlanta lawyer, surprisingly enough was born in Fitzgerald, Georgia. He is known to have studied for an appreciable length of time in Europe, and is now on the Executive Board of the United World Federalists, Inc. Although Mr. Abram's loyalty has never been questioned, he is in bad company, because this is an organization infested with communists, socialists and fellow-travelers. It advocates surrender of the sovereignty of these United States to a World government backed up by military force. They seek to have our County, the strongest in the World over which flies the Star Spangled Banner, relegated to the role of a single state, all a part of a monstrous communistic conspiracy to dominate the World. They seek to have a military

force composed of Russians, Spaniards and others with authority to go into any country on earth and thrust down the throats of the people any kind of edict that their twisted minds might conceive.

With a military force like this at their disposal, these agitators figure that it would then be easy to ram down the throats of the South the iniquitous "civil rights" program.

Another one of the attorneys bringing the suit has revealed that the present litigation against the county unit system is being financed by a "group of interested persons here in Atlanta". He declined to name the moving forces lurking behind the scenes. But, their motives are clear and their connections are plain.

A reporter for the Atlanta Journal predicted some four months ago that this suit would be filed. When asked about this prediction, Harold C. Fleming, of the Southern Regional Council, and one of the plaintiffs, said "We just decided to take another crack at it".

Well, my friends, be not alarmed because I am proud to tell every man, woman and child in Georgia today, that you have a governor who is not in cahoots with this crowd of agitators. You have a governor that will fight them at every turn and ask no corner or quarter. The last place that this opposition crowd wants to fight is at the ballot boxes. This is a last, gasping, dying, desperate effort. I have appointed Honorable B. D. "Buck" Murphy, brilliant trial lawyer of Fayetteville and Atlanta, and Honorable C. Baxter Jones of Macon, eminent attorney of high reputation, to represent the interests of the people of the State of Georgia.

The Talmadge administration will protect the small counties of this State in accordance with its commitments to the people. I want to call on every citizen of Georgia who is interested in the preservation of democratic government, and who is against boss dictatorship from Atlanta, to join me in this great crusade against these insidious forces who would destroy us.

I thank you and God Bless You.

# # # #

(2/27/50)

REGISTERED NEGRO VOTERS IN GEORGIA, 1946

(Source: Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs. Figures obtained from county registration workers during 1946 registration drive. The figures given are as of June 1946, just before the registration books closed and before the purgings.) (Mrs. Hamilton, Atlanta Urban League, also has figures giving # Negroes of voting age.)

FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
Bryan	2	500
Bulloch	4	2,000
Burke	4	1,120
Candler	2	800
Chatham	6	20,000
Effingham	2	300
Emanuel	4	1,242
Evans	2	500
Jenkins	2	715
Liberty	2	1,900
Long	2	470
M cIntosh	2	1,100
Montgomery	2	520
Screven	2	400
Tatnall	2	200
Toombs	2	1,540
Treutlen	2	225
Wheeler	2	262

SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
Baker	2	500
Brooks	2	300
Calhoun	2([redacted]	550
Colquitt	4(1,200)→[redacted]	
Decatur	4	2,000
Dougherty	4	5,000
Early	2	600
Grady	2	650
Millen	2	103
Mitchell	4	1,350
Seminole	2	250
Thomas	4	2,000
Tift	2	1,000
Worth	4	1,500

THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
Ben Hill	2	560
Chattahoochee	2	80
Clay	2	300
Crisp	2	400

(THIRD CONGRESSION DISTRIST -- Cont.)

County	Units	# Registered
Dodge	2	1,200
Dooly	2	450
Harris	2	15
Houston	2	700
Lee	2	100
Macon	2	70
Marion	2	409
Muscogee	6	4,052
Peach	2	906
Pulaski	2	140
Quitman	2	42
Randolph	2	400
Stewart	2	156
Sumter	4	145
Taylor	2	438
Schley	2	163
Terrell	2	92
Turner	2	138
Webster	2	0
Wilcox	2	600

FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
Butts	2	350
Carroll	4	600
Clayton	2	75
Coweta	4	900
Fayette	2	0
Heard	2	45
Henry	2	650
Lamar	2	500
Meriwether	4	400
Newton	2	500
Pike	2	150
Spalding	4	1,500
Talbot	2	88
Troup	6	1,800
Upson	4	1,000

TENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
Clarke	4	2,100
Columbia	2	500
Elbert	2	850
Franklin	2	125
Greene	2	900
Hart	2	400
Lincoln	2	6
Madison	2	125
McDuffie	2	491
Morgan	2	1,000
Oconee	2	360
Oglethorpe	2	250
Richmond	6	7,700
Taliaferro	2	500
Walton	2	650
Warren	2	75
Wilkes	2	750

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REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

Summary of Report

INTRODUCTION

The summer of 1967 again brought racial disorders to American cities, and with them shock, fear and bewilderment to the nation.

The worst came during a two-week period in July, first in Newark and then in Detroit. Each set off a chain reaction in neighboring communities.

On July 28, 1967, the President of the United States established this Commission and directed us to answer three basic questions:

What happened?

Why did it happen?

What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

To respond to these questions, we have undertaken a broad range of studies and investigations. We have visited the riot cities; we have heard many witnesses; we have sought the counsel of experts across the country.

This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.

Reaction to last summer's disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American.

This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. Choice is still possible. Our principal task is to define that choice and to press for a national resolution.

To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values.

The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society.

This alternative will require a commitment to national

action—compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on this earth. From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will.

The vital needs of the nation must be met; hard choices must be made, and, if necessary, new taxes enacted.

Violence cannot build a better society. Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice. They strike at the freedom of every citizen. The community cannot—it will not—tolerate coercion and mob rule.

Violence and destruction must be ended—in the streets of the ghetto and in the lives of people.

Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans.

What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation. It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens—urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian, and every minority group.

Our recommendations embrace three basic principles:

- To mount programs on a scale equal to the dimension of the problems:
- To aim these programs for high impact in the immediate future in order to close the gap between promise and performance;
- To undertake new initiatives and experiments that can change the system of failure and frustration that now dominates the ghetto and weakens our society.

These programs will require unprecedented levels of funding and performance, but they neither probe deeper nor demand more than the problems which called them forth. There can be no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the nation's conscience.

We issue this Report now, four months before the date called for by the President. Much remains that can be learned. Continued study is essential.

As Commissioners we have worked together with a sense of the greatest urgency and have sought to compose whatever differences exist among us. Some differences remain. But the gravity of the problem and the pressing need for action are too clear to allow further delay in the issuance of this Report.

PART I—WHAT HAPPENED?

Chapter 1—Profiles of Disorder

The report contains profiles of a selection of the disorders that took place during the summer of 1967. These profiles are designed to indicate how the disorders happened, who participated in them, and how local officials, police forces, and the National Guard responded. Illustrative excerpts follow:

NEWARK

. . . It was decided to attempt to channel the energies of the people into a nonviolent protest. While Lofton promised the crowd that a full investigation would be made of the Smith incident, the other Negro leaders began urging those on the scene to form a line of march toward the city hall.

Some persons joined the line of march. Others milled about in the narrow street. From the dark grounds of the housing project came a barrage of rocks. Some of them fell among the crowd. Others hit persons in the line of march. Many smashed the windows of the police station. The rock throwing, it was believed, was the work of youngsters; approximately 2,500 children lived in the housing project.

Almost at the same time, an old car was set afire in a parking lot. The line of march began to disintegrate. The police, their heads protected by World War I-type helmets, sallied forth to disperse the crowd. A fire engine, arriving on the scene, was pelted with rocks. As police drove people away from the station, they scattered in all directions.

A few minutes later a nearby liquor store was broken into. Some persons, seeing a caravan of cabs appear at city hall to protest Smith's arrest, interpreted this as evidence that the disturbance had been organized, and generated rumors to that effect.

However, only a few stores were looted. Within a short period of time, the disorder appeared to have run its course.

* * *

. . . On Saturday, July 15, [Director of Police Dominick] Spina received a report of snipers in a housing project. When he arrived he saw approximately 100 National Guardsmen and police officers crouching behind vehicles, hiding in corners and lying on the ground around the edge of the courtyard.

Since everything appeared quiet and it was broad daylight, Spina walked directly down the middle of the street. Nothing happened. As he came to the last building of the complex, he heard a shot. All around him the troopers jumped, believing themselves to be under sniper fire. A moment later a young Guardsman ran from behind a building.

The Director of Police went over and asked him if he had fired the shot. The soldier said yes, he had fired to scare a man away from a window; that his orders were to keep everyone away from windows.

Spina said he told the soldier: "Do you know what you just did? You have now created a state of hysteria. Every Guardsman up and down this street and every state policeman and every city policeman that is present thinks that somebody just fired a shot and that it is probably a sniper."

A short time later more "gunshots" were heard. Investigating, Spina came upon a Puerto Rican sitting on a wall. In reply to a question as to whether he knew "where the firing is coming from?" the man said:

"That's no firing. That's fireworks. If you look up to the fourth floor, you will see the people who are throwing down these cherry bombs."

By this time four truckloads of National Guardsmen had arrived and troopers and policemen were again crouched everywhere looking for a sniper. The Director of Police remained at the scene for three hours, and the only shot fired was the one by the Guardsman.

Nevertheless, at six o'clock that evening two columns of National Guardsmen and state troopers were directing mass fire at the Hayes Housing Project in response to what they believed were snipers. . . .

DETROIT

. . . A spirit of carefree nihilism was taking hold. To riot and destroy appeared more and more to become ends in themselves. Late Sunday afternoon it appeared to one observer that the young people were "dancing amidst the flames."

A Negro plainclothes officer was standing at an intersection when a man threw a Molotov cocktail into a business establishment at the corner. In the heat of the afternoon, fanned by the 20 to 25 m.p.h. winds of both Sunday and Monday, the fire reached the home next door within minutes. As residents uselessly sprayed the flames with garden hoses, the fire jumped from roof to roof of adjacent two- and three-story buildings. Within the hour the entire block was in flames. The ninth house in the burning row belonged to the arsonist who had thrown the Molotov cocktail. . . .

* * *

. . . Employed as a private guard, 55-year-old Julius L. Dorsey, a Negro, was standing in front of a market when accosted by two Negro men and a woman. They demanded he permit them to loot the market. He ignored their demands. They began to berate him. He asked a neighbor to call the police. As the argument grew more heated, Dorsey fired three shots from his pistol into the air.

The police radio reported: "Looters, they have rifles." A patrol car driven by a police officer and carrying three National Guardsmen arrived. As the looters fled, the law enforcement personnel opened fire. When the firing ceased, one person lay dead.

He was Julius L. Dorsey . . .

* * *

. . . As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhood Action Com-

mittee (PNAC). With professional help from the Institute of Urban Dynamics, they had organized block clubs and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood. . . .

When the riot broke out, the residents, through the block clubs, were able to organize quickly. Youngsters, agreeing to stay in the neighborhood, participated in detouring traffic. While many persons reportedly sympathized with the idea of a rebellion against the "system," only two small fires were set—one in an empty building.

* * *

. . . According to Lt. Gen. Throckmorton and Col. Bolling, the city, at this time, was saturated with fear. The National Guardsmen were afraid, the residents were afraid, and the police were afraid. Numerous persons, the majority of them Negroes, were being injured by gunshots of undetermined origin. The general and his staff felt that the major task of the troops was to reduce the fear and restore an air of normalcy.

In order to accomplish this, every effort was made to establish contact and rapport between the troops and the residents. The soldiers—20 percent of whom were Negro—began helping to clean up the streets, collect garbage, and trace persons who had disappeared in the confusion. Residents in the neighborhoods responded with soup and sandwiches for the troops. In areas where the National Guard tried to establish rapport with the citizens, there was a smaller response.

NEW BRUNSWICK

. . . A short time later, elements of the crowd—an older and rougher one than the night before—appeared in front of the police station. The participants wanted to see the mayor.

Mayor [Patricia] Sheehan went out onto the steps of the station. Using a bullhorn, she talked to the people and asked that she be given an opportunity to correct conditions. The crowd was boisterous. Some persons challenged the mayor. But, finally, the opinion, "She's new! Give her a chance!" prevailed.

A demand was issued by people in the crowd that all persons arrested the previous night be released. Told that this already had been done, the people were suspicious. They asked to be allowed to inspect the jail cells.

It was agreed to permit representatives of the people to look in the cells to satisfy themselves that everyone had been released.

The crowd dispersed. The New Brunswick riot had failed to materialize.

Chapter 2—Patterns of Disorder

The "typical" riot did not take place. The disorders of 1967 were unusual, irregular, complex and unpredictable social processes. Like most human events, they did not unfold in an orderly sequence. However, an analysis of our survey information leads to some conclusions about the riot process.

In general:

- The civil disorders of 1967 involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society, authority and property in Negro neighborhoods—rather than against white persons.
- Of 164 disorders reported during the first nine months of 1967, eight (5 percent) were major in terms of violence and damage; 33 (20 percent) were serious but not major; 123 (75 percent) were minor and undoubtedly would not have received national attention as "riots" had the nation not been sensitized by the more serious outbreaks.
- In the 75 disorders studied by a Senate subcommittee, 83 deaths were reported. Eighty-two percent of the deaths and more than half the injuries occurred in Newark and Detroit. About 10 percent of the dead and 38 percent of the injured were public employees, primarily law officers and firemen. The overwhelming majority of the persons killed or injured in all the disorders were Negro civilians.
- Initial damage estimates were greatly exaggerated. In Detroit, newspaper damage estimates at first ranged from $200 million to $500 million; the highest recent estimate is $45 million. In Newark, early estimates ranged from $15 to $25 million. A month later damage was estimated at $10.2 million, over 80 percent in inventory losses.

In the 24 disorders in 23 cities which we surveyed:

- The final incident before the outbreak of disorder, and the initial violence itself, generally took place in the evening or at night at a place in which it was normal for many people to be on the streets.
- Violence usually occurred almost immediately following the occurrence of the final precipitating incident, and then escalated rapidly. With but few exceptions, violence subsided during the day, and flared rapidly again at night. The night-day cycles continued through the early period of the major disorders.
- Disorder generally began with rock and bottle throwing and window breaking. Once store windows were broken, looting usually followed.
- Disorder did not erupt as a result of a single "triggering" or "precipitating" incident. Instead, it was generated out of an increasingly disturbed social atmosphere, in which typically a series of tension-heightening incidents over a period of weeks or months became linked in the minds of many in the Negro community with a reservoir of underlying grievances. At some point in the mounting tension, a further incident—in itself often routine or trivial—became the breaking point and the tension spilled over into violence.
- "Prior" incidents, which increased tensions and ultimately led to violence, were police actions in almost half the cases; police actions were "final" incidents before the outbreak of violence in 12 of the 24 surveyed disorders.
- No particular control tactic was successful in every situation. The varied effectiveness of control techniques emphasizes the need for advance training, planning, adequate intelligence systems, and knowledge of the ghetto community.

- Negotiations between Negroes—including your militants as well as older Negro leaders—and white officials concerning "terms of peace" occurred during virtually all the disorders surveyed. In many cases, these negotiations involved discussion of underlying grievances as well as the handling of the disorder by control authorities.
- The typical rioter was a teenager or young adult, a lifelong resident of the city in which he rioted, a high school dropout; he was, nevertheless, somewhat better educated than his nonrioting Negro neighbor, and was usually underemployed or employed in a menial job. He was proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes and, although informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system.
- A Detroit survey revealed that approximately 11 percent of the total residents of two riot areas admitted participation in the rioting, 20 to 25 percent identified themselves as "bystanders," over 16 percent identified themselves as "counter-rioters" who urged rioters to "cool it," and the remaining 48 to 53 percent said they were at home or elsewhere and did not participate. In a survey of Negro males between the ages of 15 and 35 residing in the disturbance area in Newark, about 45 percent identified themselves as rioters, and about 55 percent as "noninvolved."
- Most rioters were young Negro males. Nearly 53 percent of arrestees were between 15 and 24 years of age; nearly 81 percent between 15 and 35.
- In Detroit and Newark about 74 percent of the rioters were brought up in the North. In contrast, of the noninvolved, 36 percent in Detroit and 52 percent in Newark were brought up in the North.
- What the rioters appeared to be seeking was fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the majority of American citizens. Rather than rejecting the American system, they were anxious to obtain a place for themselves in it.
- Numerous Negro counter-rioters walked the streets urging rioters to "cool it." The typical counter-rioter was better educated and had higher income than either the rioter or the noninvolved.
- The proportion of Negroes in local government was substantially smaller than the Negro proportion of population. Only three of the 20 cities studied had more than one Negro legislator; none had ever had a Negro mayor or city manager. In only four cities did Negroes hold other important policy-making positions or serve as heads of municipal departments.
- Although almost all cities had some sort of formal grievance mechanism for handling citizen complaints, this typically was regarded by Negroes as ineffective and was generally ignored.
- Although specific grievances varied from city to city, at least 12 deeply held grievances can be identified and ranked into three levels of relative intensity:

First Level of Intensity

1. Police practices
2. Unemployment and underemployment
3. Inadequate housing

Second Level of Intensity

4. Inadequate education
5. Poor recreation facilities and programs
6. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms

Third Level of Intensity

7. Disrespectful white attitudes
8. Discriminatory administration of justice
9. Inadequacy of federal programs
10. Inadequacy of municipal services
11. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices
12. Inadequate welfare programs

- The results of a three-city survey of various federal programs—manpower, education, housing, welfare and community action—indicate that, despite substantial expenditures, the number of persons assisted constituted only a fraction of those in need.

The background of disorder is often as complex and difficult to analyze as the disorder itself. But we find that certain general conclusions can be drawn:

- Social and economic conditions in the riot cities constituted a clear pattern of severe disadvantage for Negroes compared with whites, whether the Negroes lived in the area where the riot took place or outside it. Negroes had completed fewer years of education and fewer had attended high school. Negroes were twice as likely to be unemployed and three times as likely to be in unskilled and service jobs. Negroes averaged 70 percent of the income earned by whites and were more than twice as likely to be living in poverty. Although housing cost Negroes relatively more, they had worse housing—three times as likely to be overcrowded and substandard. When compared to white suburbs, the relative disadvantage is even more pronounced.

A study of the aftermath of disorder leads to disturbing conclusions. We find that, despite the institution of some post-riot programs:

- Little basic change in the conditions underlying the outbreak of disorder has taken place. Actions to ameliorate Negro grievances have been limited and sporadic; with but few exceptions, they have not significantly reduced tensions.
- In several cities, the principal official response has been to train and equip the police with more sophisticated weapons.
- In several cities, increasing polarization is evident, with continuing breakdown of inter-racial communication, and growth of white segregationist or black separatist groups.

Chapter 3—Organized Activity

The President directed the Commission to investigate "to what extent, if any, there has been planning or organization in any of the riots."

To carry out this part of the President's charge, the Commission established a special investigative staff supplementing the field teams that made the general examination of the riots in 23 cities. The unit examined data collected by federal agencies and congressional committees, including thousands of documents supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, gathered and evaluated information from local and state law enforcement agencies and officials, and conducted its own field investigation in selected cities.

On the basis of all the information collected, the Commission concludes that:

> The urban disorders of the summer of 1967 were not caused by, nor were they the consequence of, any organized plan or "conspiracy."

Specifically, the Commission has found no evidence that all or any of the disorders or the incidents that led to them were planned or directed by any organization or group, international, national or local.

Militant organizations, local and national, and individual agitators, who repeatedly forecast and called for violence, were active in the spring and summer of 1967. We believe that they sought to encourage violence, and that they helped to create an atmosphere that contributed to the outbreak of disorder.

We recognize that the continuation of disorders and the polarization of the races would provide fertile ground for organized exploitation in the future.

Investigations of organized activity are continuing at all levels of government, including committees of Congress. These investigations relate not only to the disorders of 1967 but also to the actions of groups and individuals, particularly in schools and colleges, during this last fall and winter. The Commission has cooperated in these investigations. They should continue.

Part II—Why Did It Happen?

Chapter 4—The Basic Causes

In addressing the question "Why did it happen?" we shift our focus from the local to the national scene, from the par-

ticular events of the summer of 1967 to the factors within the society at large that created a mood of violence among many urban Negroes.

These factors are complex and interacting; they vary significantly in their effect from city to city and from year to year; and the consequences of one disorder, generating new grievances and new demands, become the causes of the next. Thus was created the "thicket of tension, conflicting evidence and extreme opinions" cited by the President.

Despite these complexities, certain fundamental matters are clear. Of these, the most fundamental is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans.

Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it now threatens to affect our future.

White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. Among the ingredients of this mixture are:

- *Pervasive discrimination and segregation* in employment, education and housing, which have resulted in the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress.
- *Black in-migration and white exodus,* which have produced the massive and growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs.
- *The black ghettos* where segregation and poverty converge on the young to destroy opportunity and enforce failure. Crime, drug addiction, dependency on welfare, and bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular are the result.

At the same time, most whites and some Negroes outside the ghetto have prospered to a degree unparalleled in the history of civilization. Through television and other media, this affluence has been flaunted before the eyes of the Negro poor and the jobless ghetto youth.

Yet these facts alone cannot be said to have caused the disorders. Recently, other powerful ingredients have begun to catalyze the mixture:

- *Frustrated hopes* are the residue of the unfulfilled expectations aroused by the great judicial and legislative victories of the Civil Rights Movement and the dramatic struggle for equal rights in the South.
- *A climate that tends toward approval and encouragement of violence* as a form of protest has been created by white terrorism directed against nonviolent protest; by the open defiance of law and federal authority by state and local officials resisting desegre-

gation; and by some protest groups engaging in civil disobedience who turn their backs on nonviolence, go beyond the constitutionally protected rights of petition and free assembly, and resort to violence to attempt to compel alteration of laws and policies with which they disagree.

- *The frustrations of powerlessness* have led some Negroes to the conviction that there is no effective alternative to violence as a means of achieving redress of grievances, and of "moving the system." These frustrations are reflected in alienation and hostility toward the institutions of law and government and the white society which controls them, and in the reach toward racial consciousness and solidarity reflected in the slogan "Black Power."
- *A new mood* has sprung up among Negroes, particularly among the young, in which self-esteem and enhanced racial pride are replacing apathy and submission to "the system."
- *The police are not merely a "spark" factor.* To some Negroes police have come to symbolize white power, white racism and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes. The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by a widespread belief among Negroes in the existence of police brutality and in a "double standard" of justice and protection—one for Negroes and one for whites.

* * *

To this point, we have attempted to identify the prime components of the "explosive mixture." In the chapters that follow we seek to analyze them in the perspective of history. Their meaning, however, is clear:

In the summer of 1967, we have seen in our cities a chain reaction of racial violence. If we are heedless, none of us shall escape the consequences.

Chapter 5—Rejection and Protest: An Historical Sketch

The causes of recent racial disorders are embedded in a tangle of issues and circumstances—social, economic, political and psychological—which arise out of the historic pattern of Negro-white relations in America.

In this chapter we trace the pattern, identify the recurrent themes of Negro protest and, most importantly, provide a perspective on the protest activities of the present era.

We describe the Negro's experience in America and the development of slavery as an institution. We show his persistent striving for equality in the face of rigidly maintained social, economic and educational barriers, and repeated mob violence. We portray the ebb and flow of the doctrinal tides—accommodation, separatism, and self-help—and their relationship to the current theme of Black Power. We conclude:

The Black Power advocates of today consciously feel that they are the most militant group in the Negro protest movement. Yet

they have retreated from a direct confrontation with American society on the issue of integration and, by preaching separatism, unconsciously function as an accommodation to white racism. Much of their economic program, as well as their interest in Negro history, self-help, racial solidarity and separation, is reminiscent of Booker T. Washington. The rhetoric is different, but the ideas are remarkably similar.

Chapter 6—The Formation Of the Racial Ghettos[1]

Throughout the 20th century the Negro population of the United States has been moving steadily from rural areas to urban and from South to North and West. In 1910, 91 percent of the nation's 9.8 million Negroes lived in the South and only 27 percent of American Negroes lived in cities of 2,500 persons or more. Between 1910 and 1966 the total Negro population more than doubled, reaching 21.5 million, and the number living in metropolitan areas rose more than five-fold (from 2.6 million to 14.8 million). The number outside the South rose eleven-fold (from 880,000 to 9.7 million).

Negro migration from the South has resulted from the expectation of thousands of new and highly paid jobs for unskilled workers in the North and the shift to mechanized farming in the South. However, the Negro migration is small when compared to earlier waves of European immigrants. Even between 1960 and 1966, there were 1.8 million immigrants from abroad compared to the 613,000 Negroes who arrived in the North and West from the South.

As a result of the growing number of Negroes in urban areas, natural increase has replaced migration as the primary source of Negro population increase in the cities. Nevertheless, Negro migration from the South will continue unless economic conditions there change dramatically.

Basic data concerning Negro urbanization trends indicate that:

- Almost all Negro population growth (98 percent from 1950 to 1966) is occurring within metropolitan areas, primarily within central cities.[2]
- The vast majority of white population growth (78 percent from 1960 to 1966) is occurring in suburban portions of metropolitan areas. Since 1960, white central-city population has declined by 1.3 million.

[1] The term "ghetto" as used in this report refers to an area within a city characterized by poverty and acute social disorganization, and inhabited by members of a racial or ethnic group under conditions of involuntary segregation.

[2] A "central city" is the largest city of a standard metropolitan statistical area, that is, a metropolitan area containing at least one city of 50,000 or more inhabitants.

- As a result, central cities are becoming more heavily Negro while the suburban fringes around them remain almost entirely white.
- The twelve largest central cities now contain over two-thirds of the Negro population outside the South, and one-third of the Negro total in the United States.

Within the cities, Negroes have been excluded from white residential areas through discriminatory practices. Just as significant is the withdrawal of white families from, or their refusal to enter, neighborhoods where Negroes are moving or already residing. About 20 percent of the urban population of the United States changes residence every year. The refusal of whites to move into "changing" areas when vacancies occur means that most vacancies eventually are occupied by Negroes.

The result, according to a recent study, is that in 1960 the average segregation index for 207 of the largest United States cities was 86.2. In other words, to create an unsegregated population distribution, an average of over 86 percent of all Negroes would have to change their place of residence within the city.

Chapter 7—Unemployment, Family Structure, and Social Disorganization

Although there have been gains in Negro income nationally, and a decline in the number of Negroes below the "poverty level," the condition of Negroes in the central city remains in a state of crisis. Between 2 and 2.5 million Negroes—16 to 20 percent of the total Negro population of all central cities—live in squalor and deprivation in ghetto neighborhoods.

Employment is a key problem. It not only controls the present for the Negro American but, in a most profound way, it is creating the future as well. Yet, despite continuing economic growth and declining national unemployment rates, the unemployment rate for Negroes in 1967 was more than double that for whites.

Equally important is the undesirable nature of many jobs open to Negroes and other minorities. Negro men are more than three times as likely as white men to be in low-paying, unskilled or service jobs. This concentration of male Negro employment at the lowest end of the occupational scale is the single most important cause of poverty among Negroes.

In one study of low-income neighborhoods, the "subemployment rate," including both unemployment and underemployment, was about 33 percent, or 8.8 times greater than the overall unemployment rate for all United States workers.

Employment problems, aggravated by the constant arrival of new unemployed migrants, many of them from depressed

rural areas, create persistent poverty in the ghetto. In 1966, about 11.9 percent of the nation's whites and 40.6 percent of its nonwhites were below the "poverty level" defined by the Social Security Administration (currently $3,335 per year for an urban family of four). Over 40 percent of the nonwhites below the poverty level live in the central cities.

Employment problems have drastic social impact in the ghetto. Men who are chronically unemployed or employed in the lowest status jobs are often unable or unwilling to remain with their families. The handicap imposed on children growing up without fathers in an atmosphere of poverty and deprivation is increased as mothers are forced to work to provide support.

The culture of poverty that results from unemployment and family breakup generates a system of ruthless, exploitative relationships within the ghetto. Prostitution, dope addiction, and crime create an environmental "jungle" characterized by personal insecurity and tension. Children growing up under such conditions are likely participants in civil disorder.

Chapter 8—Conditions of Life In the Racial Ghetto

A striking difference in environment from that of white, middle-class Americans profoundly influences the lives of residents of the ghetto.

Crime rates, consistently higher than in other areas, create a pronounced sense of insecurity. For example, in one city one low-income Negro district had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as a high-income white district. Unless drastic steps are taken, the crime problems in poverty areas are likely to continue to multiply as the growing youth and rapid urbanization of the population outstrip police resources.

Poor health and sanitation conditions in the ghetto result in higher mortality rates, a higher incidence of major diseases, and lower availability and utilization of medical services. The infant mortality rate for nonwhite babies under the age of one month is 58 percent higher than for whites; for one to 12 months it is almost three times as high. The level of sanitation in the ghetto is far below that in high income areas. Garbage collection is often inadequate. Of an estimated 14,000 cases of rat bite in the United States in 1965, most were in ghetto neighborhoods.

Ghetto residents believe they are "exploited" by local merchants; and evidence substantiates some of these beliefs. A study conducted in one city by the Federal Trade Commission showed that distinctly higher prices were charged for goods sold in ghetto stores than in other areas.

Lack of knowledge regarding credit purchasing creates special pitfalls for the disadvantaged. In many states garnishment practices compound these difficulties by allowing creditors to deprive individuals of their wages without hearing or trial.

Chapter 9—Comparing the Immigrant and Negro Experience

In this chapter, we address ourselves to a fundamental question that many white Americans are asking: why have so many Negroes, unlike the European immigrants, been unable to escape from the ghetto and from poverty. We believe the following factors play a part:

- *The Maturing Economy:* When the European immigrants arrived, they gained an economic foothold by providing the unskilled labor needed by industry. Unlike the immigrant, the Negro migrant found little opportunity in the city. The economy, by then matured, had little use for the unskilled labor he had to offer.
- *The Disability of Race:* The structure of discrimination has stringently narrowed opportunities for the Negro and restricted his prospects. European immigrants suffered from discrimination, but never so pervasively.
- *Entry into the Political System:* The immigrants usually settled in rapidly growing cities with powerful and expanding political machines, which traded economic advantages for political support. Ward-level grievance machinery, as well as personal representation, enabled the immigrant to make his voice heard and his power felt.

  By the time the Negro arrived, these political machines were no longer so powerful or so well equipped to provide jobs or other favors, and in many cases were unwilling to share their influence with Negroes.
- *Cultural Factors:* Coming from societies with a low standard of living and at a time when job aspirations were low, the immigrants sensed little deprivation in being forced to take the less desirable and poorer-paying jobs. Their large and cohesive families contributed to total income. Their vision of the future—one that led to a life outside of the ghetto—provided the incentive necessary to endure the present.

  Although Negro men worked as hard as the immigrants, they were unable to support their families. The entrepreneurial opportunities had vanished. As a result of slavery and long periods of unemployment, the Negro family structure had become matriarchal; the males played a secondary and marginal family role —one which offered little compensation for their hard and unrewarding labor. Above all, segregation denied Negroes access to good jobs and the opportunity to leave the ghetto. For them, the future seemed to lead only to a dead end.

Today, whites tend to exaggerate how well and quickly they escaped from poverty. The fact is that immigrants who came from rural backgrounds, as many Negroes do, are only now,

after three generations, finally beginning to move into the middle class.

By contrast, Negroes began concentrating in the city less than two generations ago, and under much less favorable conditions. Although some Negroes have escaped poverty, few have been able to escape the urban ghetto.

PART III—WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Chapter 10—The Community Response

Our investigation of the 1967 riot cities establishes that virtually every major episode of violence was foreshadowed by an accumulation of unresolved grievances and by widespread dissatisfaction among Negroes with the unwillingness or inability of local government to respond.

Overcoming these conditions is essential for community support of law enforcement and civil order. City governments need new and more vital channels of communication to the residents of the ghetto; they need to improve their capacity to respond effectively to community needs before they become community grievances; and they need to provide opportunity for meaningful involvement of ghetto residents in shaping policies and programs which affect the community.

The Commission recommends that local governments:

- Develop Neighborhood Action Task Forces as joint community-government efforts through which more effective communication can be achieved, and the delivery of city services to ghetto residents improved.
- Establish comprehensive grievance-response mechanisms in order to bring all public agencies under public scrutiny.
- Bring the institutions of local government closer to the people they serve by establishing neighborhood outlets for local, state and federal administrative and public service agencies.
- Expand opportunities for ghetto residents to participate in the formulation of public policy and the implementation of programs affecting them through improved political representation, creation of institutional channels for community action, expansion of legal services, and legislative hearings on ghetto problems.

In this effort, city governments will require state and federal support.

The Commission recommends:

- State and federal financial assistance for mayors and city councils to support the research, consultants, staff and other resources needed to respond effectively to federal program initiatives.

- State cooperation in providing municipalities with the jurisdictional tools needed to deal with their problems; a fuller measure of financial aid to urban areas; and the focusing of the interests of suburban communities on the physical, social and cultural environment of the central city.

Chapter 11—Police and the Community

The abrasive relationship between the police and the minority communities has been a major—and explosive—source of grievance, tension and disorder. The blame must be shared by the total society.

The police are faced with demands for increased protection and service in the ghetto. Yet the aggressive patrol practices thought necessary to meet these demands themselves create tension and hostility. The resulting grievances have been further aggravated by the lack of effective mechanisms for handling complaints against the police. Special programs for bettering police-community relations have been instituted, but these alone are not enough. Police administrators, with the guidance of public officials, and the support of the entire community, must take vigorous action to improve law enforcement and to decrease the potential for disorder.

The Commission recommends that city government and police authorities:

- Review police operations in the ghetto to ensure proper conduct by police officers, and eliminate abrasive practices.
- Provide more adequate police protection to ghetto residents to eliminate their high sense of insecurity, and the belief of many Negro citizens in the existence of a dual standard of law enforcement.
- Establish fair and effective mechanisms for the redress of grievances against the police, and other municipal employees.
- Develop and adopt policy guidelines to assist officers in making critical decisions in areas where police conduct can create tension.
- Develop and use innovative programs to ensure widespread community support for law enforcement.
- Recruit more Negroes into the regular police force, and review promotion policies to ensure fair promotion for Negro officers.
- Establish a "Community Service Officer" program to attract ghetto youths between the ages of 17 and 21 to police work. These junior officers would perform duties in ghetto neighborhoods, but would not have full police authority. The federal government should provide support equal to 90 percent of the costs of employing CSOs on the basis of one for every ten regular officers.

Chapter 12—Control of Disorder

Preserving civil peace is the first responsibility of government. Unless the rule of law prevails, our society will lack

not only order but also the environment essential to social and economic progress.

The maintenance of civil order cannot be left to the police alone. The police need guidance, as well as support, from mayors and other public officials. It is the responsibility of public officials to determine proper police policies, support adequate police standards for personnel and performance, and participate in planning for the control of disorders.

To maintain control of incidents which could lead to disorders, the Commission recommends that local officials:

- Assign seasoned, well-trained policemen and supervisory officers to patrol ghetto areas, and to respond to disturbances.
- Develop plans which will quickly muster maximum police manpower and highly qualified senior commanders at the outbreak of disorders.
- Provide special training in the prevention of disorders, and prepare police for riot control and for operation in units, with adequate command and control and field communication for proper discipline and effectiveness.
- Develop guidelines governing the use of control equipment and provide alternatives to the use of lethal weapons. Federal support for research in this area is needed.
- Establish an intelligence system to provide police and other public officials with reliable information that may help to prevent the outbreak of a disorder and to institute effective control measures in the event a riot erupts.
- Develop continuing contacts with ghetto residents to make use of the forces for order which exist within the community.
- Establish machinery for neutralizing rumors, and enabling Negro leaders and residents to obtain the facts. Create special rumor details to collect, evaluate, and dispel rumors that may lead to a civil disorder.

The Commission believes there is a grave danger that some communities may resort to the indiscriminate and excessive use of force. The harmful effects of overreaction are incalculable. The Commission condemns moves to equip police departments with mass destruction weapons, such as automatic rifles, machine guns and tanks. Weapons which are designed to destroy, not to control, have no place in densely populated urban communities.

The Commission recognizes the sound principle of local authority and responsibility in law enforcement, but recommends that the federal government share in the financing of programs for improvement of police forces, both in their normal law enforcement activities as well as in their response to civil disorders.

To assist government authorities in planning their response to civil disorder, this report contains a Supplement on Control

of Disorder. It deals with specific problems encountered during riot-control operations, and includes:

- Assessment of the present capabilities of police, National Guard and Army forces to control major riots, and recommendations for improvement;
- Recommended means by which the control operations of those forces may be coordinated with the response of other agencies, such as fire departments, and with the community at large;
- Recommendations for review and revision of federal, state and local laws needed to provide the framework for control efforts and for the call-up and interrelated action of public safety forces.

Chapter 13—The Administration of Justice Under Emergency Conditions

In many of the cities which experienced disorders last summer, there were recurring breakdowns in the mechanisms for processing, prosecuting and protecting arrested persons. These resulted mainly from long-standing structural deficiencies in criminal court systems, and from the failure of communities to anticipate and plan for the emergency demands of civil disorders.

In part, because of this, there were few successful prosecutions for serious crimes committed during the riots. In those cities where mass arrests occurred many arrestees were deprived of basic legal rights.

The Commission recommends that the cities and states:

- Undertake reform of the lower courts so as to improve the quality of justice rendered under normal conditions.
- Plan comprehensive measures by which the criminal justice system may be supplemented during civil disorders so that its deliberative functions are protected, and the quality of justice is maintained.

Such emergency plans require broad community participation and dedicated leadership by the bench and bar. They should include:

- Laws sufficient to deter and punish riot conduct.
- Additional judges, bail and probation officers, and clerical staff.
- Arrangements for volunteer lawyers to help prosecutors and to represent riot defendants at every stage of proceedings.
- Policies to ensure proper and individual bail, arraignment, pretrial, trial and sentencing proceedings.
- Procedures for processing arrested persons, such as summons and release, and release on personal recognizance, which permit separation of minor offenders from those dangerous to the community, in order that serious offenders may be detained and prosecuted effectively.
- Adequate emergency processing and detention facilities.

Chapter 14—Damages: Repair and Compensation

The Commission recommends that the federal government:

- Amend the Federal Disaster Act—which now applies only to natural disasters—to permit federal emergency food and medical assistance to cities during major civil disorders, and provide long-term economic assistance afterwards.
- With the cooperation of the states, create incentives for the private insurance industry to provide more adequate property-insurance coverage in inner-city areas.

The Commission endorses the report of the National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas: "Meeting the Insurance Crisis of our Cities."

Chapter 15—The News Media and the Riots

In his charge to the Commission, the President asked: "What effect do the mass media have on the riots?"

The Commission determined that the answer to the President's question did not lie solely in the performance of the press and broadcasters in reporting the riots. Our analysis had to consider also the overall treatment by the media of the Negro ghettos, community relations, racial attitudes, and poverty—day by day and month by month, year in and year out.

A wide range of interviews with government officials, law enforcement authorities, media personnel and other citizens, including ghetto residents, as well as a quantitative analysis of riot coverage and a special conference with industry representatives, leads us to conclude that:

- Despite instances of sensationalism, inaccuracy and distortion, newspapers, radio and television tried on the whole to give a balanced, factual account of the 1967 disorders.
- Elements of the news media failed to portray accurately the scale and character of the violence that occurred last summer. The overall effect was, we believe, an exaggeration of both mood and event.
- Important segments of the media failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and on the underlying problems of race relations. They have not communicated to the majority of their audience—which is white—a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of life in the ghetto.

These failings must be corrected, and the improvement must come from within the industry. Freedom of the press is not the issue. Any effort to impose governmental restrictions would be inconsistent with fundamental constitutional precepts.

We have seen evidence that the news media are becoming aware of and concerned about their performance in this field. As that concern grows, coverage will improve. But much more must be done, and it must be done soon.

The Commission recommends that the media:

- Expand coverage of the Negro community and of race problems through permanent assignment of reporters familiar with urban and racial affairs, and through establishment of more and better links with the Negro community.
- Integrate Negroes and Negro activities into all aspects of coverage and content, including newspaper articles and television programming. The news media must publish newspapers and produce programs that recognize the existence and activities of Negroes as a group within the community and as a part of the larger community.
- Recruit more Negroes into journalism and broadcasting and promote those who are qualified to positions of significant responsibility. Recruitment should begin in high schools and continue through college; where necessary, aid for training should be provided.
- Improve coordination with police in reporting riot news through advance planning, and cooperate with the police in the designation of police information officers, establishment of information centers, and development of mutually acceptable guidelines for riot reporting and the conduct of media personnel.
- Accelerate efforts to ensure accurate and responsible reporting of riot and racial news, through adoption by all news gathering organizations of stringent internal staff guidelines.
- Cooperate in the establishment of a privately organized and funded Institute of Urban Communications to train and educate journalists in urban affairs, recruit and train more Negro journalists, develop methods for improving police-press relations, review coverage of riots and racial issues, and support continuing research in the urban field.

Chapter 16—The Future of the Cities

By 1985, the Negro population in central cities is expected to increase by 72 percent to approximately 20.8 million. Coupled with the continued exodus of white families to the suburbs, this growth will produce majority Negro populations in many of the nation's largest cities.

The future of these cities, and of their burgeoning Negro populations, is grim. Most new employment opportunities are being created in suburbs and outlying areas. This trend will continue unless important changes in public policy are made.

In prospect, therefore, is further deterioration of already inadequate municipal tax bases in the face of increasing demands for public services, and continuing unemployment and poverty among the urban Negro population:

Three choices are open to the nation:

- We can maintain present policies, continuing both the proportion of the nation's resources now allocated to programs for the unemployed and the disadvantaged, and the inadequate and failing effort to achieve an integrated society.
- We can adopt a policy of "enrichment" aimed at improving dramatically the quality of ghetto life while abandoning integration as a goal.
- We can pursue integration by combining ghetto "enrichment" with policies which will encourage Negro movement out of central city areas.

The first choice, continuance of present policies, has ominous consequences for our society. The share of the nation's resources now allocated to programs for the disadvantaged is insufficient to arrest the deterioration of life in central city ghettos. Under such conditions, a rising proportion of Negroes may come to see in the deprivation and segregation they experience, a justification for violent protest, or for extending support to now isolated extremists who advocate civil disruption. Large-scale and continuing violence could result, followed by white retaliation, and, ultimately, the separation of the two communities in a garrison state.

Even if violence does not occur, the consequences are unacceptable. Development of a racially integrated society, extraordinarily difficult today, will be virtually impossible when the present black ghetto population of 12.5 million has grown to almost 21 million.

To continue present policies is to make permanent the division of our country into two societies; one, largely Negro and poor, located in the central cities; the other, predominantly white and affluent, located in the suburbs and in outlying areas.

The second choice, ghetto enrichment coupled with abandonment of integration, is also unacceptable. It is another way of choosing a permanently divided country. Moreover, equality cannot be achieved under conditions of nearly complete separation. In a country where the economy, and particularly the resources of employment, are predominantly white, a policy of separation can only relegate Negroes to a permanently inferior economic status.

We believe that the only possible choice for America is the third—a policy which combines ghetto enrichment with programs designed to encourage integration of substantial numbers of Negroes into the society outside the ghetto.

Enrichment must be an important adjunct to integration, for no matter how ambitious or energetic the program, few Negroes now living in central cities can be quickly integrated.

In the meantime, large-scale improvement in the quality of ghetto life is essential.

But this can be no more than an interim strategy. Programs must be developed which will permit substantial Negro movement out of the ghettos. The primary goal must be a single society, in which every citizen will be free to live and work according to his capabilities and desires, not his color.

Chapter 17—Recommendations For National Action

INTRODUCTION

No American—white or black—can escape the consequences of the continuing social and economic decay of our major cities.

Only a commitment to national action on an unprecedented scale can shape a future compatible with the historic ideals of American society.

The great productivity of our economy, and a federal revenue system which is highly responsive to economic growth, can provide the resources.

The major need is to generate new will—the will to tax ourselves to the extent necessary to meet the vital needs of the nation.

We have set forth goals and proposed strategies to reach those goals. We discuss and recommend programs not to commit each of us to specific parts of such programs but to illustrate the type and dimension of action needed.

The major goal is the creation of a true union—a single society and a single American identity. Toward that goal, we propose the following objectives for national action:

- Opening up opportunities to those who are restricted by racial segregation and discrimination, and eliminating all barriers to their choice of jobs, education and housing.
- Removing the frustration of powerlessness among the disadvantaged by providing the means for them to deal with the problems that affect their own lives and by increasing the capacity of our public and private institutions to respond to these problems.
- Increasing communication across racial lines to destroy stereotypes, to halt polarization, end distrust and hostility, and create common ground for efforts toward public order and social justice.

We propose these aims to fulfill our pledge of equality and to meet the fundamental needs of a democratic and civilized society—domestic peace and social justice.

EMPLOYMENT

Pervasive unemployment and underemployment are the most persistent and serious grievances in minority areas. They are inextricably linked to the problem of civil disorder.

Despite growing federal expenditures for manpower development and training programs, and sustained general economic prosperity and increasing demands for skilled workers, about two million—white and nonwhite—are permanently unemployed. About ten million are underemployed, of whom 6.5 million work full time for wages below the poverty line.

The 500,000 "hard-core" unemployed in the central cities who lack a basic education and are unable to hold a steady job are made up in large part of Negro males between the ages of 18 and 25. In the riot cities which we surveyed, Negroes were three times as likely as whites to hold unskilled jobs, which are often part time, seasonal, low-paying and "dead end."

Negro males between the ages of 15 and 25 predominated among the rioters. More than 20 percent of the rioters were unemployed, and many who were employed held intermittent, low status, unskilled jobs which they regarded as below their education and ability.

The Commission recommends that the federal government:

- Undertake joint efforts with cities and states to consolidate existing manpower programs to avoid fragmentation and duplication.
- Take immediate action to create 2,000,000 new jobs over the next three years—one million in the public sector and one million in the private sector—to absorb the hard-core unemployed and materially reduce the level of underemployment for all workers, black and white. We propose 250,000 public sector and 300,000 private sector jobs in the first year.
- Provide on-the-job training by both public and private employers with reimbursement to private employers for the extra costs of training the hard-core unemployed, by contract or by tax credits.
- Provide tax and other incentives to investment in rural as well as urban poverty areas in order to offer to the rural poor an alternative to migration to urban centers.
- Take new and vigorous action to remove artificial barriers to employment and promotion, including not only racial discrimination but, in certain cases, arrest records or lack of a high school diploma. Strengthen those agencies such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, charged with eliminating discriminatory practices, and provide full support for Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act allowing federal grant-in-aid funds to be withheld from activities which discriminate on grounds of color or race.

The Commission commends the recent public commitment of the National Council of the Building and Construction Trades Unions, AFL-CIO, to encourage and recruit Negro membership in apprenticeship programs. This commitment should be intensified and implemented.

EDUCATION

Education in a democratic society must equip children to develop their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community at large, the schools have discharged this responsibility well. But for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation.

This failure is one of the persistent sources of grievance and resentment within the Negro community. The hostility of Negro parents and students toward the school system is generating increasing conflict and causing disruption within many city school districts. But the most dramatic evidence of the relationship between educational practices and civil disorders lies in the high incidence of riot participation by ghetto youth who have not completed high school.

The bleak record of public education for ghetto children is growing worse. In the critical skills—verbal and reading ability—Negro students are falling further behind whites with each year of school completed. The high unemployment and underemployment rate for Negro youth is evidence, in part, of the growing educational crisis.

We support integration as the priority education strategy; it is essential to the future of American society. In this last summer's disorders we have seen the consequences of racial isolation at all levels, and of attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias. It is indispensable that opportunities for interaction between the races be expanded.

We recognize that the growing dominance of pupils from disadvantaged minorities in city school populations will not soon be reversed. No matter how great the effort toward desegregation, many children of the ghetto will not, within their school careers, attend integrated schools.

If existing disadvantages are not to be perpetuated, we must drastically improve the quality of ghetto education. Equality of results with all-white schools must be the goal.

To implement these strategies, the Commission recommends:

- Sharply increased efforts to eliminate de facto segregation in our

schools through substantial federal aid to school systems seeking to desegregate either within the system or in cooperation with neighboring school systems.

- Elimination of racial discrimination in Northern as well as Southern schools by vigorous application of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- Extension of quality early childhood education to every disadvantaged child in the country.
- Efforts to improve dramatically schools serving disadvantaged children through substantial federal funding of year-round compensatory education programs, improved teaching, and expanded experimentation and research.
- Elimination of illiteracy through greater federal support for adult basic education.
- Enlarged opportunities for parent and community participation in the public schools.
- Reoriented vocational education emphasizing work-experience training and the involvement of business and industry.
- Expanded opportunities for higher education through increased federal assistance to disadvantaged students.
- Revision of state aid formulas to assure more per student aid to districts having a high proportion of disadvantaged school-age children.

THE WELFARE SYSTEM

Our present system of public welfare is designed to save money instead of people, and tragically ends up doing neither. This system has two critical deficiencies:

First, it excludes large numbers of persons who are in great need, and who, if provided a decent level of support, might be able to become more productive and self-sufficient. No federal funds are available for millions of men and women who are needy but neither aged, handicapped nor the parents of minor children.

Second, for those included, the system provides assistance well below the minimum necessary for a decent level of existence, and imposes restrictions that encourage continued dependency on welfare and undermine self-respect.

A welter of statutory requirements and administrative practices and regulations operate to remind recipients that they are considered untrustworthy, promiscuous and lazy. Residence requirements prevent assistance to people in need who are newly arrived in the state. Regular searches of recipients' homes violate privacy. Inadequate social services compound the problems.

The Commission recommends that the federal government, acting with state and local governments where necessary, reform the existing welfare system to:

- Establish uniform national standards of assistance at least as

high as the annual "poverty level" of income, now set by the Social Security Administration at $3,335 per year for an urban family of four.

- Require that all states receiving federal welfare contributions participate in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children—Unemployed Parents program (AFDC-UP) that permits assistance to families with both father and mother in the home, thus aiding the family while it is still intact.
- Bear a substantially greater portion of all welfare costs—at least 90 percent of total payments.
- Increase incentives for seeking employment and job training, but remove restrictions recently enacted by the Congress that would compel mothers of young children to work.
- Provide more adequate social services through neighborhood centers and family-planning programs.
- Remove the freeze placed by the 1967 welfare amendments on the percentage of children in a state that can be covered by federal assistance.
- Eliminate residence requirements.

As a long-range goal, the Commission recommends that the federal government seek to develop a national system of income supplementation based strictly on need with two broad and basic purposes:

- To provide, for those who can work or who do work, any necessary supplements in such a way as to develop incentives for fuller employment;
- To provide, for those who cannot work and for mothers who decide to remain with their children, a minimum standard of decent living, and to aid in the saving of children from the prison of poverty that has held their parents.

A broad system of supplementation would involve substantially greater federal expenditures than anything now contemplated. The cost will range widely depending on the standard of need accepted as the "basic allowance" to individuals and families, and on the rate at which additional income above this level is taxed. Yet if the deepening cycle of poverty and dependence on welfare can be broken, if the children of the poor can be given the opportunity to scale the wall that now separates them from the rest of society, the return on this investment will be great indeed.

HOUSING

After more than three decades of fragmented and grossly underfunded federal housing programs, nearly six million substandard housing units remain occupied in the United States.

The housing problem is particularly acute in the minority ghettos. Nearly two-thirds of all non-white families living in the central cities today live in neighborhoods marked with substandard housing and general urban blight. Two major factors are responsible.

First: Many ghetto residents simply cannot pay the rent necessary to support decent housing. In Detroit, for example, over 40 percent of the non-white occupied units in 1960 required rent of over 35 percent of the tenants' income.

Second: Discrimination prevents access to many non-slum areas, particularly the suburbs, where good housing exists. In addition, by creating a "back pressure" in the racial ghettos, it makes it possible for landlords to break up apartments for denser occupancy, and keeps prices and rents of deteriorated ghetto housing higher than they would be in a truly free market.

To date, federal programs have been able to do comparatively little to provide housing for the disadvantaged. In the 31-year history of subsidized federal housing, only about 800,000 units have been constructed, with recent production averaging about 50,000 units a year. By comparison, over a period only three years longer, FHA insurance guarantees have made possible the construction of over ten million middle and upper-income units.

Two points are fundamental to the Commission's recommendations:

First: Federal housing programs must be given a new thrust aimed at overcoming the prevailing patterns of racial segregation. If this is not done, those programs will continue to concentrate the most impoverished and dependent segments of the population into the central-city ghettos where there is already a critical gap between the needs of the population and the public resources to deal with them.

Second: The private sector must be brought into the production and financing of low and moderate rental housing to supply the capabilities and capital necessary to meet the housing needs of the nation.

The Commission recommends that the federal government:

- Enact a comprehensive and enforceable federal open housing law to cover the sale or rental of all housing, including single family homes.
- Reorient federal housing programs to place more low and moderate income housing outside of ghetto areas.
- Bring within the reach of low and moderate income families within the next five years six million new and existing units of decent housing, beginning with 600,000 units in the next year.

To reach this goal we recommend:

- Expansion and modification of the rent supplement program to permit use of supplements for existing housing, thus greatly increasing the reach of the program.
- Expansion and modification of the below-market interest rate program to enlarge the interest subsidy to all sponsors and provide interest-free loans to nonprofit sponsors to cover pre-construction costs, and permit sale of projects to nonprofit corporations, cooperatives, or condominiums.
- Creation of an ownership supplement program similar to present rent supplements, to make home ownership possible for low-income families.
- Federal writedown of interest rates on loans to private builders constructing moderate-rent housing.
- Expansion of the public housing program, with emphasis on small units on scattered sites, and leasing and "turnkey" programs.
- Expansion of the Model Cities program.
- Expansion and reorientation of the urban renewal program to give priority to projects directly assisting low-income households to obtain adequate housing.

CONCLUSION

One of the first witnesses to be invited to appear before this Commission was Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a distinguished and perceptive scholar. Referring to the reports of earlier riot commissions, he said:

> I read that report . . . of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.
>
> I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission —it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland—with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction.

These words come to our minds as we conclude this report.

We have provided an honest beginning. We have learned much. But we have uncovered no startling truths, no unique insights, no simple solutions. The destruction and the bitterness of racial disorder, the harsh polemics of black revolt and white repression have been seen and heard before in this country.

It is time now to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of people.

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FILE
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A RESUME OF RACIAL SEPARATION LAWS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July, 1945

A RESUME OF RACIAL SEPARATION LAWS

Note: The following statements and listings are general and unspecific, in that a detailed statement of the Jim Crow laws and regulations of the Southern Region and the rest of the United States where Jim Crow laws exist would be lengthy, and defy the critical examination of most readers.

This resume is taken from Charles S. Mangum, Jr., The Legal Status of the Negro (1940).

1. "The southern and border states have sought to handle the matter (of racial antipathy) by means of Jim Crow laws and regulations which make it unlawful for any carrier...to transport white and colored passengers in the same vehicle or the same portion thereof."

2. "Oklahoma and all former slaveholding states, with the exception of Delaware, Missouri, and West Virginia, have made provision by statute for an enforced separation of the white and Negro races on railways operated in the jurisdiction..."
"Most of the statutes contain provisions punishing the carrier for a failure to carry out the terms of the law, making such a dereliction of duty a misdemeanor."
Members of one race are not permitted to "remain" in the coach, or coaches, provided for members of another race in the Southern Region without likelihood of penalty or charge of violation of the regulations of these states.

3. Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia exempt "pullman cars from the operations of the Jim Crow law, thereby relieving the railways of the duty to segregate passengers and to provide equal accommodations for the two races."

4. Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas "have clauses which provide that railways may haul pullman or chair cars for the exclusive use of the members of either race." Oklahoma and Texas mention diners in this connection.

5. "In Georgia a special statute makes compulsory the separation of the races on pullmans."

6. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia "give express permission to use partitioned or compartment cars, one portion for whites and the other for Negroes.
Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and Virginia "require signs designating the race which is to use the particular coach or compartment."

7. "The fact that at a particular time there are no Negroes on a train does not excuse non-compliance with the separate coach law" for each race.

8. "Practically all of the eastern and middle western states and a few in the far west have Civil Rights Acts. A typical statute of this kind provides that there shall be no racial discrimination by public carriers on land or water." (These states are California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, Wisconsin.)

9. "In a jurisdiction where there is neither a separate coach law nor a Civil Right Act, it has been held that railway companies, if they so desire, may make their own Jim Crow regulations. Missouri and West Virginia are in this category but there is no segregation on the railways of these two states at the present time."

10. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia "make statutory provision for separate waiting room accommodations for the two races in stations or depots.... In the absence of statutory regulations, a (South Carolina) court has held that a railway company may establish rules requiring separate waiting rooms."

11. "A railway company is not permitted to offer to persons of one race accommodations in the waiting room which has been set apart for members of the other."

12. The following southern states having railway Jim Crow laws also require separate accommodations on street railways: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia. Alabama, Kentucky, and Maryland are exceptions here.

Note: A recent study of the City of Jacksonville, Florida, showed that the city law does not require separation of races in local bus transportation, but that the races nevertheless follow the usual separation pattern in the use of these facilities.

13. Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia "give the conductors on street railways authority to change the line of division between the races," and the statutes of Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina could easily be so interpreted.

Florida, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas "provide for signs designating the portion of the car which is to be used for the accommodation of each race." Louisiana and Mississippi "require screens or partitions."

14. In statutes relating to Jim Crow accommodations on street cars, Oklahoma and Virginia "exempt from the operation of the statute officers in charge of prisoners;" Oklahoma, Texas, and Virginia,"exempt company employees engaged in operating the cars;" while Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia exempt nurses in charge of children or infirm persons.

15. "Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia have Jim Crow legislation applying specifically to steamship lines."

16. "It has been decided that southern steamship companies and those engaged in interstate traffic may make reasonable regulations for the separation of the races on their boats."

17. "Nine states have special Jim Crow laws requiring a separation of races on motor carriers." They are: Alabama, Arkansas,Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Virginia. "The Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Oklahoma acts require separate waiting room facilities at bus stations."

18. "There are no Jim Crow laws applying to air carriers." Commercial air lines "may mix or segregate the races as they wish."

19. "It is an established fact that a policy of racial separation and segregation has been adopted in respect to the inmates of state-established charitable and penal institutions throughout the South. The same is also true of that region which is occupied by what are commonly known as the border states."

20. "Segregation in convict camps is commanded by statute in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Texas; and in jails of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina..."

21. "All of the former slaveholding states, most of the states of the Far West (Kansas, New Mexico and Washington excepted) beyond Iowa and Minnesota, and one lone middle western jurisdiction, Indiana, prohibit marriages between whites and Negroes.

22. "Fifteen states, most of which are in the Far West, have enacted laws which expressly or impliedly forbid marriages between persons of the Caucasian and Mongolian races." A few states have prohibitions against marriages of whites and Malays or Indians.

23. "The problem of industrial segregation in the South is usually left in the hands of private business."

24. "In Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia all public schools must be separate and pupils of the white and Negro races are not permitted to attend the same school."

"Ten states, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington, either by statute or constitutional provision, provide that there shall be no racial discrimination in the public schools -- or else the state laws are subject to this interpretation. In all of these states except New York, which has a separate school law, segregation of the Negroes in separate rooms or buildings is not permitted.... This is also the law even in a number of states where there are no statutes forbidding discrimination."

25. There seems to be no general and common approach to the problem of the separation of races in the ownership and occupancy of real property.

Frequently the inclusion of restrictive covenants in deeds is used to accomplish the separation of races in places of residence. "A typical covenant of this kind provides that the property shall not be owned or occupied by persons of the Negro race."

A SAMPLE OF LAWS ON THE SEPARATION OF RACES
IN TRANSPORTATION IN THE SOUTHERN REGION

The following statutory provisions are taken from Charles S. Mangum, Jr., The Legal Status of the Negro (1940).

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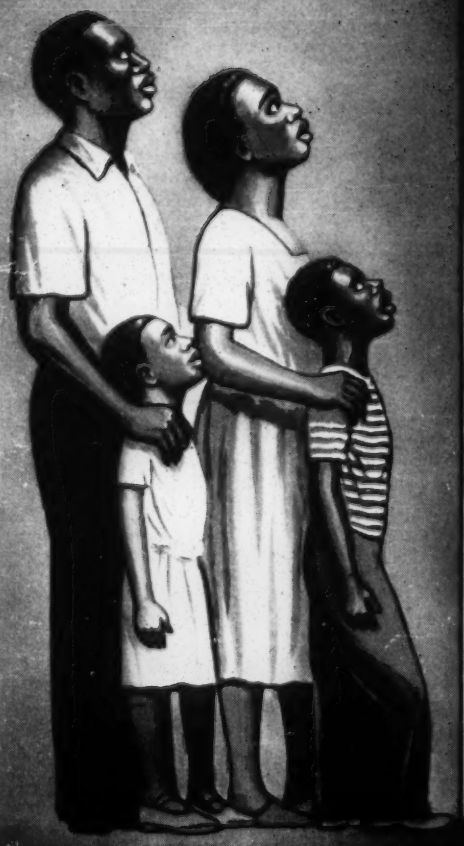
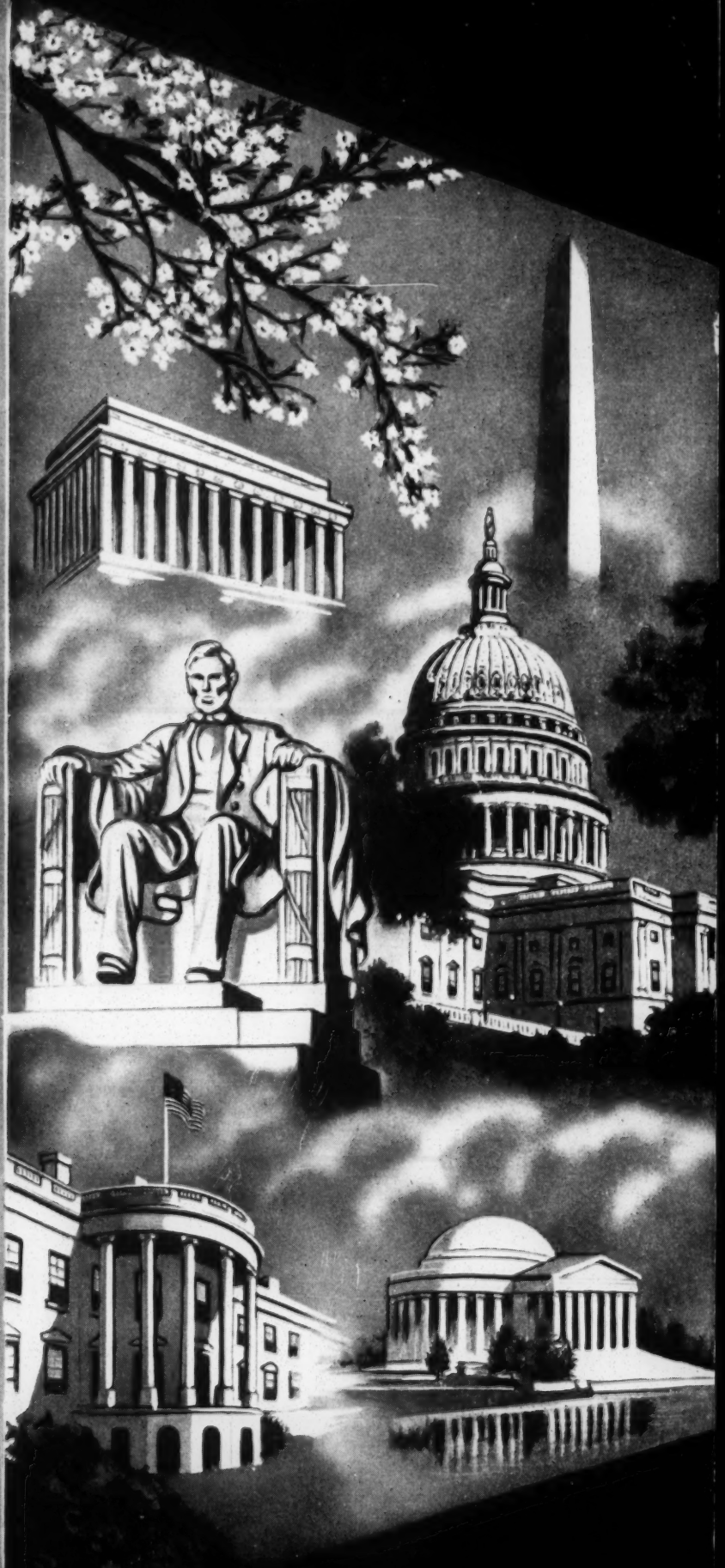
SEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON SEGREGATION IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL





"blot on our nation"

SEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON

A Report of

The National Committee on

Segregation in The Nation's Capital

November, 1948

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OUR CONFLICTING RACIAL POLICIES

WILL W. ALEXANDER

WHILE there is nowhere any official statement of the policy of this country as to its Negro citizens, an examination of our actual dealing with Negroes indicates that over the years unofficial policies have been developed. In fact, there have been two well-defined policies in race relations and only two.

The first of these is the policy that Negroes shall be educated. Negro education had its beginnings in the activities of Northern churches when, immediately following the Civil War, they established schools for Negroes in the South. These schools have had a profound influence. Their establishment was followed by the inauguration of separate state-supported schools for Negroes in the South, and by the opening to Negroes of schools in the rest of the country. So firmly has the idea of educating Negroes taken hold that today the annual expenditure in the Southern states for the higher education of Negroes exceeds the total income of all private schools for Negroes. The increase in educational opportunity has caused the Negro illiteracy rate to drop from 95 per cent at emancipation to less than 10 per cent today. And the Southern states are showing a tendency to move toward equalization of educational funds for Negro and white schools.

Everywhere the idea of education for Negroes is accepted as part of our American way. Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta Universities have come to take their place as institutions of higher learning which are making an important contribution not only to Negro life but to national life. In the great graduate schools of the North, wherever knowledge is pursued, increasingly Negro scholars are doing creditable work. In many cases these men and women are doing superior work in fields that have nothing to do with Negroes as such; they are contributing to the enrichment of American culture. The superior quality of the educated American Negroes always impresses foreigners as a striking aspect of American life.

FOREIGNERS are also puzzled by America's second policy regarding her Negro population: segregation. Segregation is not only Southern, but national—it varies not so much in degree as in method in different sections of the country. In the South segregation in schools, transportation, entertainment, and community services is maintained by law and by custom. In the North segregation is maintained by social pressure and by such quasi-legal arrangements as restrictive covenants. In connection with many public services, such as hotels and restaurants, segregation is as rigid in the North as in the South. Thus segregation is accepted in all sections of the country to about the same degree that education is provided and accepted.

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Much of the uncertainty and tension in connection with our American race relations grows out of the conflict in these policies. Education is the most hopeful aspect of American race relations. Segregation is one of the most puzzling aspects of American life, and one of the most difficult questions in American race relations. It is generally recognized by Negroes as their number-one problem and is insisted upon by many whites as the one thing in the American race scene that can never be modified or dispensed with. Here we have the greatest conflict between our professed democratic doctrines and our actual practice in day-by-day living. Segregation tends to defeat the inspiring work of Negro education. Unless the problem of segregation can be solved, there is no hope of any alleviation of the race problem in America.

II

THE fact that segregation exists is bad enough. To make matters worse the patterns of segregation are so inconsistent as to be completely bewildering to Negroes. Often they cannot tell just what *is* expected of them. For example, in one railroad station in the South, Negro and white passengers have to board the railroad trains through separate gates; but leaving the trains in this station, they use the same gate.

In some Southern communities, Negroes are supposed to sit in the front of the streetcar or bus in order to maintain racial separation; in others, they must be seated in the rear of the car.

In some office buildings in the South, Negroes have access to the general elevator service. In other buildings, a special elevator is provided which carries both white and colored passengers. Occasionally special elevators marked "Negroes and Freight" are provided.

In the past, the use of Pullmans by Negroes has been usually confined to "Lower 13"—which means that an influential Negro traveler could occupy the drawing room for the price of a lower. Now, in some cities, Negroes can secure Pullman reservations.

Both North and South, Negroes are usually denied service by hotels and restaurants that serve the general public. Occasionally, however, if sponsored by some white person with sufficient influence, they are admitted as a special privilege to limited service. This lack of consistency and uniformity occurs all the way through the pattern of American Negro segregation and is very confusing and irritating to Negroes and to white persons who are with them.

MUCH more important than these vagaries is the fact that segregation has meant inferior service to Negroes. The constitutions of most Southern states require that there shall be equal, but separate, schools for Negroes. But an examination of the expenditures for Negro and white education in those same states, and the cities within the states, indicates that segregation in education has meant not equal but inferior service to Negroes. Studies of nine Southern states in 1940 showed average annual expenditures of $58.69 per white student and only $18.82 per Negro. In Mississippi the discrepancy was much greater—$52.01 compared to $7.36.

In cities North and South, housing is far poorer for Negroes than for whites. Colored people are largely forced to live in slum areas which have been abandoned by other groups. And Negroes who are financially able to secure better accommodations find it almost impossible to do so outside the segregated areas. Residential segregation has forced Negroes to pay higher rents and higher purchase prices for inferior accommodations in every city where they seek housing. Residential segregation, as well as administrative arrangement, has led to a definite tendency in Northern cities toward segregated Negro schools. Since Negroes are usually required to live in the overcrowded sections of these cities, separate schools for Negroes in Northern cities are usually housed in run-down buildings and are similarly overcrowded. In Chicago, sixteen public schools have double shifts—all of them Negro schools.

Where segregation has been enforced in transportation, Negro travelers have had less space per traveler, older and less

sanitary cars, less safety, and less courtesy and consideration from the servants of the railroads—not only the ticket sellers but the brakemen and flagmen, who usually occupy much of the space set aside for Negro travelers.

IN MANY ways the most subtle and most damaging form of segregation results from the fact that while educating Negroes for participation in American life, we have denied them free participation in the economic life of the country. Consciously and unconsciously we have developed, both North and South, so-called Negro jobs which tend to freeze Negro employment in the lower income brackets and to exclude Negroes from an opportunity to acquire skills in other than the poorer jobs. This has tended to lead to segregation within the labor movement; this, until the coming of the CIO with its new patterns of organization, was a means of excluding Negroes permanently from large areas of employment in organized industries. It left Negroes little choice but to become strike-breakers, divided the ranks of labor, and weakened the labor movement in America perceptibly. Even when labor unions were friendly, qualified Negroes were often turned away by employers.

There are some white people who assume that we can have two economic systems—one for Negroes and another for whites. A very charming lady in a discussion of the problems of Negro employment said, "Why don't Negroes employ each other?" When it was called to her attention that there were great difficulties as to capital and organization, she said, "Why, Marian Anderson makes lots of money. She could use that to set up business concerns to meet the economic needs of Negroes." This is quoted because it is typical of much of the thinking on this question.

In an effort to solve their economic problems, Negroes have established some business concerns that employ Negroes and serve the Negro community. The Negro insurance companies are the most successful of these enterprises and the best of them have made large contributions to sustaining the economic life of the American Negroes. But to adopt economic segregation as a means of solving the economic problems of Negroes bears on its very face the stamp of futility. There can be no adequate provision for the economic life of these thirteen million Americans except as they share in the general economic life of the country.

III

THE segregation of Negroes in jobs, their exclusion from free access to the ways in which other citizens earn their living, has meant permanent poverty, degradation, and defeat—not only for the majority of Negroes, but for other large sections of the American people One of the causes for the general poverty of the South is the failure to develop the economic potentialities of Southern Negroes. By allowing the Negro to remain at a low economic level, the South has kept itself on the bottom rung of the economic ladder. Slavery was responsible for the plight of the poor white in the South, and the low wages and generally low standards of living for Negroes since Emancipation have added greatly to the difficulty of improving the status of the Southern white worker. He is perhaps the poorest and least skilled white man in the world. He will remain so until better economic advantages are available both for him and his Negro neighbor. Poverty cannot be segregated—North or South. Economic realists in the South admit privately that if the South is to succeed, something must be done about the economic status of Negroes. An effort to deal realistically with the question of Southern poverty will reveal that segregation is wasteful, expensive, and economically unsound.

Segregation has impeded the nation in the use of its manpower in the war effort. When the manpower shortage developed, it was discovered that, because they had been denied free access to work experience, many of our Negro workers were lacking in the required skills. But a greater handicap was the fact that in many plants even qualified workers were not accepted, or were accepted only in the lower, unskilled brackets. Their em-

ployment and advancement were opposed by other workers and by many employers, who, despite the long and creditable history of Negro workers in this country, insisted that Negroes could not build ships and planes and guns. Finally the President, in order to meet the emergency, was forced to issue Executive Order 8802, requiring that all war contracts should provide that there should be no discrimination in employment "because of race, creed, or national origin," and that an agency—the Fair Employment Practice Committee—should be set up to enforce this provision. While this has resulted in wider and more intelligent use of Negro labor, much time and manpower had already been wasted by the time the order was issued. And the new arrangement has been only partially successful because of continued opposition and the limited authority of the Committee.

OUR American policy of segregating Negroes has created an almost impossible task for the armed forces. Because of this, in the past the Navy has used Negroes only in the most limited way. The Army has, on the other hand, used Negroes as enlisted men and, to a limited degree, as officers—but always in segregated units. This arrangement has been expensive and difficult to administer, and has limited the use which the Army could make of Negro troops.

Because of the special conditions under which the Negro soldier serves and the attitudes which he encounters outside the Army camps, it is difficult for him to develop a high morale. He feels that he is being asked to give his service and perhaps his life for a country that guarantees him only second-class citizenship. His segregation in the Army symbolizes the limitations he suffers as a citizen. He often feels that he is a limited kind of a soldier—outside military reservations his uniform does not secure for him the respect and consideration given to other men in uniform. In World War II, it has been reported that in some unusual cases prisoners of war have been admitted to eating places in which Negro men in the uniform of their country have been denied service because of their color. If American Negro soldiers could fight in this war in voluntary, unsegregated units of Americans or with the French or Russians, the question of their morale would be less of a problem. They have already made excellent records in combat, and on today's battlefields are proving themselves able fighting men. But our discriminatory policies—our refusal to use them as widely as their capabilities deserve—are handicapping the war effort. The Negro contribution to it would be much greater if we would only allow it to be.

THERE is no better evidence of our conflicting racial policies than in the churches which have been the champions of Negro education. Certainly, what the church has done for Negroes has been largely within the pattern of segregation. This is especially true of the Protestant churches. It seems to be less true of the Catholic church. The difference is to be found in the fact that, in most cases, a Protestant church is to some extent a social organization as well as a place of worship; the Catholic church, with its emphasis on worship, is more nearly an altar before which all men are equal.

On many Protestant churches are announcements to the effect that "all are welcome." A Negro reading this announcement knows that, in most cases, if he turned up at any of the activities he would not be welcome or the embarrassment on the part of the preacher and the congregation would be such as to destroy any sense of spiritual fellowship. These churches give money for the support of Negro schools, hospitals, and orphanages, but would be embarrassed at accepting Negro Christians into full fellowship in their church activities. In most Southern Protestant churches, Negro worshipers would be seated in the gallery or otherwise segregated.

In many American cities, Negro communities have grown by infiltration into old communities formerly occupied by whites. In spite of the fact that Negroes are Protestants and speak the same language as the old congregations, the churches in these areas do not, as a rule,

offer any service to the incoming Negroes. The advent of Negroes is not looked upon as an opportunity for service, but as a reason for moving on.

In institutions owned and operated by the church, the segregation pattern is usually accepted—at least in a modified form. One of the largest church-controlled universities in the country, while accepting Negro students, does not allow them to live in its dormitories. Church-controlled hospitals do not, as a rule, admit Negro physicians for practice or train Negro nurses. Many of these church-controlled institutions own real estate, held in the form of endowment. Restrictive covenants as to Negro occupancy usually cover such property.

One of the great inconveniences to Negroes is the general denial of service by hotels and public eating places, in violation of the civil rights laws. The American population is mobile. Our type of life necessitates travel. The result is our remarkable hotel system, upon which large sections of our population depend for comfort and health. In being denied access to this public service, Negroes are greatly handicapped. Anyone who knows the facts wonders how even so distinguished a person as Marian Anderson can stand up under the hardships of travel which she encounters because of the lack of hotel service.

Segregation carried to its logical conclusion is often dramatized by cruel and inhuman aspects. A few years ago a graduate of Fisk University, Miss Julie Dericott, a young woman of charm and culture, was seriously injured in an automobile accident in north Georgia. She was taken to the nearby hospital, where emergency treatment was requested. She was very fair but when it was discovered that she was classified as a Negro, she was refused emergency treatment. She died on the long journey to Atlanta attempting to reach the nearest hospital known to give emergency treatment to colored people.

Recently in Atlanta a Negro girl stepped off the streetcar on one of the wider streets. A speeding driver knocked her down and left her lying unconscious. A crowd gathered and one white woman who had seen the accident requested that an ambulance be called. The ambulance came but the driver, seeing that the victim was a Negro girl, said, "We can't haul a nigger," and drove away, leaving the victim of the accident by the roadside. Such incidents are not isolated. They happen frequently and seem to be an inevitable consequence of segregation as it works out in practice in many sections of America. Most white people are not aware of them.

IV

Segregation in the South not only separates the races but symbolizes the idea of the inevitable inferiority of Negroes. It "keeps the Negro in his place," not only on the streetcars and busses, but in the social and economic system. It is more effective as a symbol than as a means of preventing contact between the races. In fact, racial contacts are more intimate in the South than in any other section of the country. Southerners as a rule do not object to contact with Negroes so long as the idea of Negro inferiority is maintained. Segregation does this. This fact explains why the South has never claimed that under segregation there are equal services for the races.

Under the new pressures that have come with the war to save democracy and the stronger pressures that will come when the war is won, the South will probably attempt to attain equal services within the framework of segregation. There are two reasons why this will not be possible—one psychological and the other practical. There will be resistance in the South to any modification of the symbol of the Negro's inferiority. When a person speaks of the Negro "getting out of hand," he usually means getting out of his inferior status. Therefore, equal service would destroy to some extent one of the chief functions of segregation. If Negroes in the South had equal service under segregation, they would have gone a long way toward "getting out of hand," because the symbolic function of segregation would have lost much of its meaning.

As a practical matter, separate but equal service under segregation cannot be rendered. Such service would require, for example, the duplication of the present most expensive phases of transportation, and the duplication of the state university systems, already poorly supported. Separate and equal services for the races in the South, or any other section, are a luxury which cannot be afforded.

It is generally accepted that human beings behave better in the long run when they enjoy a maximum of freedom. Human relations are certainly more satisfactory when they are a result of free choice. Left with the maximum amount of freedom, white and colored Americans would probably adjust amicably most of the difficulties that arose between them. Under the denial of freedom which segregation enforces, there is constant and increasing friction. An examination of incidents where tension has become acute will indicate that most of the tensions are involved in and aggravated by segregation. Rioting is less frequent in mixed residential neighborhoods than elsewhere. Segregation accentuates unduly the racial factors in our civilization and obscures the wide cultural differences that exist within the racial groups. To many white people, every Negro looks like every other Negro and any white man, no matter how unworthy, is better than any Negro, however distinguished. Segregation tends to make every row between a white man and a Negro, whatever the initial cause may have been, a race quarrel.

Left free, human beings group themselves according to their tastes, interests, and cultural backgrounds. American Negroes are not seeking an opportunity to mingle with whites. They desire freedom and opportunity to live as Americans. If there were no arbitrary segregation, common interests and common backgrounds would probably lead most American Negroes to develop their own way of living and find much of their association among themselves as other groups do.

Whenever the matter of freedom or equal opportunity for Negroes is discussed, the question of intermarriage usually arises. It will probably be sufficient to point out that miscegenation in this country has already gone a long way —chiefly in those very sections where the relations between whites and Negroes have been "least free" and where segregation has been most deeply rooted in law and custom. The majority of our colored people in America today are the result of racial intermixture which has taken place under segregation.

There are some evidences of changes in the pattern of American segregation—small but significant. There are evidences of dissatisfaction with it. One such evidence is the very vehement declaration by some that segregation must not and cannot be modified in any way. The advocates of segregation protest too much. In the very loudness and continuousness of their protests is one of the best evidences that the country is not satisfied, and that segregation is not succeeding.

The change in government attitude is especially significant. In the past the federal authorities, on the whole, accepted the segregated pattern of employment in government. Government work was open to Negroes only in the lower service brackets. There were many Negro messengers, porters, charwomen, but outside of the postal service no Negroes were employed in positions that required education or technical training. Negroes were excluded from restaurants in government buildings. Since the beginning of World War II this has changed, and today there are in government departments large numbers of Negro clerical workers and an increasing number of Negroes doing technical work. Here the educated Negroes are finding an opportunity for work in which they can use the training they have acquired. The federal government will continue to be one of the large employers in the country, and its employment patterns should have real influence on other employers.

In the long run, it may turn out that the new attitude of labor toward Negro workers, as expressed by the CIO, will have more significance than the changes that have taken place in government employment patterns. Officially, the CIO

has abolished the color line as to opportunity and privileges for Negroes in it unions. An educational division has been created in part for the purpose of bringing the rank and file of the CIO to accept the idea of the essential unity of all American workers without regard to race. Negro workers are finding in the CIO a champion where they most need it, among the masses of workers to which most Negroes belong. The CIO is, at the moment, the most promising force for correcting the inconsistencies in our racial patterns. Furthermore, its policy is already having an effect upon older, more conservative unions and is giving support to many liberal-minded employers who are willing to give Negro workers a chance.

Another source of encouragement is the growing pressure within and without the South for some kind of change. This will probably lead to an effort to furnish equal but separate services to the races. While such an effort cannot succeed, it will certainly result in some improvement of service to Negroes under segregation. In the long run, it may lead to the modification of the present patterns of segregation in the South. How rapidly and how far these changes will go depends upon many factors, chief of which are the strength of the growing liberal movement in the South and the amount of political influence Southern Negroes acquire.

V

In the acquisition of political power lies one of the Negro's great hopes for improving his status. Certainly the Negro's vote in border and Northern states will hold for him the gains made in government employment. The organized political power of the CIO is on his side; through its affiliation with Negro political groups and its fight in behalf of all liberal movements, it gives the Negro real help in obtaining the things all citizens want. By the strength of their votes and increasing political representation, Negroes could get better schools, housing, health facilities—all the public services. And they could use their influence to assure the enforcement of the civil rights statutes that are already enacted.

For example, New York is America's most liberal city. Negroes in New York have more political influence than in any other city in America. New York is a city of hotels which deny service to Negroes. New York State has good civil rights laws. It would seem reasonable to expect that before much longer, New York hotels may find themselves liberalizing their service to Negro travelers. Such a thing—if it could be brought about—would have an influence that would be far-reaching. To achieve it would be a good use of the power of New York's able Negro political leadership.

Under the Constitution, as liberally interpreted by our present Supreme Court, many of the legal devices by which segregation is protected could no doubt be declared unconstitutional if properly presented to the Court. This has already been done in important fields. Even though the Gaines decision has not yet put any colored students in the University of Missouri, the fact that prevailing systems of segregation in higher education are unconstitutional has caused uneasiness in the states where such systems prevail. Since the Supreme Court decision declaring the "white" Texas primary unconstitutional, it is apparent that political participation of Negroes in the South has been greatly accelerated.

There is no doubt that the Negro vote, the power of labor, and government attitudes can profoundly affect our racial practices. If the church with its strong influence also took a firm stand, the process could be accelerated. And there are some indications that church leaders are becoming aware of the feebleness of their position. One well-known theological seminary in the South has seriously considered service to Negroes. Opposition was so strong that the idea had to be given up. The American Protestant church has ambitions for extension into Africa and Asia. Its racial policies at home stand in the way. Increasing numbers of American church leaders realize the far-reaching effect of American racial segregation on the influence of the church abroad. Because of this, within the next few years the patterns of segregation within the church and church institutions in America

may be greatly modified in the direction of a more democratic and more Christian practice. The church has wide contacts with many classes and kinds of people in this country. Whatever it might do in the interest of a policy of non-segregation within the local churches and church institutions would be leaven widely placed in American life.

Most white Americans are puzzled and alarmed by the impatience and bitterness of large sections of our Negro population. They feel that Negroes are no longer pleasant to live with. Whites are inclined to charge this to some subversive influence from the outside. Many Southerners say that agitators from the North are responsible for stirring up Negroes in the South. In other sections of the country, Negro resentment and unrest are usually charged to Communists or whatever bogy happens to be current in the mind of the community.

That there is unrest and bitterness among our Negro population is a fact. This unrest is to be found not just among Negro intellectuals; it exists also in the alleys of our Negro ghettos and among the remote and inarticulate Negro sharecroppers and common laborers. It will not pass with the war. Negroes were probably never so docile as they seemed. The trouble is that they behave like other human beings. In subjecting Negroes to American education we have made them Americans. So completely American are they that they will not submit passively to being pushed around as they are under segregation. Educational opportunity for the common man is a part of the American way of life. In giving it to Negroes, we have let them in on the meaning of democracy. Their unrest under their special limitations is the result not of sinister influence from the outside, but of our education, which, with all its faults, is the best thing in our democracy.

The education of Negroes in America has not been a mistake. Here we see American faith and American idealism at their best. Segregation, on the other hand, is rooted in fear and in doubt as to whether our democratic principles will really work. It remains to be seen whether or not our faith in democracy is strong enough to overcome our fears as to what may be some of its consequences.

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Segregation Materials -

The Transmission of Racial Attitudes Among White Southerners

We are not concerned this afternoon with the content of racial attitudes which find expression in the behavior of Southern white people toward Negroes, nor with an appraisal of these attitudes; rather, we are interested in discovering, as far as may be, the mechanisms of transmission of racial attitudes among white Southerners. An historical consideration of the problem of the cultural education of the Southern white person would examine those influences which have built up, through time, the accepted white philosophy of race;[1] another approach is through a study of the forces which transmit that philosophy to the individual born into the society. The latter approach is used here in an effort to find how the white child finds his place in relation to the Negro.

Because racial learning is but one aspect of social learning and not a thing apart from it, an understanding of the ways in which the child learns his racial role necessarily involves or presupposes knowledge of the mechanisms of social learning itself. Learning that one is white is part of the process of learning the identity of the self and the symbols and expectations appropriate to the position of that self. The racial role is but one of many which the individual must learn, and behavior proper to these roles is socially defined. Davis points out that "socialization is not simply the process of learning the specific skills of tool-using, language, and social organization, but implies as well the learning of these cultural behaviors as they are defined by a particular society."[2] The society in which a child is reared has ready for him the answer to his question, "Who am I?" The answer is different in different contexts and relationships, and the child must discover, in a variety of ways, the answer appropriate to his immediate situation.

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1 Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944).

2 Allison Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality", Adelescence, Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago, 1944).

We have asserted that racial learning is but one aspect of social learning, and we have indicated that in learning his racial role a child finds part of the answer to the question of his identity. A major task for the developing child is the definition of his relationship to people about him. In answering the question, "Who am I?" he must necessarily answer its corollary, "And who are all of those?" He does not make these definitions alone, of course; most of them are made for him by his society through the medium of his parents, his peers, and others with whom he comes into contact. To say, though, that the child does not make his own definitions does not explain how he learns them, and this is the problem with which we are immediately concerned. We must approach the acquisition of racial attitudes as an aspect of the emergence of a sense of self.

That racial attitudes are involved in a sense of self is demonstrated in the following excerpts from interviews with Southern white young people.

> People who say "nigger" say it, I think, to make themselves feel superior. I don't feel superior, but I don't feel inferior, either, and I don't have to belittle other people to make myself big.
>
> I feel a protective attitude toward the Negro; I always have. But I'll have to admit that I enjoy being of the Old South, too. I know it is a pose, or at least I think it is; yet it has glamor, and I am afraid I am duped by it.
>
> I can remember in Junior High School being so disgusted with the kind of kid who blustered about, saying, "Why, if a nigger gets fresh with me, I'll break his neck!" Perhaps I am a little more kindly toward them because I so dislike that kind of behavior. I look on it as lower class behavior and lower class attitude. . . I don't like it.
>
> Perhaps my attitude has been altered by the fact that I expect to be a singer. There is no denying that in the field of music there are some great artists who are Negroes. It would be tragic to deny them their rightful place, and so deny all of us the pleasure of their talent. Then, I think that if they are to be allowed to have positions of prominence in my field, there is no reason why they should not be recognized in other fields. I guess everyone starts his thinking from himself.

A young woman who attended a summer school session at a Northern University had this to say about an experience in the classroom:

> * * * We were seated in alphabetical order, and a friend of mine and I were in seats next to Negroes. After class we went to the professor and asked to be moved. He wanted to know why. I said, "We are from the South, and we aren't used to sitting by Negroes." He was so mad at us! He said we were prejudiced and ignorant, and he said all kinds of things to us. My friend said, "Yes, I know we are all you say; but that is the way we are, and we aren't used to sitting by Negroes." Well, he raved some more, and finally I said, "I'm sorry that I feel this way, but I do feel this way, and if I can't have a different seat, I'll have to take a different course." He talked to us a long time about how wrong we were, but he moved us, and after that he was real nice to me.

Each of the statements given above is an attempt on the part of the person making it to define his attitude toward race, but it is something more than that, too; it is a public announcement of the kind of person the speaker thinks of himself as being, a projection of the picture which he has of himself. Racial attitudes, then, seem to be acquired as a part of the individual's attitude toward himself, as one of the areas of definition of his relationships with other people. It is important that we should try to understand how the sense of self arises, and it is to this question that we now turn our attention.

One of the most rewarding approaches to the problem of the emergence of self is that of George Herbert Mead,[3] and it is his concepts and his framework of analysis which we shall use in an effort to understand how the racial role becomes incorporated into the individual's sense of self. Mead points out that we learn who we are (i,e., what kind of person we are) from the reactions of other people toward us. And it is in this way that in any given situation we learn to assess our own behavior. Other individuals indicate to us, by their reactions, the meaning of our behavior; and by taking the role of the other, we are able to make indications to ourselves which serve as guides for future behavior. Sometimes these indications are made in the form of direct

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[3]George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934). It is not possible to present here a complete analysis of Mead's theoretical framework.

verbal responses; often they are but behavioral responses to our own behavior.

Where racial attitudes are concerned, direct instruction seems to play a relatively unimportant part. The most perceptive and self-analytical of the young people interviewed often are unable to produce any memories of direct teaching with respect to racial attitude. For the most part, verbal instruction is avoided, and even when it is given, it is usually justified in other than racial terms. The one exception to this seems to occur with respect to the term "lady". Over and over again the young people interviewed told of quite explicit instruction in the use of this word.

> Once when I was a little girl a Negro woman came to the door. I told my aunt a lady wanted to see her. She went to the door, and when she came back she told me that I should have said a woman was there to see her. I wondered about it a little, but I think I didn't question it.
>
> Once when we were in the car, I said, "Oh, Mother, look! That colored lady has on a dress just like yours." Well, Mother was a little upset about the dress, but she didn't say so. She said, "Agnes, call them colored women. There are no colored ladies."
>
> I remember when I learned that lesson. I told Mother the wash-lady was here. She said to say "woman", and I asked why. Mother explained that you never say Negro lady. She said "lady" was a term of respect applied to few white ladies and to no Negroes at all.
>
> About five years ago we were riding through Memphis one day, and I saw a Negro standing on the street corner. She was all dressed up, and she looked very pretty. I said to Mother, "Isn't that a pretty Negro lady?" Mother called me down for it. She told me to say woman. I wanted to know why, and she didn't answer me. I said, "I don't believe there is any reason. I think you just don't like them -- like Grandmother." Golly, was I sorry I'd said that! Mother lectured me about respect for my elders, and she said if I ever spoke to her like that again she'd punish me severely.

It is interesting to note that instruction was given only after a child had erred in his racial behavior. In the majority of cases reported, no explanation was given except in general terms, that these are accepted usages. If a child was not satisfied, but sought further reasons, he was told that ladies

are always white; and if he questioned this judgment, he was punished for disrespectful behavior toward his elders. The rationale for the punishment was given in terms of the younger-older person relationship, but the association of the punishment with a transgression of racial patterns did not fail. In the last instance reported above, this association was strong enough to stop further questioning:

> Not long after that I came in late to lunch one day. Everyone had eaten except the cook, and I started to sit at the table with her and eat. Mother asked her to move. I didn't understand it, and I was just about to ask why when I remembered the Memphis incident and decided not to. So I did not protest. But I was embarrassed; I didn't think Mother should have done that. She might have told me later not to do it again.

In general, it seems that verbal indications that Negroes are different from whites are used only when the child has violated the racial folkways. Every instance of explicit verbal instruction, as reported by these young people, was preceded by some such incident.

> One time when I was leaving to go to kindergarten, I kissed my nurse. Father waited until I was in the car with him, and then he told me not to. I asked why, but Father is very domineering, and he told me I was too young to understand and that I'd just have to do as he said.

> I don't dare open my mouth on the subject at home. I did once, but I was already in disgrace. Daddy wasn't speaking to me at the time, but when I said I thought Negroes should have the vote, he spoke. And he told me never to discuss the subject in his house again. He thinks the professors and student body at college are all communists.

While it is generally true that direct verbal instruction is seldom used as a method for teaching racial attitudes, it is not true that verbal indications of an indirect kind are avoided. Indeed, indirect verbal instruction, given by the simple expedient of letting the child "overhear" adult conversation, accounts for most of the stereotyped verbalizations in terms of which young people express their feelings about Negroes. The importance of the kind of adult talk a child is allowed to hear can not be overemphasized. Certainly, it is not accident, except in a few cases, which determines what the child hears. Ordinarily parents are very careful to see to it that their children

hear from them only those things considered appropriate to their years. Perhaps these decisions are not always made at a conscious level, but when adults talk freely about sexual looseness and immorality among Negroes, while maintaining a strict silence before their children on the subject of sexual irregularities among white people, it is difficult to escape the judgment that they make this difference because they want their children to believe the one and to disbelieve the other. Reconstruction stories are kept vividly alive not because of historical interest, but because they provide the emotional set which any good Southerner is supposed to have. Shortcomings and deficiencies of Negro servants are paraded, stereotyped, and exaggerated because such a picture of the Negro is appropriate to the treatment accorded him, and this treatment is deemed necessary to "keep the Negro in his place." When a Negro who obviously does not fit the stereotype comes upon the scene, he is explained away as an exception, but for the most part white children simply do not see these exceptional Negroes. Judgments are given the child not in any direct way, but by allowing him to listen to adult talk without participating in it.

> I knew Alma lived with men. It's funny, I never heard much talk about the morals of white people; it came to me as a decided shock that white people are often sexually immoral, but I have always known — or nearly always — that colored people are not hampered by morals. I never heard any tales of sexual immorality involving white people until I was considered grown.
>
> I have heard lots of stories about their criminality, about how they cut each other up and cut white people up. I've heard about that lynching a hundred times. What did I hear? Well, they told me that a nigger shot a policeman and they found him and shot him and hanged him on a telephone pole down there by Link's Cafe. They say the Negroes behaved for a long time after that and they were scared to come out for a week or two. Every time the men at the store start talking about how uppity niggers are now, someone tells about that lynching.
>
> I have very vivid recollections of Reconstruction stories. The Negroes were hateful and cruel to white people then. There is much unrest in Memphis at the present time. The Negroes think they can do just anything. They are forming clubs: there is the Bump Club, you know about that, and then all these Eleanor Clubs.

The following excerpt from a diary kept during the collecting of the interviews is revealing on this point.

> Tonight I went to Bea's for the evening. She and her mother were very much elated that at last they had found a Negro woman who had agreed to come to the house and do the laundry. All of us were sitting on the front porch, Bea, her mother, Sue and I. Mrs. White was laying plans for the morrow. "Bea," she said, "remind me to lock up the silver tomorrow. We don't know a thing about this nigger." Then she turned to me, "You know, you just can't trust any of them. I always lock up my good silver."

None of Mrs. White's remarks was addressed to her granddaughter, Sue, yet none had escaped her. Listening to the casual conversation of adults, she had been told once again that Negroes are untrustworthy. This lesson has been driven home every time a strange Negro has entered the house. She, like other children, mimics her mother and her grandmother, even in behavior and attitudes of which she is critical. When children seek to identify themselves with others, a common manifestation of this identification is found in imitative behavior. It is not surprising that a young person who has observed that a certain kind of behavior in an adult brings approval from his associates should "try on" this behavior, for this is the way in which a child grows up -- by practicing grown-up behavior, seeking to call out in others the desired responses. Such imitation is often the occasion for direct instruction against it, as when children begin to give orders to the servants. Then the parents make it quite clear that giving orders is the special prerogative of adult members of the household. In this case, however, the child's behavior is socially incorrect only in that he has overstepped the boundaries of his age-grade, and he is made to understand that such behavior must wait upon maturity.

Another kind of indirect indication is seen in instructions given to children that they are not to make disparaging remarks about Negroes; rather, they must not let the Negro know that he is considered inferior. Such in-

struction cannot but make the inferiority an unquestioned fact to the white child.

> Servants should be well cared-for, and they should be treated with consideration. We should always be considerate of their feelings; they are human beings. I was always expected to obey my nurse, and I was not allowed to abuse her.
>
> You know, I think from the fact that I was told so often that I must treat colored people with consideration, I got the idea that I could mistreat them if I wanted to.

Here is a very telling clue to the way in which race attitudes are instilled. The first quotation suggests respect for the Negro's feelings and rights, yet the overtone points unmistakably to the essential helplessness, servility, and inferiority which are supposed to characterize the Negro servant. There is a great difference in the respect required of young people for elders of their own family and social rank and the consideration invoked in behalf of serving people. It is one thing to respect the rights of those who hold unquestioned authority; it is another to respect the rights of those who owe those rights to the protection of an authoritative group which claims the child as its own. The white child becomes "Miss" or "Mister" very early to the servant in the home, and while this is not purely a racial phenomenon, it probably occurs earlier when the servants are Negroes than when they are members of the dominant racial group.

It should be pointed out that the servant, himself, having accepted his role in relation to the various members of the family, becomes a teacher to the child. A maid, nurse, cook, or yard man may give very direct training with regard to the expected behavior of the young white person. This is especially true when the Negro undertakes to train the child in "manners".

> I had a Negro nurse, Aunt Jennie; she nursed both my brother and me. When the doorbell rang, we wanted to answer the door. She said we were not supposed to. She told me I had to be a lady, and if I wasn't one, she would use the hairbrush on me.

Rosie is scornful of the lack of manners of young Negroes. She

calls me "Elsie", and that is all right, but she thinks it is disgraceful when younger colored girls call white girls by their first names.

We have reviewed at some length examples of verbal indications, both direct and indirect, as they relate to the problem of the transmission of racial attitudes. As important as these methods are in teaching the Southern white child his racial role, they account for a very limited proportion of the total racial learning of the white Southerner. It has been pointed out earlier that the occasion for most direct verbal instruction is some kind of infraction of the rules governing the behavior of white people in their relationships with Negroes. It is the behavior itself which is most carefully taught. The prevailing norms of behavior provide a frame of reference within which the child makes his judgments, and the surer he is in the practice of these norms, the more likely he is to find a rationale which defends them.

For the most part the South does not teach attitudes to its white children, nor is such teaching necessary; in establishing practices, by precept, by example, and by law, which separate the races and make distinctions between interracial and intraracial behavior, the South has established a way of life which can have but one meaning for those who diligently practice it. And to escape such practice has, until very recent times, been extremely difficult, for racial etiquette has been woven into the entire institutional fabric of the Southern culture.

A child who is constantly treated with deference by members of a group visibly distinguishable from himself on physical grounds can hardly escape the conclusion that he is superior to members of that group. If, in addition, in learning his various roles, he is able to evoke deference by imitating the dominant example of his elders, this conception of himself is reinforced.

If in public transportation his accomodations are separate from and

superior to those of the other racial group, he is likely to take this difference as a matter of course and to accept it as his due. Once the expected behavior is established, the individual can be counted on to defend it, for he must do so if any question arises which threatens his ego, and this will certainly occur if his behavior is called into question. For of what does an individual's ego consist, if not of his conception of himself in relation to others; and this relationship is a behavioral relationship. It happens that in the South great importance is attached to "manners", but manners are, of course, simply the rules which define the relationship of the individual to others and which call for certain specific behaviors as indicating this relationship.

> I guess the thing that is stressed most in a Southern girl's training is manners, etiquette. I think it is very important to be sure that your behavior is correct.
>
> You know, where you are makes a lot of difference about how you behave. It's all very well to say I'm for this and against that, but actually, all of us -- or I should say most of us -- fear criticism from the people we must live with. I sat down by a Negro here in Memphis one time. He was in a funny place; you wouldn't expect to find a Negro there. There were white men across the aisle, and I didn't notice that he was a Negro. I felt very strange, and when a seat opened up across the aisle, I moved. In the North or West it wouldn't have bothered me at all. But many people here were looking at me curiously, some with disgust. I wouldn't have got up if there had been no place to move to, but I'll tell you, it was hard to know what to do.

A ministerial student who can, at a church conference, declare for equal treatment for Negroes on the conference grounds, does not pursue the point in the college diningroom, where he is a student waiter and works with an elderly Negro man.

> There is an old Negro who works with us and who has been here for years. We call him "Jones", and he calls me "Mr. Peter". I would not object to calling him Mr. Jones, but it would serve no good purpose to do so. I am sure he would be embarrassed if I did, and all the white people who were not antagonized would certainly be surprised. I'd be set down as a nut.

A militant minister who appeals to the F.B.I. for justice for Negro citizens,

and who insists upon preaching what he believes, thereby alienating some members of his congragation, nevertheless submits to the social dictum which requires visits with his Negro friends to be at his instigation and in their homes.

> Dr. Sales, the president of the Negro college here, is my personal friend. I like him very much, and he and his wife and my wife and I have many good visits together. I often go to his home to visit, but that is the way the visits must be. He wouldn't dare come to my home to visit.

The parent who would really rather not teach her child the prevailing attitudes with respect to race, yet feels that she must see to it that her child's behavior is correct as judged by the existing norms.

> A few weeks ago something came up that was really hard for me to handle. The people next door to us had a little Negro girl come in to wash dinner dishes. They gave her dinner and a little bit of money -- I don't know how much, but it was really very little. Well, they decided they didn't need her any longer. She lives in one of those little shacks down near the railroad. Sue came in one night and wanted to know if we couldn't give Janie some dinner. I had noticed that very often the little darkie would call to Sue over the fence. One afternoon she came over and asked for Sue. Fortunately, she was not at home. Well, as I said, Sue came to me and said, "Mother, she is hungry. Can't we give her something to eat?" So I fixed a plate, and the little girl sat on the back steps and ate, and Sue sat and talked with her while she ate. It disturbed me a little. The next day Sue wanted to know if Janie couldn't eat with us and wash our dishes. I told her I was afraid not. She couldn't understand why not. I told her we couldn't do it because we didn't need Janie, that she could get a job somewhere else. I guess actually we could have taken her on and used her very well, but we could also get along without her, and I didn't want her around because it would be so hard to explain to Sue why she must not have a little colored girl for a friend. You know, you hate to bring your child up to be a snob; but you know I couldn't have that. I didn't want the colored child to get any ideas, and I didn't want Sue doing something that other people would question and think queer. It was just an impossible situation.

Attitudes, then, seem to be transmitted not so much by verbal instruction as by providing the kinds of experiences in which the child learns behavior appropriate to his racial role, and by shielding the child from those experiences in which he might learn behavior inappropriate to his position.

An adequate explanation of the means by which racial attitudes are

transmitted must take into account and explain failures of transmission. Many observers assert that racial attitudes are changing, that young people today hold attitudes considerably more favorable toward the Negro than those of their parents. If this is so, and it may well be, the change is understandable in terms of our analytical framework.

We have asserted that racial attitudes reflect the behavior of individuals in interracial relationships, that the attitude is, in a sense, the rationale of the act.[4] The racial behavior of earlier generations grew out of a social order that no longer exists. The young white Southerner is no longer brought up in the care of a "mammy"; it is a rare white family that has even one full-time Negro servant, and the behavior appropriate to the "master" class is not an ever-present example in the home. Opportunities for parents to teach racial behavior are fewer than they used to be, and the lessons can not be so thoroughly learned. Since the master-servant relationship and all the practices appropriate to it are so little in evidence, the old verbalizations and stereotypes are losing some of their authority. Perhaps some unconscious awareness of the weaknesses inherent in verbal indications of racial attitudes has accounted for the apparent reluctance of the bearers of the culture to attempt to transmit the attitudes through direct verbal instruction; certainly, without the reinforcement of carefully trained racial behavior, these attitudes are beginning to be altered.

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[4]It might be more nearly accurate to speak of the attitude as the rationalization of the act. For a while the effort was made to find out what the young people meant by the term "social equality" by asking them to say whether social equality was involved in certain interracial situations. In every case the individual tested the situation by a single criterion: is it accepted practice in the South? And so they agreed that no social equality was involved or implied when Negroes and white people use the same post office, ride in the same elevators, or trade at the same stores; social equality is implied if members of the two races sit in the same section of a bus, ride the same railway coach, or attend the same schools.

It is customary in the sociological field to talk about relationships between and among different racial groups in terms of social distance. Robert E. Park pointed out that social distance might be either vertical or horizontal, and he thought of the former — with the Negro in the subordinate position — as characterizing racial relationships in the South, as opposed to horizontal social distance — with the Negro relegated to a different sphere of activity — which was characteristic of Northern racial relationships.[5] Economic changes in the South are bringing increased social distance of a horizontal type; it may well be that when this distance is great enough the vertical distance will be negligible. Perhaps this change is an important one for a change in racial attitudes, for it will certainly bring a change in definition of behavioral relationships of Negroes and whites. As more white people find themselves in jobs in which Negroes are their clients and their customers, it is inevitable that the behavior defining these relationships should give rise to new attitudes. A sixteen year-old white girl who lives in a Southern town of about 16,000 population reports:

> You know, I've been working at Wilkie's Shoe Store. A lot of Negroes come in there, and I wait on them. Once I was so startled to hear myself saying "ma'am" to one.

And a seventeen year-old boy from the same town tells:

> Last summer I worked at the ice plant. There was a Negro there I liked. He really was a swell fellow. He was a grown man. Everyone liked him . . . I wouldn't mind working with them. A year ago I might have said I wouldn't like it, but this Negro down at the ice plant did a lot to make me see things differently. I wouldn't particularly like to work under one — no, I shouldn't say that, 'cause I know I wouldn't mind working under the one at the ice plant.

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[5] This is not to suggest that it would be a good thing for Southerners to adopt the Northern attitudes toward race, though many people feel that horizontal distance may be easier to combat than vertical distance.

Racial definitions are an inevitable part of the Southerner's point of view because social forces dictate a racial etiquette which can not be ignored. In many instances these social definitions of racial roles are legal difinitions as well. Jim Crow is not a folkway, only, but a law, and this fact puts a heavy drag on the rate of social change. The white person inclined to protest segregation can be hauled into court if he attempts to make an issue of the principles. Myrdal has observed that liberalism in the South holds an anomalous position in that it runs counter to law.[6] Conservative forces have not only custom, but legal right on their side. Thus, it is extremely difficult for the Southern white person to act against custom, and the social pressures are bulwarked by police and courts. The legal aspects of racial relations lag behind economic and social changes brought about by industrial development and the urgencies of war.

But laws, like attitudes, may be thought of as reflections of already established patterns of behavior, and it seems reasonable to expect that changing racial behavior will be reflected in a new rationale and an accompanying rewriting of legal definitions of racial relationships.

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[6] Myrdal, op. cit., It is only with reference to Jim Crow legislation that conservatism is in so favorable a position. Constitutional law is with liberalism, and as segregation practices are declared unconstitutional, liberal forces are able to use law as a weapon in their struggle.

Olive Westbrooke Quinn
Southwestern at Memphis

Technical Memorandum

To: Mr. John Hope, II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC

From: Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Consultant

Subject: The American Case Against Segregation - A Reply to Thomas R. Waring

Section I

Within the past year increasingly successful attempts have been made by white Southerners to present the case for the maintenance of segregated schools in terms which are acceptable to reasonable white Northerners. The most effective of these Southern spokesmen has been Hodding Carter, who has published such articles in Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, and Look Magazine. The most recent expression of this "moderate" white Southerners' point of view in a national publication is found in the article by Thomas R. Waring, published in the January 1956 issue of Harper's Magazine. There is some evidence that this reasonable pro-segregationist approach has influenced the editorial opinion of some of the more conservative national publications.

Mr. Waring, like other spokesmen for the "reasonable white Southerner," starts from the assumption that there are valid and compelling reasons - described by him as "facts" - which make it impossible for white "Southerners to accept the desegregation of the public schools." He maintains that white Southerners of good-will, who are in the vast majority, "favor uplift of the Negro," but fear that this uplift "is being forced at too fast a pace." He also insists that white Southerners resent the interference with the sovereignty of their states in their right to maintain segregated schools; and, he adds, that the Southerner believes that "he is better equipped by experience to cope with race problems than people from other regions."

These opinions are not novel. In the context of Mr. Waring's article, however, some of them are clearly inconsistent with other statements which he makes, and their lack of relevance to the basic issue of the Constitutional rights of Negro Americans appears to be quite clear. Undoubtedly there must be many Southern whites of good-will who favor the uplift of the Negro people. More pertinent questions, however, are: How effective have these people been in protecting the rights of the Negroes; and how active or open were they in supporting the Negro in his struggle for the equalization of teachers' salaries, equalization of schools, voting privileges, and adequate graduate and professional state-supported education.

The argument of "too fast a pace" is also not uncommon, but again leaves many relevant questions unanswered: What is a desirable pace for the righting of an injustice? To what extent can those who are not the immediate victims of the injustice be expected to arrive at the same judgment concerning the rate of change which the victims believe to be necessary? It is precisely because of these expected differences in opinion that it is necessary to resort to the more objective arena of the Federal courts.

The sovereignty of the states in matters of education is not in itself at issue in the discussion of the problem of segregated schools. More pertinent to this problem is the issue of whether the states have the "right" to perpetrate injustice and inequality upon some of its citizens. In its May 17, 1954 decision, the United States Supreme Court answered this question clearly by stating:

> Such an opportunity (for education), where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

Mr. Waring's assertion that the Southerner believes that he is "better equipped by experience to cope with race problems than people from other regions" is made without supporting evidence. Seen in the light of

his discussion of the question of the sovereignty of states, it is necessary to point out that problems of racial justice in the South are no longer matters of regional concern, but have tremendous national and international implications. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the Southern states in and of themselves have voluntarily contributed to the progress of the Negro or have stimulated or encouraged economic, political, or educational equality.

It is of ironic significance that the one extensive quotation cited by Mr. Waring in support of the "Liberal" Southerner's position was made by an Atlanta editor in 1888. Reliance upon the position considered liberal 70 years ago in an article published in 1956 is in itself evidence of the time lag in this type of thinking which seeks to understand and deal with contemporary problems in terms of the conditions and perspective of the past. This may well be the essential weakness and futility of the position of those "reasonable" white Southerners who seek to justify or explain the continuation of segregation in the modern world; namely, that segregation and other forms of racism are not compatible with the economic, industrial, technological, political, and international forces of the middle of the 20th Century.

Section II

Under the heading of "cultural differences" Waring lists the following reasons for the maintenance of segregated schools in the South:

1. That Negro children are not equal to white children in health and cleanliness;

2. That the home environment of Negroes is inferior to that of whites;

3. That the marital and sex habits of the Negro are inferior and more primitive than those of whites;

4. That there is a high incidence of crime among Negroes;

5. That the Negro child is retarded in intellectual level and achievement compared with the white child.

If one accepts, for purposes of discussion, Waring's assertions on these points, they still do not justify the maintenance of schools segregated on the basis of race. It is agreed that the "facts" which he presents do not reflect innate racial differences. They, therefore, must be interpreted as indications of the detrimental consequences of past segregation and the general inequality and discrimination associated with racism.

In view of the meretricious effectiveness and the emotional appeal of the specific points raised by Waring, it is necessary to answer each point separately:

1. Health

Waring maintains that Negro parents are not as careful, on the average, as their white neighbors in looking after the health and cleanliness of their children, and that the incidence of venereal diseases is much greater among Negroes than among whites. After admitting that statistics to document this statement are difficult to obtain, he nonetheless cites statistics from South Carolina for the year 1952-53 which purport to show that while 1.3% of the white persons examined were found to have syphilis, an average of 9% of the Negroes examined had this disease.

Waring did not state that these percentages applied to Negro and white children; but he nonetheless concludes that fastidious white parents "just don't want to take risks of any kind with their children." He presented no evidence to prove that a disproportionate number of Negro children are contaminated with contagious venereal diseases or that these diseases may be communicated to white children in a school setting.

It is now clearly understood by public health officials that communicable diseases are not to be understood or dealt with primarily in

racial terms. These diseases are related to socio-economic status, overcrowded housing, and other social problems which are aggravated by problems involved in segregated living. Furthermore, white children and white adults are not immunized against these diseases by rigid patterns of segregation in the schools. Certainly, necessary and prevalent contacts with Negroes in the role of servants or workers provide greater opportunity for the transmission of communicable disease.

Utilization of advances in medicine and public health and a well-organized school health program for the benefit of the entire community should provide protection for all children from dangerous communicable diseases. Non-segregated schools will necessarily have to maintain the same health facilities and safeguards that are now maintained in any well-run school - and unfortunately not provided in the majority of segregated Negro schools. As the economic and social conditions of the Negro improve, and as the public health facilities available to the entire community are also made available to Negroes, the incidence of certain diseases among Negroes will decrease.

2. Home Environment

Waring contends that the home environment and cultural background of Negro children is different in many ways from that of white children. He states that the relationship between whites and Negroes is still generally that of the master and the servant and the boss and the laborer. While he recognizes the emergence of a middle-class among Negroes, he believes that this group is small and in the most "unenviable" position of all since they are not accepted by whites and have progressed beyond the cultural level "of the vast bulk of their own people."

Aside from the stereotyped generalizing which suggests that all whites are basically superior to all Negroes culturally, economically, and

in home environment -delusions of group aristocracy - Waring's discussion of this point reveals the basic inconsistency of his whole approach. On the one hand he maintains that white Southerners of good-will favor the uplift of the Negro and that the Negro should qualify himself fully for association with "the white man's company"; while on the other hand he betrays the fact that even if the Negro were to raise his cultural and economic level to a point acceptable to whites, that this would not lead to "the white Southerner's acceptance of non-segregation." He rejects the idea that the admission of "a few well-scrubbed and polished colored children of cultivated parents" may be an opening wedge for integration in the schools by stating that "this would be no more acceptable to the colored people than to the whites." He insists upon a continuation of segregation even among middle-class Negroes by suggesting "private schools for prosperous Negroes as for prosperous whites." This point of view clearly reveals the intransigence of the pro-segregationists and the fact that they really want no part of non-segregation. The issue of cultural differences and inferior home environment of the average Negro as a reason for maintaining segregation is revealed to be spurious.

3. Marital Habits and Sexual Looseness

Waring opens his introduction of the problem of marital habits and sexual morals of the Negro by again admitting that "statistics are not readily available, for obvious reasons..." He maintains, however, that on the average "one Southern Negro child in five is illegitimate," and that even among Negroes who observe marriage conventions, "illegitimacy has little if any stigma."

His position is revealed in its essential inconsistency when he, on the one hand, discusses the "more primitive view of sex habits" found among Negroes, and, on the other hand, is forced to recognize that extra-legal inter-racial sex relationships were "due largely to lustful white men

seeking out acquiescent Negro women..." Certainly these "lustful white men" developed their lust and "primitive view of sex habits" in a rigidly segregated society.

Problems of sex and inter-racial marriages were not at issue and do not appear to be relevant to the struggle for racial justice and equality before the law. The fear of social and sexual mingling among races, understandable though it may be in a segregated society, cannot be offered as a justification for the continued denial of the full citizenship rights of any group or individual. Social relations and marriage are always matters of personal choice and decision. These intimate aspects of inter-personal relationships cannot and should not be legislated and were not involved in the judicial decisions preventing the states from segregating children in public schools solely on account of their race.

A confusion of the issues of citizenship rights of the Negro with problems of personal, social, and sexual relations may reflect, among other things, the anxiety on the part of certain whites that if the barriers imposed by the state against equality of treatment for the Negro were to be removed, then the whites themselves would not be able to exercise personal restraint and control in the expression of positive feelings for Negroes. In a curious sense these types of arguments may be viewed as an attempt on the part of individuals to have the state deny equality of citizenship rights to Negroes in order to protect whites from the consequences of their own confused, mixed, and ambivalent feelings toward Negroes. The rights of Negroes, however, cannot be denied on the implicit grounds that whites might find them acceptable if the barriers are removed.

4. Crime

In his discussion of crime, Waring maintains that crime in the South has been more prevalent among Negroes than among whites and that much of the outbreak of crime and juvenile delinquency in Northern cities is due

to the influx of the Negro population. Again he does not present the evidence or statistics upon which he bases these assertions.

The problem of differential definition and the meaning of crime statistics according to race has long concerned objective criminologists. The ease with which Negroes are arrested and convicted for minor infractions, which under certain circumstances would be over-looked among whites, certainly has been observed and must be taken into account in any evaluation of racial factors and crime.

Students of the psychological consequences of segregation have recognized that one of its most obvious manifestations among Negroes is an increase in hostility toward whites and toward other Negroes. This may well, under certain circumstances, express itself in delinquent and criminal behavior. Again, therefore, the discussion of crime among Negroes must be seen as at least in part a consequence of segregation rather than as a justification for continuing segregation.

Waring makes the blanket statement: "Maintaining order is a first concern of Southerners." This statement must be scrutinized in the light of his own implicit admission that conservative, law-abiding Southern whites are helpless in their fear "that hatred and bloodshed would increase without separation of the races." He supports this fear by the warning that "The thin tolerance of the ruffian and lower elements of the white people could erupt into animosity and brutality if race pressure became unbearable." He warns further that in this riotous bloodshed it will be "Negroes' blood which will flow for the most part." Certainly it is difficult to reconcile these dire predictions and the inevitability of racial lawlessness among the lower elements of white Southerners with the stability of the government of these sovereign states whose leaders are concerned with the maintenance of law and order. Furthermore, it might be germane to point out that the hatred, violence, and bloodshed described by Waring are more likely to

occur under conditions of racial segregation or in the transition from segregation to non-segregation than under conditions of equality of the races.

In his anticipation of racial disturbances associated with desegregation in the public schools Waring states that such disturbances would occur "first among pupils themselves, and later by enraged parents." Systematic studies of the desegregation process show that there is no evidence that prolonged racial disturbances associated with the desegregation of schools ever occur spontaneously among the pupils themselves. Whenever there has been such trouble among the students, it has been found that these disturbances were initiated and encouraged by adults.

5. Intellectual Development

Waring maintains that "colored children are about two grades behind the whites in attainment..." He insists that the integration of Negro and white children will place an excessive burden on "a single generation of white children," and that, "while they are rubbing off white civilization onto the Negro children, Negro culture will also rub off onto the whites." Again the sense of Waring's argument is that one of the consequences of past segregation - academic retardation of the Negro child should be used to justify continued segregation. The lack of validity of this argument is apparent and is clearly illustrated by the fact that in the legal fight against segregated schools some of the states argued that the Negro child was not being harmed by being required to attend all-Negro schools. Now that this point is no longer at issue before the courts, the proponents of segregation not only admit this intellectual damage resulting from past segregation, but attempt to use it in support of continued segregation.

Many generations of Negro children have borne the brunt of the educational and psychological damage inherent in their attendance in segregated schools. There is no evidence that a single generation of white

children will suffer any permanent damage as a consequence of attending well-regulated, non-segregated schools.

Existing psychological evidence obtained from the research of such outstanding psychologists as Otto Klineberg reveals that when Negro children are transferred from segregated schools to non-segregated shcools with higher educational standards they tend to make up their academic deficiency within a few years. More recent evidence involving older children shows that Negro children of superior intellectual ability who attend inferior segregated high schools are able to overcome their academic deficiency during the first college year and compete successfully in northern interracial colleges. It is clear, therefore, that the academic handicap resulting from segregated education is not a permanent one if the child is provided with an opportunity for an education in a non-segregated school with high educational standards. Under these conditions there is evidence that the Negro child benefits and no evidence that the white child is disadvantaged.

Section III - Summary and Conclusions

The latter part of Waring's article is devoted to a general castigation of the role of the NAACP in the struggle of the Negro for racial justice and equality. Waring maintains that until the school question became agitated in recent years, race relations in the South "on the whole were good"; that the leadership in this racial crusade comes from outside of the South and is sparked by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; that if the schools were integrated, Negro school teachers would be displaced by whites; and that Negroes in general are not eager for mixed schools "so long as the schools for Negroes are adequate." These arguments, too, are not new and probably reflect a perspective of race relations which is tolerable and acceptable for some "reasonable" white Southerners. The question, however, is the extent to which they are compatible with the actual facts and the social reality

which the South faces today.

In asserting that race relations in the South were good up until the agitation for non-segregated schools, Waring takes the position that good relations are synonymous with the Negroes' acceptance of the status quo. From another point of view one could argue that such acceptance in the face of the reality of injustice is evidence of the poorest type of race relations and synonymous with social stagnation. Social progress, on the other hand, necessarily brings with it symptoms of tension, disturbance, and inevitable transitional difficulties. These are the concomitants of progress and the indications of an eventual bettering of the substance of race relations.

The NAACP is a convenient target or scapegoat for those who are disturbed by the insistent demand of the Negro for his full citizenship rights. It is true that the national headquarters of the NAACP are in New York City. It is equally true, however, and should be known by all, that the role of the NAACP in the school segregation cases and in any other area of its activities is determined exclusively by the degree to which the Negroes in a given community initiate a case and seek and invite the participation of the NAACP in the quest for justice. Under no circumstances does or can the national NAACP initiate a case prior to the desire or the demand of the Negro citizens of a given community.

The argument that Negro teachers would lose their jobs in integrated schools must be evaluated in the light of the national problem of a general shortage of competent teachers, which is no less acute in the South. Certainly, in the transition for a system of segregated to non-segregated schools in a given community there will be questions of the most efficient utilization of teaching personnel. In an attempt at solution of these problems there may be instances in which less competent and professionally

qualified Negro teachers will be displaced by more competent Negro or white teachers; presumably, also, there will be cases in which less qualified and competent white teachers might be displaced by more competent and qualified Negro and white teachers. If, however, there are cases of discriminatory and punitive discharge of Negro teachers, these cases will have to be brought to and decided within the halls of the Federal courts.

The assumption that Negroes in general are not eager for mixed schools, but would settle for adequate Negro schools, is one which may be seriously questioned in the light of the social tensions, potential disturbances, and worsening of race relations which Waring himself so graphically describes. If the Negro people on the whole were content to repudiate the clear decision of the United States Supreme Court, which maintained that separate educational facilities can never be equal, then there would be no agitation on their part for non-segregated schools. They would passively accept the pious and belated offers of even the most backward states to "equalize" the physical facilities of Negro schools, It has become clear to almost every Negro who is aware of the problem that it is not only psychologically but economically impossible for the Negroes to have separate schools that are equal. This is particularly true in those states in which there is the maximum amount of resistance to the Supreme Court's decision. A dual school system in these states would necessarily be at the expense of the Negro schools. The fact is that there is no possibility of compromise on this issue without continuing the hardships on the Negro children or imposing additional and new hardships on white children.

Section IV - What Has the Supreme Court Decided?

In presenting the hope that Negroes will accept voluntarily continued segregation, Waring leans on Judge John J. Parker's interpretation of the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court. In this interpretation

Judge Parker states:

> It (The United States Supreme Court) has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools... Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation.

A further interpretation of the meaning of the Supreme Court's decision which Parker does not give, but which might be relevant to an evaluation of many of the issues raised by Waring, is that the United States Supreme Court, in its May 17, 1954 decision, did not forbid the states from segregating its pupils in state supported public schools on the basis of health, home environment, marital status, legitimacy or illegitimacy of students, criminal or delinquent behavior, and level of intellectual functioning. Nothing in that decision prevents a state from setting up schools for children with or without communicable or venereal diseases; or setting up schools for children from broken homes or who are adjudged legitimate or illegitimate; nothing in the decision forbids the state from setting up schools in terms of intellectual level of students. Some groups of educators or welfare workers might wish to test the constitutionality of these forms of segregated schools when and if they are established.

The present decision, however, clearly, specifically, and only forbids the state from setting up schools for children "solely on the basis of race." This application of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution means that all explanations, rationalizations, techniques, devices, and subterfuges which result in racially segregated schools are unconstitutional. If a state desires to protect the health of the 98% of the white children whose parents do not have syphilis, it must equally protect the health of the 91% of the Negro children whose parents do not have syphilis by setting up, if it so desires, schools for those Negro and white

children whose parents have syphilis. If the state desires to protect and nurture the cultural and intellectual potentials of those white children from higher cultural and intellectual backgrounds, then it must equally and without separation protect and nurture the cultural and intellectual potentials of those Negro children from similar cultural and intellectual backgrounds by setting up schools attended by Negro and white children of similar cultural and intellectual backgrounds and potentials. Anything short of this is a clear violation of the supreme law of the United States as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court and is therefore illegal. Widespread illegality, rationalized or not, is anarchy - a government by whim and prejudice rather than a government by law. No amount of "reasonable" or emotional arguments and explanations can obscure this basic fact.

SRC - Historical Material

Services to Negro Veterans In Louisiana

By George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services
Southern Regional Council

OVER half of Louisiana's young men between the ages of nineteen and thirty-five are now veterans of World War II. The State's population is a little over one-third Negro. Some 160,000 white veterans and 70,000 Negro veterans have returned to the State. For many years to come the experiences as service men and as veterans of this selected third of this generation of young men will be a ruling factor in the life of Louisiana. If the veterans find or make places acceptable to them, the State's gain will have been great; if any large proportion of them in two or three years time feel that opportunity has been unfairly denied them, bitterness and heightened friction will be inevitable. There is still time for Louisiana to see to it that her very best is done in meeting the needs of all her veterans.

Their needs come under five main headings: medical and hospital care, housing, claims, employment, and educational training. The first two have not been particularly looked at and will not be treated in this survey. The remaining three have been gone into by interview and travel and by conversations with a large number of veterans*.

The Machinery

A very considerable administrative apparatus, Federal, state and local, has been set up for dealing with these needs. The Veterans Administration has a regional office for the northern half of the state at Shreveport, and one for southern Louisiana at New Orleans. Between them they operate some seventeen full-time field contact offices, which in turn send out field personnel to reach many small points one day a week. The U. S. Employment Service (which returns to state management in November) and the unemployment compensation agency each cover the state either with settled offices or with itinerant service.

Educational training, including job training and farm training, is under the supervision of the Louisiana State Department of Education. Apprenticeship training is handled by the legislatively established State Apprenticeship Council in coordination with the Apprentice Training Service of the U. S. Department of Labor. Appropriate federal agencies administer farm loans, veterans preference on surplus disposal, and other particular services. New Orleans and Shreveport are the only Louisiana cities that have a locally supported Veteran's Information Center.

Veterans Claims

On matters of claims for pensions, record adjustments, payment for leave, and so on, Negro veterans have no strongly felt grievances. While they uniformly confront white contact men and claims officers, and thereby are exposed to the risk of minor discourtesies, the feeling is general that actual claims arising from service in the armed forces are impartially handled. The facilities are ample. The Veterans Administration will handle claims

*In this work the author had the invaluable assistance of three veterans: Ibra January, of Monroe, and Wesley R. Brazier and Theodore R. Moses, of New Orleans.

directly, or the American Red Cross, or any of the leading veterans organizations, or the Parish Service Officers will take them up for the veterans. Even those veterans organizations which do or did lately exclude Negroes from membership service claims of Negro veterans upon request, and such channels have been used by many Negroes.

Jobs

On the vital matter of employment the picture is not so good. Prejudice can and does enter into the efforts of officials of the Employment Service. In Louisiana it is an all-white agency. Most of the full-time offices are divided into white and Negro sides with separate entrances, and even the Negro sides are entirely staffed with white interviewers and white clerks.

Jobs available have held up well. The state lost around 100,000 strictly war-production jobs, but offerings in service trades, in the oilfields, in lumbering, and in construction have taken up the slack. For Negroes the rub has come not in getting a job, but in getting a job with a future or that will use their best abilities. The Employment Service protests that vacancies are notified without discrimination to the clerks who handle both the white and the Negro applicants, and that it is the practice to send men out to vacancies without distinction of race. Many Negro veterans who have used the Employment Service laugh at this contention. It is their belief that the agency makes a reasonable effort to get white skilled and semi-skilled men in their proper jobs, and seldom exerts itself in the same way for Negroes claiming jobs better than common labor.

It is hardly to be supposed that with an all-white staff the situation could be otherwise. Even your occasional white Employment Service official who is fully informed about the capabilities of the Negro applicants and sympathetic with their wishes confronts in the body of the agency prejudice and practices that work against the perfectly fair arrangements that he might wish to make. Again one has only to stand by while the employment counseling is in progress to feel the difference between the interviews with white and Negro applicants. Your white counselor in a matter of minutes is inside the mind of the white man who wants a job.

Personal observation in Employment Service offices in the State left the view that it is rare for the Negro applicant to give the appearance of being entirely at ease or to use in his replies the shades of meaning that effect understanding. For some Negro veterans the mutual barrier of prejudice is undoubtedly overcome in the interview, but for a broad group it remains, and leaves a wound. An ambitious veteran, Negro or white, when on the hunt for a job is watchful and sensitive; misunderstood and blunted here, a Negro veteran can hardly be blamed for a conclusion adverse to the effort being made on his behalf. Numerous offices of the employment service in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Oklahoma have met this situation by providing Negro interviewers or entire Negro staffs for servicing Negro applicants. Negro Employment Service officials, where used, have shown ingenuity and diligence in opening for Negro applicants the kind of jobs they wish. Louisiana is without the advantage of this useful service.

In simple matters of housekeeping the Employment Service in Louisiana could do a good deal more to convince both white and Negro veterans that it is up-to-date and solicitous of their welfare. Many offices are crowded and dingy; some are dirty. In several the Negro entrance is from a back street or even from an alley. In the large New Orleans office the white side customarily has its blackboard and walls plastered with notices from private employers appealing for workers to take desirable jobs or to enter trade schools, while on the Negro side no such notices have been seen in three separate visits. The explanation is said to lie in the rule of the agency against postings of jobs for which the files contain qualified applicants.

Employment, in good jobs and in poor jobs, is not made by the employment service. Nearly all of it is offered by private firms, and the official agency is not to be blamed for the general difficulties that Negroes face in getting good jobs. Neither does the Employment Service handle more than a small proportion of all the hirings. Still a good deal could be done by the agency in mitigation, and it is a widespread complaint among Negro veterans that far less than might be expected is done by USES.

Unemployment Pay

Here and there in the state, Negro veterans complain that they are cut off the readjustment allowance ($20 a week for up to 52 weeks) while still actively seeking work at their highest skill, sometimes after only a few weeks, on the excuse that unskilled work is available and they should take it. There is little reason to suppose that Negro veterans have thus far in general been denied their rights under this benefit. Many, including many farmers, have had the advantage also of the compensation for self-employed veterans. Figures are not available by race, but the State was the agent for paying the readjustment allowance in September to thirty-two thousand veterans, and the self-employment allowance was reaching nine thousand. Both figures were lower for September than for August, and the readjustment allowance payments had been declining for several months. The Division of Employment Security, which administers these benefits, has been pressing to reduce the load of qualified claimants. The agency is currently reinterviewing men who have had the readjustment allowance for thirty weeks or more. In a release of September 18, 1946 it was stated that "we have found that it was possible in many instances to change the working classification of claimants to one where a job was available. Others have been referred to a training program that will fit them for other types of work." Of 1881 claimants reinterviewed "only 232 refused a referral to a job on the grounds that the job to which they were referred was not suitable."

Veterans whose entitlement to the unemployment allowance (52 weeks) had expired numbered 625 in September, 1946, and those who had used up the whole of their self-employment allowance (about eleven monthly payments) were 1,019.

The existence of these particular benefits challenges every community's ingenuity in finding promising work at top skills for the men who are drawing the readjustment allowance. Additionally, they add to the urgency of providing job-training, farm training and trade training. At present in Louisiana nearly a fifth of the veterans of World War II are drawing one or the other of the unemployment allowances. Twice as many are getting these as are getting educational benefits of all kinds.

The Educational Benefit

Educational training is the master opportunity of the GI legislation. It not only provides tuition and modest subsistence pay to veterans going to college, but is available for high school work, regular or vocational, for correspondence courses, and (subsistence only) for training in formal apprenticeship and for training on the job or on the farm. Louisiana has hitherto ranked at or about the bottom among the states in percentage of population with five years of schooling or less, though she has lately been thirty-fourth in her educational effort. With this handicap, undoubtedly the great number of the Negro veterans stopped school somewhere between the early grammar grades and the early high school years, and therefore only a small percentage of them can be expected to get into college work.

The college-level men have crowded all available institutions. State-operated colleges alone had enrolled by September 30, 1946 about 4,000 white veterans and some 800 Negro veterans. The many private colleges will carry these figures to a total of 14,000 or more, of whom possibly 1,500 will be Negroes. Nothing is heard in Louisiana of such a plan as North Carolina has

begun, under which high school faculties give the first year or two of college work in afternoon and night classes, in many local communities, under the supervision of established colleges.

Regular high school work is not inviting to any large number of veterans anywhere. In Louisiana only a few hundreds of white veterans and a smaller number of Negro veterans have gone in for it, although school boards have offered flexibility to meet the needs of the veterans. The men who are not going to college, but are willing to take further training, are asking for other full-time vocational or technical instruction or are trying to hook onto apprenticeship or job or farm training.

Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship training is open to only an occasional fortunate Negro veteran. In all but a few instances it is operated in agreement with craft unions. Better than 90 percent of the indentured apprentices in Louisiana are believed now to be veterans. The unions which formerly set their upper-age limit for learners at twenty-five now admit veterans up to twenty-seven. The established low ratios of apprentices to journeymen are being held. The only opportunities for Negro veterans to get into apprenticeship training are in a few cases where formal apprenticeship training is operated by employers in the absence of a craft union, or where a vigorous Negro local, in a craft that has traditionally had Negro journeymen, has had a green light from the other craft locals and has worked out apprenticeship training for a handful of Negro veterans.

The whole state has about 1,770 apprentices, of whom about 600 are in New Orleans. Negro apprentices in New Orleans numbered, in October, twenty-odd brickmasons, 15 plasterers, 60 carpenters, 15 painters; and four barbers. Baton Rouge has 15 Negro brickmason apprentices, and such training is expected to be open soon in connection with Negro locals of plasterers and carpenters. Shreveport is said to have a few Negro apprentices in bricklaying, plastering, and cement finishing. Alexandria has 37 white apprentices and no Negro apprentices. Lake Charles has 64 whites and no Negroes. All told, 175 would be a high estimate for the Negro apprentices in the state, a ratio of less than 1 to 10. It should be said that the proportion is improving a bit as additional Negro locals push apprenticeship through. The State and Federal apprenticeship agencies are aware of the disproportions in the present situation, and the officials appear ready to help Negro trade groups, but they take the position that the conflict has to be settled in the sphere of private employment contracts.

On-the-Job Training

Although Louisiana entered the field early she has been slow to unroll on-the-job training and on-the-farm training. For many months in 1945-46 the power to approve factories or business firms whose trainees might receive the GI pay from the Veterans Administration was held only by the Baton Rouge office of the State Department of Education. That office employed little if any additional personnel for the work. Approvals were slow, inspection was not rigorous, and little was done to spread knowledge of this benefit among employers or veterans. Beginning in March, 1946, the State Department of Education asked parish superintendents of education to accept a duty of examining and recommending business and individual applicants for approval. This decentralization has speeded matters. As of October 1, about 2,250 training establishments had been approved. On-the-job trainees (including apprentices) numbered close to 6,000. By comparison, Alabama had about 20,000, Mississippi over 15,000 and Arkansas 9,113.

It is of course up to the veteran to find an employer who will take him on and offer to give him the training toward a skilled or semi-skilled job under which, if the employer is approved, subsistence pay can be granted. Louisiana Negro veterans have had a hard time getting on-the-

job training. A responsible New Orleans official estimated recently that not over three percent of on-the-job trainees in that city were Negroes and there is no reason to suppose that this percentage is exceeded elsewhere in the State.

This again is a field in which the use of Negro officials would quite probably step up the Negro veteran's chance to get the benefit. The State Department of Education uses no Negro officials in its supervision of job-training, and none of the Parishes which have put on additional personnel for the purpose are known in Baton Rouge to have added Negro staff. The Veterans Administration employs thirty-five training officers, working out of its New Orleans regional office, in follow-up on job training, and none of them is a Negro. The State and Federal governments might well try whether the use of some Negro coordinators and training officers would not turn up directly additional training opportunities in Negro businesses and, through contacts with the general staff of coordinators, in white businesses as well. Alabama uses a dozen or more Negro coordinators for job training and about the same number for on-the-farm training, and white officials in the State Department of Education have been pleased with the results.

Farm Training

On-the-farm training is fairly well developed. Under this program an owner or renter of a full-time farm may enroll with his nearest vocational agriculture teacher to work the farm in accordance with an approved plan and to take a stated amount of classroom and farm instruction. He may then draw for a year or sometimes longer his full G.I. pay ($65 if single, $90 if with dependents, more if disabled) in addition to his farm earnings. About 1,400 veterans are on this plan. Statistics by race are not collected, so there is no knowing exactly how many of these are Negro veterans. The writer's guess would be 350.

The program is available in nearly every parish. Regular State - Federal vocational agricultural teachers may take on up to eight on-the-farm trainees apiece. For larger loads (up to twenty) new teachers are employed with tuition money paid the State by the Veterans Administration. Regular white vocational agricultural teachers in Louisiana number 208; Negroes are 83. Some fifty-five additional white vo-ag teachers and one Negro teacher have been taken on to teach veterans in on-the-farm training. Salaries are low and the State has present vacancies for a few Negro vo-ag men which it has not been able to fill.

The program suffers in Louisiana, as elsewhere, from the competition of the self-employed allowance to farmer-veterans who make less than $100 a month, and from the readjustment allowance as well. Officials expect on-the-farm training to grow considerably when the men have used up these benefits or decided to postpone their use till later.

Technically speaking, on-the-farm training is available to farmer-veterans who are not owners or renters. Such men would work under employer-trainers (established farmers) who would agree to teach the veterans some specialized skill, such as plantation management, dairy-farming, or truck-farming. Provision is made even for instruction in general farming. Officials in Louisiana have been reluctant to approve these arrangements, fearing exploitation of such hired-hands. A few cases have been approved. The effect of this reluctance is to exclude from on-the-farm training men who are croppers or laborers, and in many areas it is difficult to rent and just now prohibitive to buy a place on which to grow the prevailing crops. On-the-farm training in Louisiana is least developed in the rice country, does better in the sugar area, better still in the cotton and small-farm country in the northern part of the State, and is furthest along in the mixed farming and truck farming area east of the Mississippi.

Institutional Trade Training

Where the earn - while - you - learn forms of veterans trade training are difficult to get, an extra pressure arises for full-time trade education. The return of the veterans caught Louisiana ill-equipped with such schooling for Negroes. For white students of about high school level the State has ten conveniently placed area trade schools. About 1,000 white veterans attend them. They offer such courses as radio, electricity, sheet metal work, and automotive repair; in general, a good range of modern trade subjects. In addition, New Orleans has 350 white veterans taking full-time trade courses at Delgado Trade School (city operated), plus 650 apprentices who take their related part-time instruction in night classes. For Negro veterans of below-college level wishing trade teaching, the State offers work for about 200 at Southern University at Scotlandville, and for a smaller number at the Negro Normal and Industrial Institute at Grambling. Both these institutions also teach trades on the college level. Total veteran enrollment at both, including pre-college and college, trades and other courses, is 800. New Orleans has a public high school for Negroes which, while not formally a vocational school, does offer a few trade subjects. Veteran enrollment October 1 was 121 in day courses and 21 in afternoon and evening courses. Three or four other parishes offer some vocational training for Negroes —notably Natchitoches, Caddo, and Webster. Five hundred is probably a high estimate of the below-college Negro veterans able to get full-time trade training in public institutions in the State, as against at least three or four times this number for white veterans. The white veterans have the advantages of schools nearer their homes, a much wider range of skills to be learned, better equipment, and easier access to apprenticeship and job training.

Something is being done privately to meet the demand by Negro veterans for such study. In New Orleans, Xavier University has started a radio course for 25 men (below college level), and a Negro machinist teaches auto mechanics to nearly 50 Negro veterans in his own (State-approved) school. The State Department of Education has given approval for veterans' work to twenty-odd other private Negro training institutions. Most of these are barber and beauty schools, but several are business colleges, one teaches photography, and another battery work.

The State Department of Education offered unsuccessfully a measure in the 1946 Legislature which would have greatly expanded Negro trade school opportunities.

Louisiana is a state into which industry is pushing, and it is also a state whose plantation agriculture is clearly in for a great deal of mechanization. Industrialization will offer its best opportunities to people with a background of trade knowledge. The crisis that many foresee on the land could be softened if the present-day cotton choppers and sugarcane hands, as well as general farmers, knew something about industrial materials, tools, machines, and measurement. The Federal Government, at this particular juncture, stands ready to provide teachers' pay, surplus technical equipment, books and tools, and under some circumstances buildings and housing for institutional education including trade education for veterans, and in addition will pay the veterans for taking the training. The main price of a network of good trade training schools over the state is ingenuity and local civic push.

Self-Organization

One of the problems that Negro veterans have in obtaining benefits possible under the veterans legislation is the weakness of contact between the official agencies and the Negro veterans themselves. Notwithstanding a good deal of effort made in the past year by some white veterans service officers, Negro community leaders, and such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, it is still perfectly possible to go into many a small Louisiana town and find

that a lot of the Negro veterans have not heard of job training or farm training, do not know where the parish service officer or the nearest Veterans Administration contact officer is to be found, and have not given serious thought to the benefits they might obtain. Newspapers do not bridge this gap. In a great many localities the recognized Negro leaders know amazingly little about veterans' rights and benefits. The Veterans Administration, the State Department of Veterans Affairs and other agencies involved take the position that their services are there for those who come for them, and they have no duty to beat up trade. The situation could be bettered if traveling Negro officials were employed by the appropriate agencies. In the New Orleans area Negro leadership has taken special steps to inform the veterans and press for improvement by organizing a Citizens Committee on Veterans Affairs.

Negro veterans have begun to find their way into the various veterans organizations. This promises them new and informed local leadership, as well as access to influential white veterans' leaders. The Louisiana Department of the American Legion, which refused to accept Negro members for all the years between the wars, altered its rules in its 1946 convention, and offered to charter Negro posts wherever the local white posts would sponsor them. Within a few weeks 13 such posts were chartered and others are said to be starting up. The Negro posts have the same rights to convention delegates as white posts. The Veterans of Foreign Wars in Louisiana have long accepted Negro posts. The Disabled American Veterans in Louisiana admits Negro members, with the requirement that they join a Cincinnati post. AMVETS has 24 local posts in the state, all of them white. The American Veterans Committee has a mixed chapter of sixty-odd, of whom 25 are Negroes, in New Orleans, and one or two other chapters elsewhere in the State. The two strongest Negro veterans organizations — The National Council for Negro Veterans and the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America—have only just begun to organize in the State. Additionally, a number of cities and towns have purely local clubs of Negro veterans, usually almost entirely World War II men. While organization has not gone far, it is now established that the old line organizations and some of the new ones are open to Negroes, and membership is growing steadily.

Steps to Take

(1) Negroes have a proper as well as a lawful place in the administration of veterans services. In Louisiana the Federal, State and local agencies systematically exclude them. The Veterans Administration which recruits itself mainly from veterans, and whose Personnel Circular No. 165 says "there will be no discrimination either for or against individuals because of race, creed, color, national origin or other irrelevant factors," has over a thousand employees in the State. Of these the only Negroes who are not janitors or porters are seven or eight clerical and professional persons stationed at the Guidance Centers at Dillard University and Louisiana Southern University.

The most pressing need is in offices used by numbers of Negro veterans. It would be a welcome sign of recognition of the needs of the Negro group if the Veterans Administration would take on Negro contact officers and training officers, if the Employment Service would add Negro staff, and if the state agencies and the local veterans information centers would do likewise.

(2) Job training and farm training should be considerably stepped up. The techniques of sound administration of these benefits have been worked out. Conscious effort should be given to the problem of finding more opportunities in both fields for Negro veterans. The probability is that this will come in rough proportion to the share permitted Negro officials in these programs.

(3) The Federal, State and local officials should provide themselves with statistics about their services to Negro veterans. The Veterans Admin-

istration does not know what proportion of the Louisiana veterans receiving subsistence payments are Negroes, nor what part of those getting different educational benefits are Negroes. Neither does it know the number of business or farm loans guaranteed for Negro veterans. The employment service does not publish figures on placements of veterans by race. The Louisiana Division of Employment Security cannot say how many veterans by race are getting unemployment compensation. The State Department of Education has no accurate figures as to Negro and white firms approved for job training, and does not know by race the number of veterans getting farm training or job training. No one collects figures by race on apprentice training.

At each office the inquirer is met with a statement that "all veterans are treated alike," and it is implied that collection of figures by race would be a backward step. As it is, the agencies are without the means of knowing accurately how far their services have reached into a disadvantaged population group.

(4) One of the things that hold back understanding between the races is the paucity of legitimate opportunities for discussion, planning, and cooperation in the conduct of matters that the two races have in common. One of the few institutions which today bridges that gap is the trade union. Veterans organizations offer another such occasion for working together. While it does not appear probable that the leading organizations will do much in the near future to build acquaintance between the body of their Negro and white memberships, the leadership of both groups already and customarily confer and plan together. The confidence so built can hardly fail in the future in many a local difficulty to act as a stabilizing force. The growth of self-organization among the veterans of both groups might well receive even greater encouragement.

(5) Louisiana has now, because of the Federal assistance to veterans training, an unprecedented opportunity to provide itself with a rounded system of trade education. If job training and trade training were expanded to the fullest, possibly a hundred thousand veterans could acquire the basis for security in skilled or semi-skilled employment.

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THE SUMMARY OF THE SOCIAL CREED OF THE RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN ATLANTA

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Prepared by Mrs. Guion G. Johnson
For the Conference on "Demobilization Challenges The Church"
Atlanta, Ga. Nov. 1-2, 1944

This summary of social pronouncements of various religious groups in Atlanta has been obtained from official documents supplied by the churches or from especially prepared statements of ministers. In so far as possible, pronouncements are given in the wording of the official reports. To conserve space, it has been necessary to summarize statements in many cases. For this reason no quotations are indicated. Capital letters at the end of each item indicate the source of the statement. A list of sources is given on the last page.

I. Education

a. Erection of social order in which every child has best opportunity for development (CCUS)
b. Christian youth must be well prepared for tasks in postwar world (CGH, PCUS, SBC)
c. Adequate provision of educational programs which will meet all the needs of training youth (MC)
d. Adequate and equal educational opportunity for all (CCUS,BNC,MC)
e. Education in sex hygience, marriage, parenthood, home-building (CCUS, MC)
f. A nation-wide system of adult education. (CCUS)
g. Compulsory education through high school (CGH)
h. Constructive education and care of dependents, defectives, and delinquents with kindly segregation of hopelessly feebleminded (CCUS)
i. Scientifically planned program of international education promoting peace and goodwill and exposing the evils of war. (CCUS)
j. Insistence on constitutional rights and duties, including free speech, free assembly, a free press, and free communication of mind with mind (CCUS. MC)

II. Economic and Industrial Relationships

a. Right to work

1. Right of all to opportunity for self-maintenance (BNC, DC, FCCCA, MC, YMCA, YWCA)
2. Necessity of providing all men opportunity to earn adequate livelihood, (FCCCA, MC)
3. Right of society to expect every able bodied person to be constantly employed in some vocation productive of common good. (MC)
4. An effective national system of public employment bureaus to make possible the proper distribution of the labor forces.(CCUS)

b. Hours of work

1. Freedom from employment one day in seven (CCUS, FCCCA, MC, YMCA, YWCA)
2. Limitations of hours of work desirable with maximum eight hour day. (CCUS, MC, YWCA)
3. Worker should have reasonable hours. (PCUS)

c. Wages

1. A fair day's work for a fair day's wage. (CCUS, MC)
2. First charge upon industry should be minimum comfort wage. (CCUS, MC)
3. Living wage, as a minimum, and above this just share for worker in product of industry and agriculture (DC, FCCCA, PCUS, YWCA)
4. Wages must stand in just relationship to the productivity and social usefulness of the worker. (FCCCA)

d. CHILD LABOR.

1. Abolition of child labor. (CCUS, DC, PEC, FCCA, YWCA)
2. Adequate provision for protection, spiritual nurture, and wholesome recreation of every child. (CCUS, FCCA, MC, PCUS, YWCA)

e. Employment of women.

1. Proper regulation of working conditions, especially of mothers and safeguarding their physical and moral environment (FCCCA, MC, YWCA)
2. Promotion of voluntary agreements between household employersand employees which conform to standards on National Committee on Household Employment (YWCA)

f. Social Security.

1. Social insurance against illness, accident, want in old age, and unemployment (CCUS, BNC, DC, MC, PCUS, PEC, FCCCA, YMCA, YWCA)
2. Provision for persons incapable of self-support should be made consistent with spirit of Christ (PCUS)
3. Reserve to insure employment as imperative as reserve for depreciation (PEC)
4. Oppose certain amendments to Social Security Act as government interference with religious work. (SBC)

g. Collective Bargaining, Mediation, Arbitration.

1. Adequate means for conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes (CCUS, FCCCA,MC, YMCA, YWCA)
2. Right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining and social action; protection of both in exercise of right. (FCCCA, MC, YMCA, YWCA)
3. Reaffirm faith in principles of collective bargaining but declare problem can be solved with minimum governmental pressure and maximum Christian ethics (SBC)
4. Favor strengthening authority of national and regional labor boards and extension of jurisdiction to cover labor employed in large-scale agriculture and the migrant worker (FCCCA)
5. Church members must labor to bring into areas of industrial conflict the spirit of Christ (SBC)

h. Distribution of wealth, profit motive

1. Stand for the subordination of profit motive to the creative and cooperative spirit (BNC, CCUS, MC, YMCA, YWCA)
2. Ownership a social trust involving Christian administration for good of all. (MC, PCUS)
3. Stand for equitable of product of industry that can be devised (CCUS)
4. Capital invested in enterprises that contribute to common good entitled to fair return (PCUS)
5. Consuming public entitled to essential commodities at as low price as is consistent; those engaged in production and distribution of such commodities entitled to fair compensation(PCUS).
6. Encouragement of consumers' co-operatives for more equitable distribution of essential commodities(CCUS)

i. Agriculture

1. Adequate social institutions, including church, school, library, means of recreation, good local government, good housing, for farm families (CCUS, FCCCA, YWCA)
2. Stand for safeguarding farmer, and his family and for preservation of all values of rural life. (MC)
3. Encouragement of cooperatives and other organizations among farmers (CCUS, FCCCA, YWCA)
4. Farmer must have access to land he works, on such terms as insure him personal freedom and economic encouragement and society is protected by efficient production and conservation of fertility (CCUS)
5. Friendly reciprocal cooperation between rural and urban workers (CCUS)

III. Family Life

a. Marriage
1. Stand for education for marriage, parenthood, and home-building (CCUS, MC)
2. Stand for proper regulation of marriage (MC)

b. Care of Children
1. Erection of social order in which every child has best opportunity for development (CCUS)
2. Family unit and the home the best means of training and guiding children both religiously and socially (BNC, CGH, SBC)
3. Adequate provision for protection, education, spiritual nurture, and wholesome recreation of every child (FCCCA, MC, PCUS, YWCA)

c. Juvenile Delinquency
1. Increase due to wartime relaxation in oversight of children (SBC)
2. Urge local churches to provide wholesome activities for all young people as remedial measure for delinquency (MC)
3. No expenditure of money or effort too great if problem is met (SBC)
4. Urge cooperation with and support of Juvenile Courts (SBC)

IV.

5. Urge compulsory high school education as remedial measure (CGH)

d. Protection of Women
1. Proper regulation of working conditions, especially of mothers, and safeguarding their physical and moral environment (FCCA, MC, YWCA)
2. Advocate returning mothers to homes from industry as soon as wartime conditions will permit.
3. Pledged to work for inclusion of qualified women in legislative and policy-making positions (YWCA)

e. Housing and Health
1. Protection of all workers, urban and rural, against harmful conditions of labor and occupational injury and disease (CCUS, FCCCA, MC, YMCA, YWCA)
2. Support Government and other agencies in establishing equalization of health coverage among all elements of population (YWCA)
3. Inhuman to permit people to suffer for long for lack of food, clothing, shelter, and medical care (FCCCA)
4. Endorse campaign against venereal diseases being conducted by Government and local departments of health and medical societies (PEC)
5. Support legislation dealing with slum clearances and low-cost housing (YWCA)
6. Church members should approve principles of government assistance for slum clearance and low-cost housing (FCCCA)
7. Stand for proper housing for all (MC)

f. Divorce
1. Stand for uniform divorce laws (MC)
2. Church must center attention upon this "sore" in the social life (PCUS)
3. Wartime conditions responsible for all time high of U. S. divorce rate (SBC)
4. Primarily a problem of religious education (PCUS, SBC)

g. Preservation of values
1. Stand for protection of values of family life (BNC, CGH,PCUS,SBC)

IV.Group Tensions
a. Worth of Personality
1. Personality possesses the highest value; we test all institutions and practices by their effect upon personality. (CCUS, BNC, MC)
2. Stand for a cooperative commonwealth based upon the Christian principle of infinite worth of personality (PCUS,PEC)
3. Labor must become more than a bitter struggle for bread; it must become the instrument through which men forge richer, finer personalities (DC)

b. Brotherhood
1. A democracy is the political expression of the spirit of human brotherhood, and should mean a devlopment of the sense of social

and community responsibility and duty (PEC)

2. All men are brothers; God is Father of all peoples and races (MC)
3. What Christendom has proclaimed for centuries as to Brotherhood is being proved today from every area of knowledge. By size, by blood, by brain, by shape of skull, by achievement of culture, men are brothers. (BNC)

c. Race Relations

1. Mutual goodwill and cooperation among racial groups (FCCCA, PCUS, SBC, YMCA, YWCA)
2. Stand for rights of racial groups, and insist that social, economic, and spiritual principles apply to all races alike. (CCUS, MC)
3. All races should enjoy same protection and rights. (DC,CCUS,MC)
4. All men of whatever race, color, or status should be given opportunity to develop their latent capacities; and aided in fulfilling their duties and enjoying their privileges as members of families, as workers in the economic order; and as citizens in the commonwealth (YMCA)
5. Churches should make a thorough study of race problems in their local communities. (DC)
6. Support Federal Government in policies of interracial co-operation (YWCA)
7. Condemn flogging and lynching and call upon all members of churches to lead in forming public opinion in their communities (DC,PCUS,PEC)
8. Lynching should be made a federal crime to bring the Federal into cooperation with state and local authorities (FCCCA, YWCA)
9. Urge churches to do everything possible for welfare of Negro both economic and religious, and for the defense and protection of all the civil rights of the race. (SBC)
10. Educational and social equipment for the special needs of immigrants, with government information bureaus (CCUS)

d. Tensions arising from the changed status of woman. See Family Life, Economic and Industrial Relationships.

V. Method of Social Change

a. Stand for the right of every individual and group of individuals to believe in and to advocate any peaceful method for the solution of any and all problems that may confront society (MC)
b. Present economic system stands condemned in many of its characteristics and must be rebuilt in harmony with growing Christian consciousness. (DC,PCUS,PEC)
c. Economic experiment must proceed until it evolves a social order in which men and women everywhere have a real opportunity for the good life. (FCCCA)
d. Favor educational programs, revival of civic interest, observance and enforcement of laws, earnest support of governmental officers (PCUS)
e. Duty of every church to investigate local, moral, and economic conditions as well as to know world needs (CCUS)

Abbreviations used in this summary:

BNC Baptist National Convention.
A Christian Profession prepared by William Holmes Borders, Pastor Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, Oct. 1944.

CCUS National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States.
A Statement of Social Ideals, Adopted Oct. 24, 1925

CGH. National Convention of Churches of God-Holiness.
Letter from Bishop H. K. Burruss, Oct. 20, 1944

DC Disciples of Christ.
International Convention Resolutions (Social Action, News Letter. Nov. 1938

FCCCA Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.
Quadrennial Report, 1932; Biennial Report 1938

MC The Methodist Church
Handbook for the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities, 1944; The Social Creed of The Methodist Church, Adopted by the General Conference May 1944

PCUS Presbyterian Church in the United States.
Some Pronouncements of the General Assembly 1935-1941;
Report of Permanent Committee on Social and Moral Welfare 1942

PEC Protestant Episcopal Church.
Social Service, General Conference 1934; National Council Resolutions Regarding Pastoral Ministry of Church and Modern Social Work. Feb. 1939

SBC SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1944. Home Missions in Tomorrows World, 1943

YMCA National Council, Young Men's Christian Association. Report and Legislation 1931, 1933, 1934; Democracy a Concern for all Citizens, adopted Jan. 1939

YWCA National Board, Young Women's Christian Association. A Program of Study and Action on Public Questions 1930-1 932
Principles and Emphasis for Biennium, 1930-1940; 1942-1944

NOTE - All religious bodies in Atlanta were invited to participate in this summary of Social Creed of the Churches. Many statements were received too late to be included.

SRC - Historical Materials

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1945

S
R C

The Members Meet . . . .

The recent annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council marked a forward step in the life of movements designed to make human relations democratic in the South. Paradoxical as it may seem race relations movements seldom have been democratic in their structure and function. In the past they operated in two ways: first, they relied very heavily upon the one-man type of leadership, one person being a spokesman for each race; second, they leaned very heavily upon the wisdom and wishes of a select few whose actions were either supported or repudiated. Today, more so than ever before, the wishes of the many become the foundation stone of action in the field of race relations. As we have implied, this is a very significant index to the changing character of movements in race relations, and if the Southern Regional Council's Member Meeting may be regarded as indicative of any trend at all it does reflect a growing desire on the part of people to face situations frankly, collectively, and fearlessly.

The executives of the Council were heartened by the courage and forthrightness with which chronic and acute problems of southern life were introduced. True, SRC members did not possess all of the information, hold to all of the beliefs, decide on every action that would make living utopian, but they did make a light for ways that have been dark. No phase of relations between the races was ignored in discussion. The members realized, however, the mighty potency of words and stultifying effect of fear in furthering or arresting any program they might undertake. Though our emotions were quickened with reports of "incidents" of sex and race, of injustices, of official lethargy and community inactivity, our reason was challenged with programs of correction, amelioration, even the complete undoing of ways that had perpetuated an undemocratic South. We met to find ways of doing something more about and with all of these people, communities, and problems. We stuck to our last.

Above all, perhaps, this achievement seems outstanding—we learned to discuss all of our ills without venom and emotional distress; we made new covenants and resolutions, openly arrived at. And though the SRC's diagnosis of the South is not yet complete, the organization's therapy for what is known continues. There is abundant life in the membership of the Southern Regional Council. That gives us hope.

Authorize . . . .

The Executive Directors, in their reports offered several suggestions and recommendations on the program of the Council during the coming year. The procedures authorized were:

1. The Organization of State Divisions of the Council

As soon as there are one hundred members of the Council in a given state, they will be organized as a nucleus for action on the state level. The by-laws and policies of such divisions would, of course, have to be in harmony with those of the Council.

2. A Series of South-wide Conferences

Within the limits of the budget and with the advice of the Executive Committee, the SRC will sponsor several important annual conferences. One would be a conference for the leaders of the state and local interracial committees. Another would be a strategy conference of the leaders of the major agencies working on problems of the South within the framework of the Council's interests. Still another would be a conference of religious leaders in programs of social action, with particular emphasis, perhaps, on the women's divisions of the various church bodies.

3. A Series of State-wide Race Relations Institutes or Forums

Each of these would run from three to five days and would attempt to reach a better cross-section of the public than is usually reached by such meetings. The Department of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association is preparing to promote a series of institutes and has asked the Council to share in their planning and sponsorship.

4. Special Visiting Committee

The officers of the Council, or such other groups as the Executive Committee might choose, are authorized to seek private conferences with as many Southern governors as possible in the next three months. Their discussions will not be confined to race relations, but will include the main problems of social and economic welfare in the South.

5. Civil Rights Committees

From time to time arise cases which the SRC might well handle for the protection of the civil rights of citizens in the region. The central staff cannot undertake to investigate personally all such cases. Therefore, the Council members approved the establishment of Civil Rights Committees in all our thirteen states. Each committee might be composed of five Council members and a legal advisor who may or may not be a member of the Council, and the duty of these Committees would be to advise the Executive Directors and the Executive Committee as to what action the Council should take in cases involving civil rights.

6. Youth Work

The Council authorized the taking of steps that would permit youth direct participation in the Council or the sponsoring of some sort of auxiliary or correlated youth division of the Council.

7. Study of Police Systems

One of the most urgent needs in the South is reform of police training and administration. Along with its program of promoting improvement wherever it can, the Council authorized the sponsorship of a comprehensive study of Southern police systems in cooperation with one or more universities. An approach of this sort would permit the Council to embark on a program which would not necessarily be tied in with the race question, yet would permit the treatment and analysis of a problem that is closely allied with race tensions.

8. Study of Segregation and Discrimination

The Council authorized the drawing of plans for a comprehensive study to be carried on throughout the South in the field of legal discrimination and segregation. It is proposed that ameliorative action be based upon a

study of the facts as to the human and economic costs of segregation and discrimination. Such a study should provide useful material for molding public opinion on the question of equal opportunity. This study would be preceded by a conference on the subject of segregation and discrimination.

9. Primary Test Case

The Council authorized the Board of Directors to proceed with a legal test of the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in Smith vs. Allwright in the State of Georgia if it appears that no such case is already under way.

And Resolve for 1945

1. General Resolutions

We believe that every effort must be made to prepare the people of the South for the returning Negro and white soldiers. The problems which are arising already as they come back from active service or are demobilized into civilian life call for prompt and constructive action on local, state, regional, and national levels.

With a view to encouraging the returning Negro soldiers to have faith that the democratic principles for which they have fought are to be translated into reality, we recommend:

1. Employment of all persons on the basis of ability, with due regard for seniority rights.
2. Abolition of the white primary where it exists.
3. Extension of the growing practice of employing Negro policemen and firemen in Southern cities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts.
4. Equalization of educational opportunity and of pay for teachers of both races.
5. Extension of publicly financed low cost housing.
6. Increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis.
7. That equal accommodations for Negroes as provided under the law, be actually provided on all public transportation facilities, and that discriminatory practices now common in travel be abolished.

2. Post War Employment

The Southern Regional Council realizes the importance of encouraging and planning for an effective program of full employment in every Southern community.

We, therefore, urge that such planning include the initiation and maintenance of an effective public employment service which within its ranks and among employers will promote the effective utilization of all workers in terms of their skills and training, without regard to their race, color, or creed.

(Continued)

We recommend that equal and effective opportunities for the technical and vocational training of Negroes be made available.

We recommend the creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to promote the non-discriminatory use of manpower.

3. Education

In the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which require separation of the races in their public school systems, continuing and substantial differences in the public schools for white and Negro children prevail despite requirements of educational statutes, that separate and uniform school facilities be established and maintained. These differences are reflected in the buildings and equipment, in the length of the school day, in the teacher-pupil loads, in the per-pupil expenditure, in the investments in public school property, and in teachers' salaries.

Recognizing the necessity and continuing obligation to establish equality of educational opportunity for all in order to further the establishment of a sound economy in the Southern region, and recognizing the opportunities inherent in the post-war plans for school improvements now developing in communities within these states, we accept the principles that:

1. There should exist and be available for Negro children the same types of educational opportunities as there are for white children.
2. The teacher-pupil ratio in Negro schools should be as low as that in schools for white children.
3. The length of the school day should be the same for the Negro child as it is for the white child.
4. The same types of physical accommodations and facilities in the public schools should exist and be available for Negro children as are available for white children.

We recommend these principles for the consideration of all law-abiding citizens, and responsible school officials in Southern communities, and urge, in behalf of the common welfare, that action be taken to make these principles operative in all plans for public school improvements.

4. Homer P. Rainey and the University of Texas

The Southern Regional Council wishes to protest the dismissal of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as President of the University of Texas. The Council believes this is a startling infringement of personal and academic freedom, and a severe blow to those Southern persons and agencies working for democratic rights.

The Southern Regional Council believes in Dr. Rainey because of his long and effective participation in progressive movements. It believes in him because of his close association with us in the formation of SRC which he now serves as Vice-President. The Council commends him for the stand he has taken, and applauds those Texas citizens and those students and faculty members at the University of Texas who gave him such unqualified support.

Reprint from The Southern Frontier, December, 1944.

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

Is the Monthly Bulletin of the Southern Regional Council

The Southern Frontier is also the area in which you and I live and work.

It is a frontier of opportunity to do the best that can be done toward attaining the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

It is a frontier of EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING, DELINQUENCY, AGRICULTURE, POLITICS, INDUSTRY, HUMAN RELATIONS, TRANSPORTATION, AND 40,000,000 PEOPLE.

It is a frontier that should be explored, pushed forward, and cultivated.

You can help!

Your club can help!

Your church can help!

Your business can help!

Your community can help!

For further information concerning membership in the Southern Regional Council or Council publications write

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

'Three-Way Remedy' For Solution Of Civil Rights Problem Proposed

The Birmingham News
THE BIRMINGHAM AGE-HERALD
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948

All-Southern Group Urges Tolerance

ATLANTA, Ga.—A three-way remedy—legal, educational and economic—has been strongly recommended for the "civil rights" controversy.

This was urged by the Southern Regional Council executive committee as a more statesmanlike approach to the touchy questions raised by the federal "civil rights" program.

The Southern group, meeting last week in Atlanta, emphasized in a statement that "laws cannot do the job alone." Instead, it called for a combination of educational and economic means to go hand in hand with legal machinery to do the job. But it added that laws are necessary "to protect the rights of disadvantaged minorities.

Atlanta World
VOLUME 21, NUMBER 40 ATLANTA (3), GEORGIA, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948 PRICE SIX CENTS

Council Urges Statesmanlike Approach To Civil Rights Issues

Savannah Morning News
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948

SOUTH IS TOLD TO CHANGE WAYS

Southern Regional Council Report Issued

RESPONSIBILITY CITED

Section Is Told to Cool Off Hot Head

The Chattanooga Times CHATTANOOGA, TENN., SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948.

Current Controversy Over Civil Rights Recalls the Bitter Days of 1850's

ATLANTA, Sept. 18—Following is text of a statement issued here today by the Southern Regional Council, titled "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy":

Anyone with a feeling for history must view today's controversy over civil rights with a bitter sense of familiarity. One can hardly help comparing it with the violent rift in the nation during the 1850's. There are important differences, to be sure. Today, both sides proclaim their loyalty to democratic ideals. Human slav-

The Atlanta Journal
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948

Statesmanlike Approach Asked For Civil Rights

Comparing today's civil rights controversy to the nation's split over slavery before the Civil War, the Southern Regional Council Saturday called on both sides to take a more statesmanlike ...

The Dallas Morning News
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948

RIGHTS PLAN MISREPRESENTED?

Southerners Advise South To Change Ways, But Fast

ATLANTA, Ga., Sept. 18 (AP).—An influential group of Southerners Saturday told the South the time has come to change its ways, but fast.

The group—the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council—also charged the region's politicians with "grossly" misrepresenting proposed civil rights legislation.

It told the South that States' rights means states' responsibilities and the rest of the nation was unconvinced that Southern States have exhibited any.

Across the long list of accusations that the South has mistreated Negroes, the committee wrote "guilty."

It told the South to cool its hot head a bit and it told the rest of the nation to withhold its blanket condemnation. It told both to listen to reason.

And it told both that "jobs and farms and schools and health—these are the underpinnings of civil rights. In all these basic needs the and Guide; Charles Gillman, Atlanta, Georgia CIO director; Dr. Harold Trigg, Raleigh, N.C., president of St. Augustine's College; Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Citizen's Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia, and Carter Wesley, editor, the Houston Informer.

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948.

UNDERSTANDING URGED IN RIGHTS ARGUMENTS

Southern Regional Council Advocates More Study

STATESMANSHIP SOUGHT

Special to The Commercial Appeal

ATLANTA, Sept. 18.—A more statesmanlike approach to the civil rights controversy was urged in a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting in Atlanta. The statement called for a three-way remedy—legal, educational and economic. "All are necessary," it declared, "and one without the others is not likely to do the job within any reasonable

The Macon Telegraph and News
SUNDAY MORNING, SEPT. 19, 1948—

South Must Change, Says Southern Regional Council

By BEM PRICE

ATLANTA, Sept. 18—(AP)—An influential group of Southerners today told the South the time has come to change its ways, but fast.

The group—the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council—also charged the region's politicians with "grossly" misrepresenting proposed civil rights legislation.

It told the South that states' rights means states' responsibilities and the rest of the nation was unconvinced that Southern states exhibited any.

Across the long list of accusations that the South has mistreated Negroes, the committee wrote "guilty."

It told the South to cool its hot head a bit and it told the rest of the nation to withhold its blanket condemnation as productive of little good. It told both to listen to reason.

And it told both that "jobs and farms and schools and health—these are the underpinnings of civil rights. In all these basic needs the South is below the level of the rest of the country, and in the South the Negro is below the white.

"The job is to raise the whole South, white and Negro, up to the level of the rest of the country.

NORFOLK, VA.
Journal and Guide
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1948

Group Urges Statesmanlike View On Civil Rights

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NORFOLK, VA.
Journal and Guide
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1948

Group Urges Statesmanlike View On Civil Rights

THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE, SUNDAY MORNING, SEPT. 19, 1948

Present Civil Rights Disupte Compared to Row Over Slavery By Southern Regional Council

By THOMAS J. FOLEY

ATLANTA, Sept. 18. (INS)—The Southern Regional Council in a statement released today compared the present dispute over civil rights to the dispute over slavery 100 years ago and called for a three-way remedy.

The council's proposed "cure" involves legal, educational and economic measures.

Debate Recalls Controversy Of Civil War Era

Southern Regional Council Statement Urges 3Way Remedy

ATLANTA, Ga. — (ANP) — A more statesmanlike ...

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
SEPT. 19, 1948

ASKS STATESMANLIKE APPROACH

3-Way Remedy Proposed In Civil Rights Dispute

September 19, 1948

Both the South and its critics are advised to use a "more statesmanlike approach" to civil rights. The adviee comes from the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
Sunday, September 19, 1948

Southern Body Warns Region To Alter Ways

Area Held Guilty Of Rights Abuses

THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER——*The Foremost Newspaper of The Two Carolinas*——SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948

ECONOMIC REFORM LINKED WITH CIVIL RIGHTS

SOUTH LAGGING BEHIND NATION

Executive Committee of Southern Regional Council Says Issue Distorted.

By JOHN N. POPHAM

(Special to The New York Times and The Charlotte Observer—Copyright, 1948.)

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Sept. 18—The executive committee of the Southern Regional council stepped into the civil rights controversy today with a formal charge that the matter has been "grossly misrepresented" and declared that the solution is to insure that economic reform goes hand-in-hand with cur-

The Greenville, S.C., News September 19, 1948

Southern Council Calls For Change Of Ways In South

Group Thinks Nation Unconvinced Responsibilities Met

By BEM PRICE

ATLANTA, Sept. 18—(AP)—An influential group of Southerners today told the South the time has come to change its ways, but fast.

The group—the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council—also charged the region's politicians with "grossly" misrepresenting proposer civil rights legislation.

It told the South that States' Rights mean states' responsibilities

Chicago Defender
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1948

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1948.

ECONOMIC REFORM SOUGHT FOR SOUTH

Regional Council Holds Laws No Civil Rights Solution—Three-Point Plan Given

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Sept.

Sr., publisher of The Norfolk Journal and Guide.

Political Factor Deplored

The committee's statement deplored the lack of "true statesmanship" in the controversy and asserted that both sides were wielding the issue as "a political cudgel." It added that "neither side has made a sufficient effort to appreciate the opposing point of view and to work toward a solution that would embrace them both."

"That is not to say that there is any easy solution," the state-

.THE GEORGIA NEWS DIGEST
OCTOBER 1, 1948

SOUTHERN COUNCIL SEEKS BETTER RIGHTS APPROACH

ATLANTA.—A more statesmanlike approach to the civil rights controversy was urged in a statement issued by the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting in Atlanta, September 15. The statement called for a three-way remedy—legal, educational, and economic. "All are necessary," it declared, "and one without the others is not likely to do the job within any reasonable time."

The executive committee's state-

Halt Name Calling; Work For Emancipation, South, North, Told

Chicago Defender
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1948

South Regional Council Offers 3 Point Plan

Favors U. S. Law, Social Gains And Economic Boosts

The Sun, Clearwater, Florida, Sunday, September 19, 1948

SOUTHERNERS REPORT DIXIE IS BELOW PAR

ATLANTA, Sept. 18—(AP)—An influential group of southerners

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES, ASHEVILLE, N. C.
Sunday, September 19, 1948

Time To Change Ways, Southerners Tell South

ATLANTA, Sept. 18. (AP) — An influential group of Southerners to-

tions that the South has mistreated Negroes, the committee wrote

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STUDIES IN THE FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY

IN THE SOUTH

1945

Report of the Committee on Research

of the

Southern Sociological Society

May 1945

Committee on Research

Henry L. Andrews, University of Alabama
Roy E. Hyde, Louisiana State University
R. O. Johnson, Morris Brown College
Dorothy Jones, Winthrop College
Gordon W. Blackwell, University of North Carolina,
Chairman

FOREWORD

The year 1945 was a busy one for members of the Southern Sociological Society as revealed by this inventory of studies under way or completed. Members of the Society in 1945 were circularized in February 1946.

So as to make the report of maximum usefulness, studies have been roughly classified according to content, and an index of names of investigators and research directors, with their institutional affiliation, has been included.

The following classifications were used:

A. Community
B. Government, Politics, Citizenship
C. Health and Medical Care
D. Housing
E. Juvenile Delinquency
F. Marriage and the Family
G. Methods of Teaching, Educational Sociology
H. Population
I. Race, Culture, Social Differentiation
J. Recreation
K. Region
L. Social Psychology
M. Social Theory
N. Social Work
O. Sociology of Religion
P. Unclassified

Information for each study includes (when reported) title, name of investigator, director of study (if thesis), date of probable completion, place and date of publication or filed manuscript, larger project of which study is a part, financial support, plans for application or interpretation of results, abstract.

The report was compiled and edited for the Committee on Research by Katharine Jocher of the University of North Carolina.

A. COMMUNITY

THE GROWTH PATTERN OF SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, AND ITS DETERMINING FACTORS. By Charles B. Anderson. Under the direction of Henry Pratt Fairchild (Doctoral dissertation). Completed June 1945. Publication possibilities being investigated. Manuscript filed with New York University Graduate School of Arts and Science.

This study attempts to analyze the factors influencing the growth pattern of Salt Lake City in the light of the following principles (of the human ecology theory of city growth): (1) that topography, climate, natural resources, and other natural advantages and disadvantages are factors in deciding the nature, type, size, and arrangement of the community; (2) that the competition of industries, institutions, and social classes for advantageous positions determines the pattern of a city; (3) that the typical processes of the expansion of a city form five concentric zones extending out from the center of the city. The methods used were: (1) study of primary and secondary sources covering the years 1847-1940; (2) field work during a three-and-one-half-year period of residence in Salt Lake City; (3) numerous interviews with the city planning and zoning engineer and others who were well informed on the city's history. While the planned aspects of the Mormons' embryonic city at first precluded ecological processes, the consequent development of the city was in accord with the first two principles stated above. However, the hypothesis of the concentric zone pattern does not apply to Salt Lake City.

CHURCH-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE SOUTH. By Gordon W. Blackwell. Edited by Katharine Jocher. To be completed: August 1946. Manuscript to be filed with the Presbyterian Church of the U. S., Richmond, Virginia, and Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. A Study financed by the Committee on Religious Education Restudy of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.

Field studies are being made of eleven representative southern communities, including subregional setting, historical backgrounds, population, housing, neighborhood structure, social problems, church participation, the church and community agencies, the church and community organization, the church and community problems.

A REVIEW OF URBAN COMMUNITY STUDIES IN THE SOUTHERN REGION. By Lee M. Brooks. Probable date of completion: Summer 1946. Monograph of 10 or more chapters to be published under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. with whom manuscript will be filed. This project is a part of the field studies of the Committee of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. which is financing it and for which it is being made under the sponsorship of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. It is expected that the results will be pertinent to the program of the church.

In this study requested by the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the aim is to analyze, classify, and interpret published and unpublished urban studies in the South. This part of the larger study in which others are engaged will depend upon library research.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF COMMUNITY STUDIES TO SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY. Under the direction of A. D. Edwards. Probable date of completion: 1947.

It is the thesis of the study that community studies have not been integrated into the general body of sociological theory to the extent that they deserve. Representative community studies will be examined and classified. An attempt will be made to state certain generalizations regarding community structure and functioning which appear to be demonstrated and to point out certain areas in which further research is especially needed.

A STUDY OF BAKERS CROSSROADS COMMUNITY; A STUDY OF AILARDL COMMUNITY. By Vladimar E. Hartman. Completed November 1945. To be published for Farm Foundation, Chicago, Illinois, which now has manuscript. A study directed toward a liberal program for the rural church in the South. Financed by the Home Mission Council of North America for whom, together with the Land Tenure Committee of Town and Country Department of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the study was made. The materials have been used in planning a rural church program in the Cumberland Mountains of Tennessee.

These two community studies were made in order that an over-all picture might be obtained, not only of the two communities studied, but of the entire Cumberland Plateau of Tennessee consisting of eighteen counties. These studies were presented to a group of rural ministers, rural sociologists and rural economists at a meeting on The Church and The Land in the Cumberland Plateau. This planning conference was sponsored by the Land Tenure Committee of the Town and Country Department of the Federal Council of Churches, the Home Missions Council of North America and the International Council of Religious Education. Subjects reported in the studies are The Soil, Man-Land Relationships, Community Organization and Leadership, The School and the Church. The writer interviewed most of the families who live in the communities. He had access to school and church records as well as to those of all the agricultural and other community agencies. Representatives of all the agencies which have worked in these two communities in recent years were interviewed. No schedule or questionnaire form was used. With but few exceptions the people are part-time farmers. The size of land holdings is not adequate for full-time farming operations. Most of the families own their homes and land. There is no share-cropping or tenant farming. The attitudes of the people toward the possibilities and worthwhileness of farm life are changing with the coming to the region of TVA and other agricultural programs. The people are becoming conscious of a need for new leadership in the churches.

SMALL COMMUNITY LIFE. By Wayland J. Hayes. Completed. In press with Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. Financed by the Institute of Research and Training in Social Science, Vanderbilt University, S.R.A.C.

THE DRIVER AVENUE AREA OF DURHAM, N. C. By Howard E. Jensen. Completed. Published at Durham, North Carolina, by the Durham Planning Council, 1945. Financed by Duke University. Undertaken for the Durham Social Planning Council. The study has been distributed to all members of the Planning Council and to agency board members as a basis for planning.

This study develops indices of area deterioration, shows concentration of physical and social needs, formulates programs, discusses agency, council and fund policies, principles determining respective fields of public and private, secular and religious, local and national agencies, etc.

SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE STABILITY OF A FOREST COMMUNITY. By Harold F. and Lois C. Kaufman. Completed. Published at Missoula, Montana, Spring 1946. Financed by the United States Forest Service and sponsored by this Service, Region #1 and the Montana Study of the University of Montana. The study was initiated to provide information for the Forest Service in carrying on its program in a community in northwest Montana. There were two reports on this project: (1) An Evaluation of the Social Implications and Consequences of the Present Forest Program; (2) Suggestions in the Field of Social and Economic Organization that Would Promote Community Stability.

There are two reports on this project: (1) An Evaluation of the Social Implications and Consequences of the Present Forest Program. (2) Suggestions in the Field of Social and Economic Organization that would Promote Community Stability.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE AVAILABILITY OF CERTAIN SOCIAL RESOURCES TO THE POPULATION OF RICHMOND COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA. By Charles E. King. Completed June 1945. Manuscript filed with author. The study was made available for use in newspapers of Columbia, South Carolina.

This study attempts to: (1) give an over-all picture of the extent of the availability of certain social services (health, family and child welfare, and vocational rehabilitation) to all population elements as an aid in postwar planning to meet the increased needs created by returning service personnel and war workers; (2) ascertain to what extent the population elements utilize the available services; (3) determine and reveal the problems involved in providing services needed. The investigations included: (1) interviewing the various supervisors, etc. of the agencies; (2) tabulating the records of the clients and patients of these agencies using the racial classification as a device, and working out ratios to the entire population. The findings indicated: (1) the need for more thorough inventory of the social service resources as well as the need for surveying the social services among all elements of the population; (2) the need to acquaint the population with what services are available; (3) that Negro representation should be included in the Council of Social Agencies in order that this element can be serviced better and can give better support; (4) that provisions should be made to admit Negro internes as well as Negro attending physicians and surgeons in the county hospital (Columbia Hospital); (5) that all agencies

need to employ professionally trained white and colored social workers instead of the untrained workers they now employ; (6) that more adequate clinic service is needed for both white and colored children; (7) that social agencies operated by Negroes should become affiliated with the community chest; (8) that, since the Negro population is 40 percent of the total, it needs more integration into the distribution of all services that make for general community improvement.

COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORING RELATIONSHIPS OF RURAL FAMILIES. By Morton B. King, Jr. Probable date of completion: Fall 1946. Financed by a Social Science Research Council grant. It is anticipated that this study may be a possible contribution to methodology and theory of rural locality groups.

This is an attempt to study rural locality groups from the point of view of individual and family behavior, rather than considering the group as the unit of study. Schedules were taken on all families in the neighborhoods of three BAE delimited communities in Lafayette County, Mississippi. Neighboring and trade and service relationships were determined whether circumscribed by the locality boundaries or not. The usual diagrams will be prepared showing these relationships by race, age, years of schooling of family head, and tenure status. A statistical analysis using Chi Square will be made of the data on the basis of the same four factors. Tentative conclusions: the relationships of families to each other and to service agencies are not homogeneous within identifiable locality groups, but vary by race and tenure status, and perhaps by age and educational level.

A SOCIOLOGICAL EVALUATION OF SOUTHERN URBAN COMMUNITY STUDIES. By Sara E. Smith. Under the direction of Lee M. Brooks (Master's thesis). Probable date of completion: Summer 1946. Manuscript to be filed in the Library of the University of North Carolina. The project is related to a comprehensive survey being made for the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. and is being partially financed by the Church through an assistantship in the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. It is planned as a methodological aid to urban community study and understanding as basic to action programs.

Since urban studies in the South have been scattered and atomistic, few of them being sociologically comparable, and since those that have been projected by various groups for varied purposes, this study hopes to suggest methodology and postulates that will be sociologically sound with a view to facilitating comparability of data through a sociological framework. One of the basic hypotheses is that what to study about the past of a community should be determined by what matters in the present and by what seem to be the contemporary trends within the community and region.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN INDUSTRY COMES TO THE COUNTRY (A Special study in Giles County, Virginia). By Leland B. Tate. In progress (field work completed). To be published in 1946, as a bulletin of the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station which financed the study. The results obtained should be of benefit to leaders in communities who can see what happens when a large industrial plant moves into an agricultural area. The facts should have predictive value and help others to anticipate the changes and adjustments which need to be made in similar situations. The extension class in community development used as a part of the procedure has brought about a better working relationship between newcomers and oldtimers and is being continued by local leaders who are making a continuous study of the needs of their community and formulating plans for its future.

Information has been obtained from census records and various published materials; local leaders have been interviewed and facts obtained about various community organizations and institutions; an extension course in community development has been completed with a group of Pearisburg citizens; and a county map has been prepared with sampling segments in which interviews were held with heads of households. Facts obtained show that since the establishment of the Celanese Plant between Pearisburg and Narrows in 1940, Giles County communities have changed very much in structure and functioning. The picture is quite different from similar changes in two adjoining counties which are mainly agricultural. The newcomers who have moved into the area have changed the population pattern and modified the attitudes of the local citizens. They and the oldtimers have gone through a period of painful adjustment during which each was an irritant to the other but after five years of this condition the newcomers and the oldtimers are learning to think and work together. Certain civic organizations contain almost equal numbers of newcomers and oldtimers among their leaders and members. As surmised, the local people have made more rapid adjustments in their economic and business relations than in others. The lag in making certain adjustments is quite noticeable.

B. GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

KENTUCKY: DESIGNS FOR HER FUTURE. By Howard W. Beers and Associates. Completed. Published at Lexington, Kentucky, May 1945, by the University of Kentucky Press, which financed it.

Designs for the future of Kentucky cannot be submitted in final form now or at any other time. Social planning is a task that the workers and leaders of each generation must pass to others who replace them. Arduously clearing and building, the pioneers began it all, and their successors labored with undiminished zeal. But the generation that takes the Commonwealth from war to peace must work as hard as the pioneers and with more attention to planning. In the twentieth century, man's affairs are many-threaded; they can be snarled and tangled, or woven artfully into fabrics of orderly design. No other moment in history has been so full of both portent and

promise as this. The call to plan and work must be answered as effectively as the call to arms or the quality of life in Kentucky will surely cheapen. But the promise is stronger than the portent. Resources lie at every hand; they can be used with increasing wisdom and effectiveness toward the broad goal, the best possible living for the most people. Kentucky in retrospect is proudly poor, romantic and great; in prospect--and by plan--Kentucky is comfortably well-to-do, still romantic, and ever greater.

SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF THE PEACE. By L. L. Bernard. In progress with date of completion indeterminate. Publication not yet arranged. This is part of a general study of war and peace. The first volume, War and Its Causes, was published by Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1944. The plan is to publish a volume on The Immediate Consequences of War and another on The Ultimate Consequences of War, in addition to the one mentioned above. Data are being gathered for all three.

Tentatively, this study will cover: Peace, Its Nature; Its Social Conditions. Obstacles to Peace: Disrupting Factors, such as personal, cultural, and natural. Problems of the Maintenance of Peace. Social Factors supporting Peace: Economics, Political, Psychological, Cultural, Biological, etc.

TENNESSEE. A SOCIAL STUDY. By William E. Cole and William B. Jones. Probable date of completion: September 1946. Manuscript filed with Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee. Financed by a research grant from the General Education Board.

FROM DEMOCRACY TO NAZISM. By Rudolf Heberle. Completed. Published at Baton Rouge by the State University of Louisiana Press, 1945. Partially financed by the Institute of Population Research at Louisiana State University.

MUNICIPAL SURVEY. By Robert D. Highsaw. Under direction of School of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Mississippi. Completed December 1945. Published at Stoneville, Mississippi, by Delta Council, February 1946. Part of a contemplated Statewide survey financed by the Delta Council. Plan to use in revision of city government and tax structures for industrial expansion.

A HISTORY OF SELECTIVE SERVICE IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Spencer B. King, Jr. Under the direction of Gordon W. Blackwell and A. R. Newsome (Doctoral dissertation). Probable date of completion: Summer 1946. Manuscript to be filed with the University of North Carolina Library and the Institute for Research in Social Science. Financed by the State of North Carolina.

TWO YEARS OF FARM WAGE STABILIZATION IN CALIFORNIA. By William H. Metzler. Under the direction of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Published at Washington, D. C., by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, March 1946.

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the federal program of farm wage ceilings that were inaugurated in California in 1942 and have since spread to most parts of the nation. Attention is given to methods of wage rate determination, methods of handling adjustments, and effectiveness in management and enforcement of the wage ceiling orders. The program has given impetus to a greater amount of thought by farm operators toward calculated determination of wage and price relationships and should encourage the peaceful solution of farm wage rate problems in the state in future.

C. HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

RURAL HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE. By William E. Garnett. Completed 1944. Published as Preliminary Progress Reports Nos. 27, 28, 29; "The Health and Medical Care Situation in Rural Virginia," Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 363; and "Rural Medical Care on the March," V.P.I. Bulletin Vol. 38, No. 4, 1944. (Leland B. Tate assisted with Experiment Station Study.) Research was accompanied by parallel effort to mold public opinion. The effort has resulted in the formation of a State Health and Medical Care Council, supported by 40 State-wide agencies and organizations. It is quite likely that the Legislature now in session will pass in part all the measures recommended.

The report recommended eight major Legislative measures for the improvement of the situation: (1) expansion of public health work to include complete State coverage with local units and periodic examination of school children with increased responsibility for correction of defects found; (2) expanded support by the State Department of Health for Tuberculosis, and for Cancer control work; (3) a State revolving fund for hospital construction to be loaned to localities; (4) provision for a hospital, health center survey as a basis for intelligent new hospital construction; (5) expanded State and county aid to the medically needy for medical and hospital care; (6) increased service scholarships for prospective rural doctors and dentists; (7) provision for a study and promotion of prepaid medical care or insurance, especially a system adapted to the needs of rural people; (8) a law requiring hospitals and nursing homes to be licensed and to meet certain standards.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN HOSPITAL PLANNING. By C. H. Hamilton. Probable date of completion: October 1946. This is one phase of a survey by the Commission on Hospital Care. Financed by Foundations and the Federal Government. It will probably be widely used in every state.

MEDICAL PERSONNEL. FACILITIES AND SERVICES IN LOUISIANA. By Roy E. Hyde. Probable date of completion: June 1946. To be published as an Agricultural Extension Station bulletin at Louisiana State University which financed it. The bulletin will be distributed to rural leaders in the state.

MEDICAL AND HEALTH NEED FACILITIES IN RURAL MISSOURI. By Harold F. Kaufman. Completed. Published as three bulletins of the Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station: (1) Extent of Illness and Use of Medical Services in Rural Missouri, Progress Report Number 5, April 1945; (2) Illness in Rural Missouri (W. W. Morse, Junior Author), Research Bulletin 391, August 1945; (3) The Use of Medical Care in Rural Missouri, Research Bulletin, now in press. These are three publications of a larger study on health and medical care. The study was financed from Experiment Station funds.

Illness rates and use of medical and health service were correlated with certain social and economic factors, and implications for action programs were suggested.

CASS COUNTY RURAL HEALTH SERVICE, 1942-44. By Wilson T. Longmore and Theodore L. Vaughan. Under the direction of Carl C. Taylor. Completed May 1945. Published at Little Rock, Arkansas, by Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agricultural, May 1945. Part of a study of seven county experimental rural health programs sponsored by the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Plan fairly wide distribution of the study, with follow-up discussions by agricultural workers and farm people. Managers of the experimental health programs and regional FSA health specialists will discuss findings with officials of the cooperative health associations.

The focus of this study was on social organization by which medical services are made available to rural people, and not upon the technology of medicine. Structure and functions of the organization were described and appraised. Moreover, valuations of the program were recorded for members, former members, "never" members, officials of the association, and participating medical personnel. Investigators had access to association records, sampled population segments for interviews, observed the program in operation, and made use of pertinent census data.

WHEELER COUNTY RURAL HEALTH SERVICES ASSOCIATION. By M. Taylor Matthews. Under the direction of Carl C. Taylor. Completed September 1945. Published at Washington, D. C., as part of Monograph 1, "The Experimental Health Program of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture," January 1946. Part of a study of seven county experimental rural health programs sponsored by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Plan fairly wide distribution through the Pepper report, with follow-up discussions by agricultural workers and farm people. Managers of the Experimental Health Programs and Regional FSA Health Specialists will discuss findings with officials of the cooperative health associations.

Besides describing general health conditons, member-use of services

and the local prepayment health plan based on the capitation principle which was largely equivalent to a salary arrangement for the doctors, the study analyzed people's attitudes regarding various program aspects: fees, services, feeling of freedom to use services, proposed program changes, etc. Briefly reported factors possibly affecting attitudes were repeated crises in Plains agriculture, the general depression, and some experience in rural planning and cooperation including an earlier scheme of non-subsidized prepayment medicine. Also studied were processes by which three-fourths of the people had come to approve Federal participation in health costs. Suggestions for further research might include: (1) restudy to ascertain any changes in attitudes regarding the health program, especially to determine factors influencing such changes; (2) study of surrounding areas to discover how the large interest developed in cooperation throughout this region.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE IN ALABAMA. By Gilbert A. Sanford. Date of completion: 1945. Published at Montgomery, Alabama, May 1945. Financed by the Alabama State Planning Board and the Alabama Department of Health. Based upon the findings, legislation has already been passed providing for hospital construction.

This was a cooperative study with the State Health Department, aimed at assessing the health and medical facilities in the State in order to determine needs. A state master hospital plan was developed which would provide an integrated system of hospitals and other services.

SOCIAL PLANNING FOR THE REDUCTION OF TUBERCULOSIS IN THE SOUTH. By Virginia Stone. Under the direction of Gordon W. Blackwell (Master's thesis). Completed. Publication possibilities are being considered by the U. S. Public Health Service. Manuscript filed in the University of North Carolina Library and the Institute for Research in Social Science which sponsored the study.

NEVADA COUNTY RURAL HEALTH SERVICES ASSOCIATION, INC., 1942-44. By Theo L. Vaughan and Herbert Pryor. Under the direction of Carl C. Taylor. Completed December 1945. Published at Washington, D. C., as part of Monograph 1, "The Experimental Health Program of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture," January 1946, Part of a study of seven county experimental rural health programs sponsored by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Plan for fairly wide distribution through the Pepper report, with follow-up discussions by agricultural workers and farm people. Managers of the Experimental Health Programs and Regional FSA Health Specialists will discuss findings with officials of the cooperative health associations.

The focus of this study was on social organization by which medical services are made available to rural people, and not upon the technology of medicine. Structure and functions of the organization were described and appraised. Moreover, valuations of the program were recorded for members, former members, "never" members, officials of the association, and

participating medical personnel. Investigators had access to association records, sampled population segments for interviews, observed the program in operation, and made use of pertinent census data.

D. HOUSING

THE HOUSING SITUATION IN RURAL VIRGINIA. By William E. Garnett. Probable date of completion: 1946. To be published, Fall 1946, as a Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station bulletin which has financed it. The study is accompanied by a comprehensive housing improvement campaign in cooperation with the Extension Service and other agencies.

PUBLIC LOW-COST HOUSING MANAGEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Miriam Kligman. Under the direction of Gordon W. Blackwell (Master's thesis). Probable date of completion: June 1946. Manuscript to be filed in the Library of the University of North Carolina. The study, developed in cooperation with the NHA--Region IV, was partially financed from the Smith Fund of the University of North Carolina and by the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University.

The work is a comparative study of management policies of housing projects in four selected North Carolina cities--Charlotte, High Point, Raleigh, Wilmington--emphasizing administrative practices, costs, tenant selection, eligibility, maintenance problems, manager-tenant relations, and community activities, with special attention to the last two. Conclusions will be drawn as to the Negro-white differences, effects of size of development on costs and management policies, and integration of the project with the surrounding communities. The chief method was the use of field research for the gathering of statistical and non-statistical data, and some tenant reactions. Further statistical research may be needed for background material on housing conditions in the cities studied.

CONSTRUCTION OF FARM HOUSING INDEXES FOR OKLAHOMA. By Robert T. MacMillan. Completed 1945. Published: Rural Farm Housing Characteristics in Oklahoma, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, Stillwater, Oklahoma, Mimeo. Circ. M-140, May 1945; "Comparison of Farm Housing Indexes for Oklahoma," Social Forces, December 1945; "Farm Housing in Oklahoma," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, December 1945. Study was financed by the Agricultural Experiment Station. Data will be used in special Rural Housing Course to be offered home demonstration agents at Oklahoma A. and M. College, July 1946.

The study compared the results of four methods used in the construction of the indexes. It also sought to determine what factors are associated with farm housing in Oklahoma. Methods used were (1) ranking, (2) relatives, (3) standard scoring, (4) factor analysis, applied to 16 items taken from the 1940 Census. Correlation techniques were used in ascertaining the relationship of selected variables to farm housing.

FARM HOUSING IN SOUTHERN OKLAHOMA. By Robert T. MacMillan. Completed 1945. Published: Farm Housing in Southern Oklahoma, Oklahoma Agricultural Extension Station Bulletin B-290, Stillwater, Oklahoma, November 1945; Social Factors Related to Farm Housing in Southern Oklahoma, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin T-22, Stillwater, Oklahoma, October 1945. The study is a part of the Southwestern Regional Land Tenure Project and was financed by the Agricultural Experiment Station and General Education Board.

A survey which describes and explains the character of farm housing in southern Oklahoma.

NEW FARM HOMES FOR OLD: RURAL PUBLIC HOUSING IN THE SOUTH. By Rupert B. Vance and Gordon W. Blackwell with the assistance of Howard G. McClain. In galley proof. Published by the University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1946. Study made in cooperation with the FPHA and the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama.

E. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. By Belle Boone Beard. Probable date of completion: May 1946.

CHILDREN IN JAIL IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Ruth Thayer Hartman. Under the direction of Wiley B. Sanders (Master's thesis). Completed August 1945. On file in the University of North Carolina Library.

This study represents an effort to determine the psychological as well as the physical effects of jail detention on children. Ninety-five children who had experienced a period of jail confinement were interviewed at four of the training schools for juvenile delinquents. In so far as possible the attitudes of these children toward their apprehension, the physical conditions of the jail, the treatment received during detention, and the final disposition of their cases have been presented in their own words. Among the conclusions reached are: children should not be detained in jail, the insanitary conditions of the common jails jeopardize the physical well-being of the child offender; both the psychological and physical effect may permanently injure the delinquent's mental health and his social outlook; and this practice, through a lack of interpretation on the part of social workers and probation officers, virtually negates its own purpose.

JUVENILE COURTS IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1934-1944. By Wiley Britton Sanders. Probable date of completion: May 1946. Sponsored by the North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare and the University of North Carolina.

This study is divided into two parts. The first part consists of a classification of over 32,000 official juvenile court case records, collected by agents of the State Board of Public Welfare, from all juvenile courts in North Carolina covering the ten year period, July 1, 1934--June 30, 1944. Items tabulated are race, sex, date of hearing, age, charge, disposition, marital status of parents, and institutional record of parents. The second part of the study is a description of the organization and administrative procedure of the 107 juvenile courts in North Carolina, based on questionnaires filled out by field agents of the State Board of Public Welfare in joint interviews with the juvenile court judges and probation officers of each court.

YOUNGSTERS IN TROUBLE. By Walter L. Stone. Published by Council of Community Agencies, Nashville, Tennessee, 1945. Financed by the Community Chest of Nashville. Study used by Juvenile Court, child welfare and youth agencies.

Study gives 1944 Juvenile Court statistics and their relation to census tracts; trends in juvenile delinquency since 1930; causes, methods of meeting, facilities for prevention and treatment, and needs for further control of juvenile delinquency.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN LAUDERDALE COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI. By W. A. Tyson. Completed January 1946. Manuscript filed with author. Sponsored by the Central Methodist Church. Planned for use in church and educational work, particularly in Meridian, Mississippi.

F. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

MARITAL STATUS OF FURMAN ALUMNI, 1921 and 1936. By Joseph Leon Clark. Probable date of completion: April 1946. Not planned for publication. Manuscript filed with Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina, and Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D. C. Part of a study of Marital Status of College Alumni by Population Reference Bureau. Financed by Furman University and undertaken for the Population Reference Bureau.

Questionnaires were mailed to the alumni and alumnae of Furman University of the Classes of 1921 and 1936, requesting information concerning marriage, when, to whom, number and sex of children; full information concerning the colleges their wives or husbands attended, birth date of wife or husband, and type of business now employed in.

DYNAMIC MENTAL HYGIENE. By Ernest R. Groves and Catherine Groves. Now in page proof. To be released by Stackpole Sons, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1946.

MARRIAGE ATTITUDES AND IDEALS. By Ernest R. Groves and Anna Greene Smith. Probable date of completion: 1946.

The study is based on the premarriage life histories of 300 young women. It considers family background, education, etc., with special emphasis on preparation for marriage as revealed through these biographical sketches.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF RURAL AND URBAN FAMILIES IN KENTUCKY. By Harold F. Kaufman. Probable date of completion: Fall of 1946. To be published at Lexington, Kentucky, by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Kentucky. Data were acquired from six field studies conducted by the Experiment Station over the last several years and financed from Experiment Station funds.

The participation of family heads and wives were correlated with several social and economic factors.

G. METHODS OF TEACHING, EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

SOCIOLOGICAL MATERIALS FOR THE TRAINING OF PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL. By Belle Boone Beard. A joint study with Wayland J. Hayes. Probable date of completion: December 1946. Financed by the Rosenwald Fund.

TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE LAST FIFTY YEARS. By L. L. Bernard. Part I: Completed and published in the American Journal of Sociology, May 1945; Part II: In progress; to be submitted for publication when completed, probably to Social Forces. This is one of several investigations made by the author, some published, others unpublished. The published project was undertaken at the request of the American Journal of Sociology.

(For abstract see American Journal of Sociology, May 1945)

COLLEGE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE SOUTH. By Gordon W. Blackwell and Collaborators. Probable date of completion: 1946. Publication plans underway. The study was undertaken for the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools by the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

METHODS OF TEACHING SOCIAL SCIENCE IN SOUTHERN COLLEGES. By H. C. Brearley. Probable date of completion: April 1946. To be published as part of a larger volume. Part of a cooperative study being conducted by the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina for the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges.

This is a study, largely from secondary sources, of methods of classroom instruction in social science now prevailing in southern colleges and universities. An analysis is being made of purposes and teaching procedures in the hope of presenting a balanced picture of suitable methods of teaching.

EVALUATION AND TESTING IN COLLEGE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE SOUTH. By Lee M. Brooks. Probable date of completion: September 1946. To be published as part of a larger volume. Part of a cooperative study of College Teaching of the Social Sciences in the South being conducted by the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina for the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL EFFECTS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA. By Mary E. Coker. Under the direction of Gordon W. Blackwell (Master's thesis). Completed January 1946. Manuscript filed in the University of North Carolina Library.

ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NEGRO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. By William M. Cooper. Published in the Journal of Negro Education, Summer, 1945, pp. 307-11. Part of a Conference on Adult Education and the Negro.

This study attempts to discover and report: 1. What adult education programs are carried on by Negro colleges. 2. What major problems they encountered in developing adult education programs. 3. What plans they have in mind for future adult education programs. 4. Evaluation of what we have with recommendations for improvements. Information sheets and a personal letter were sent to the presidents of 106 Negro institutions listed in the U. S. Office of Education Educational Directory, 1944-45, Part III, Colleges and Universities. Replies were received from 61 institutions, 29 public and 32 private, located in 18 states and the District of Columbia.

CLASSIFIED SOCIOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by Laura Smith Ebaugh. Under the direction of the Commission on the Teaching of Sociology of the Southern Sociological Society. Completed. Published at Greenville, South Carolina, by Furman University Press, January 1945. Financed by the Commission on the Teaching of Sociology which will embody it into its final report. The bibliography is a compilation of six authoritative lists.

THE PHILANDER SMITH STUDENT AVERAGING BELOW "C". By John R. Ewbank. Date of completion indefinite. To be published in the Philander Smith College Quarterly.

TEACHER TENURE IN THE RURAL SCHOOL. By Wayne T. Gray. Probable date of completion: Spring or Summer 1946. Possible publication in a sociological journal. Partially financed by Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky.

This study is an attempt to find the average tenure of teachers in schools of a county in the hilly part of Kentucky and to see if there is any correlation between type of school or location of school and the tenure of the teacher. A record of the teachers in the schools of the county for a period of ten years was obtained checking those who taught in the same schools and those teaching in different schools but in the county. Visits were made to the majority of the schools in the county for personal observation of the teaching methods of many of the teachers. Experience with many of these teachers as students at Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky, was also recorded. Materials are not yet in sufficiently organized form to draw definite conclusions.

SOCIOLOGICAL MATERIALS FOR THE TRAINING OF PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL. By Wayland J. Hayes. A joint study with Belle Boone Beard. Probable date of completion: December 1946. Partially financed by the Rosenwald Fund and Vanderbilt Institute of Research and Training in Social Science.

A REPORT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL FACILITIES FOR NEGROES IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. By a committee of the Atlanta Urban League under the chairmanship of R. O. Johnson, Lithographed at Atlanta, Georgia, by the Urban League, January 1945. This study contributes to the effort to secure better schools for all children in metropolitan Atlanta. Financed by the Citizens' Committee on Public Education. It is serving as a factual basis for a program of community education and organization, particularly as a motivation for civic participation.

This study attempts to determine the status of public school facilities for Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia. It approaches the task through (1) an analysis of the racial composition of the total population and the location of areas of concentration of Negro population with some attention to the socio-economic status of the Negro population: (2) an analysis of the adequacy of existing educational facilities for Negroes in Atlanta as shown in the number of Negro children and the general educational facilities provided for them, and areas of youth population concentration in relation to educational facilities within the areas. On the basis of facts revealed through 1 and 2 and the aim of education in Georgia--"to help the individual to be the best possible member of a democratic society and to prepare him to assume the responsibilities, to share the benefits and to contribute to the betterment of that society," the following four principles were formulated for guiding the making of recommendations for the improvement of public education for Negroes in Atlanta: (1) there should exist and be available for Negro children the same types of educational opportunities as there are for white children; (2) the teacher-pupil ratio in Negro schools should be as low as that in white schools; (3) the length of the school day should be the same for the Negro child as it is for the white child; (4) the same types of physical accommodations and facilities in the public schools should exist and be available for Negro children as for white children.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CURRICULUM IN THE SOUTHEASTERN STATES. By Robert I. Kutak. Under the direction of the Commission on the teaching of Sociology of the Southern Sociological Society. Published in Social Forces, 24, October 1945, pp. 56-66. Part of a project on the teaching of sociology in the South. Financed by the General Education Board. An expanded report may be published later by the Commission on the Teaching of Sociology.

This study was part of the report of the Southern Commission on the Teaching of Sociology, four sections of which were published in Social Forces, 24 (October, 1945). It was based on a study of the catalogues of colleges in the eleven Southeastern states, and on a questionnaire sent to heads of departments of sociology in this region. The main conclusions were: (1) There is no uniform program of courses for those who major in sociology. Each institution has a different set of requirements for sociology majors; (2) There should be a reduction in the number of courses offered in sociology, a clarification of course titles and contents, greater differentiation of courses on the basis of difficulty, clarification of the objectives of the sociological curriculum, greater use of new methods of teaching, better training for the sociological faculty, and greater agreement with respect to whether sociology is a cultural or scientific discipline.

A STUDY OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES AS MATERIALS OF INSTRUCTION IN SOCIAL STUDIES IN HIGH SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. By Ora D. Logan. Under the direction of R. O. Johnson (Master's thesis). Date of completion: July 1945. Manuscript filed in Atlanta University Library. Part of a study of The Status of the Social Studies in Secondary Schools (Negro) in Georgia and the Extent to which Secondary Schools in Georgia Are Relating Their Programs to the Community. Planned to use the study as a pattern for other studies and as a basis for improving the curriculum and teaching.

This study is a part of the program of the School of Education of Atlanta University to lay a scientific basis for the improvement of teaching and curriculum development, and the relating of the school program to community life. The purposes of this study were: (1) to prepare a list of types of community resources generally recommended for use as materials of instruction; (2) to develop descriptive criteria for teachers for determining proper use and functions of community resources; (3) to prepare for teachers a list of available community resources in Atlanta, Georgia; (4) to describe and give information regarding available resources; (5) to determine what resources are being used; (6) to determine the manner in which these resources are being used; (7) to determine students' evaluation of field trip experiences and community projects as a part of the social studies curriculum.

The purposes were achieved through the following method of procedure: (1) a survey of literature was made for a list of community resources generally recommended as materials of instruction in social studies; (2) a survey of literature was made in order to develop descriptive criteria for determining proper use and functions of community resources; (3) a list was made of Atlanta's community resources; (4) a detailed description was made of all available resources; (5) a check list and questionnaire were administered to social studies teachers to determine resources being used and the manner of their use; (6) a questionnaire was administered to students to determine their evaluation of field trips and projects.

A STUDY OF GRADUATES OF AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE, 1928-1945. By Louise Hughston Sievers. Under the direction of Gordon W. Blackwell (Master's thesis). Probable date of completion: Summer 1946. Manuscript to be filed in the University of North Carolina Library and the Institute for Research in Social Science. Part of a larger study of Southern Leadership.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN COLLEGE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE SOUTH. By Logan Wilson. Probable date of completion: September 1946. To be published as part of a larger volume. Part of a cooperative study of College Teaching of the Social Sciences in the South being conducted by the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina for the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES. By Logan Wilson. Probable date of completion: Spring 1946. Manuscript of about one hundred pages to be published as a monograph in Spanish for use in Latin American countries. Part of American Sociology Series being edited by Kingsley Davis.

H. POPULATION

ANALYSIS OF CURRENT SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE ON OLD AGE. By Belle Boone Beard. Probable date of completion: April 1946.

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY IN LOUISIANA. By J. Allan Beegle and T. Lynn Smith. In progress. To be published as a Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station bulletin. Financed by Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station.

MIGRATION AND FERTILITY IN JOHNSON AND ROBERTSON COUNTIES. By Howard W. Beers. Probable date of completion: June 1946. To be published by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, 1946. Part of a study of Population Changes in Johnson and Robertson Counties. Financed by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station and the General Education Board. Planned to distribute findings as Experiment Station Bulletin.

The study will analyze migration and fertility among members of farm families in two selected Kentucky counties.

NEGRO POPULATION IN KENTUCKY. By Howard W. Beers and Catherine P. Heflin. Published by the University of Kentucky, March 1946. Part of a larger study of Population Changes in Kentucky. Financed by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station. Report in the form of an Experiment Station Bulletin distributed widely within the State.

From this study it is clear that treatment of any issue concerning Negroes in Kentucky requires recognition of several conspicuous trends and conditions: declining numbers, urbanward movements, declining birthrates, continuing out-migration, an increase in average age, an absence of Negroes in the middle ranges of the occupational ladder, a relatively low average level of school attainment, and a relatively low level of housing.

A DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF OKLAHOMA VILLAGES. By John C. Belcher. Under the direction of T. Lynn Smith (Master's thesis). Probable date of completion: June 1945.

WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE IN LOUISIANA. By Gloria Count. Under the direction of Rudolf Heberle (Master's thesis). Probable date of completion: Spring 1946. Part of study of occupations and industries in Louisiana. Financed by graduate student fellowship.

OIL FIELD WORKERS IN THE SOUTHWEST. By T. Stanton Dietrich. Under the direction of Rudolf Heberle (Doctoral dissertation). Probable date of completion, indefinite. Part of study of occupations and industries in Louisiana.

VIRGINIA RURAL YOUTH STUDY. By William E. Garnett. Seven reports completed and published by the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station; one manuscript, Virginia Rural Youth Adjustments, completed and presented for publication by Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Blacksburg, Virginia, June 1946; Youth Adjustments in a Tobacco Culture Setting, by Dorothy Jones, being revised for publication, by W. E. Garnett with probable publication, June 1946. Studies in the Virginia Rural Youth Studies Series, financed by Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, State Dept. of Education, WPA, NYA, etc. Planned to use in conferences, etc.

Three approaches were used in this study: (1) analysis from a state-wide standpoint and presentation in a coordinated summary of pertinent data from various types of records and reports, especially trend data; (2) intensive study of limited number of type situations; (3) as supplementary units, study of special phases not covered by the above. The result shows the need of many adjustments in the activities of youth-serving agencies. Plans are under way for a comprehensive project under the Rural Sociology Division of the Experiment Station, in cooperation with the State Department of Education and other agencies to make an analysis of high school social science teaching and the preparation of social science teachers with parallel work to prepare social science teaching material dealing with State conditions and problems.

LABOR FORCE DEFINITIONS AND MEASUREMENTS IN RELATION TO EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME LEVELS. By Margaret Jarman Hagood (with Louis J. Ducoff as senior author). Under direction of Subcommittees on Labor Force Statistics, Labor Market Research Committee, Social Science Research Council. Draft mimeographed, November 1945, and in process of review; probable publication by Social Science Research Council in 1946.

The first objective of this monograph is to introduce a larger measure of understanding of the problems relating to the adoption of a common set of concepts among the several groups of persons who work with labor force statistics. To serve this objective an exposition of labor force concepts and measurement techniques in current use is presented along with a critical examination of the present status of current national labor force statistics. The second objective of the monograph is toexplore what further steps in the refinement and improvement of labor force measurement would serve various needs in periods of different national income and employment levels. A third objective of the monograph is to examine the implications of developments in labor force statistics for labor force analysis, to indicate certain analysis needed because of these developments, and to formulate certain specific problems in labor force concepts and measurement on which research effort should be focussed.

THE LABOR FORCE IN LOUISIANA. By Rudolf Heberle. Completed. To be published as soon as possible. Part of study of occupations and industries in Louisiana. Financed by Social Science Research Council and Institute of Population Research at Louisiana State University.

SURVEY OF THE WAR-TIME LABOR FORCE OF LOUISIANA. By Rudolph Heberle. Completed. Mimeographed, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1945; a condensation, "War-Time Changes in the Labor Force in Louisiana," published in Social Forces, 24, March 1946, pp. 290-99. Financed by the War Man Power Commission, State Office.

THE URBAN ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL MIGRANTS. By Catherine P. Heflin and Howard W. Beers. Probable date of completion: June 1946. To be published by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, 1946. Part of a larger study of the Urban Status of Rural Migrants. Financed by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station. Planned to distribute Bulletin widely.

For the rural person contemplating life in a town or city, this study suggests that "all things are possible." It is clear that many rural people adjust fully to urban ways and reach the upper rungs of the socio-economic ladder. More of them, however, find themselves located in middle or low rent areas and somewhat less completely adjusted to the city than their neighbors of urban birth. It is clear also that adjustment in the city is greatly influenced by the experiences and the position of the migrant during the period of his rural rearing. The adequate preparation of prospective migrants among rural youth for social and economic success in the city might well become an objective for the institutions of the rural community. The successful absorption by cities of incoming rural migrants might well become an objective for the institutions of the urban community.

POPULATION TRENDS IN GEORGIA, 1900-1940. By R. O. Johnson. In progress. Probable date of completion: June 1947. Part of program to lay a sound basis for educational planning in Georgia. Study to be used as a basis for establishing broad principles to guide studies of school consolidation and school plant development.

This study will seek to determine the trends of population among Negroes and whites with particular reference to farm to village and city migrations.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION OF LOUISIANA. By Louise Kemp and T. Lynn Smith. Probable date of completion: July 1946. To be published as a bulletin of the Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station. Financed by Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station.

HEALTH AND MORTALITY IN LOUISIANA. By Louise Kemp and T. Lynn Smith. Published at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, by Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, May 1945, as Experiment Station Bulletin No. 390. Financed by Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station.

ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHEAST. By Frederick B. Parker. Under the direction of Rupert B. Vance and Guy B. Johnson (Doctoral dissertation). Completed: April 1946. Manuscript filed in the University of North Carolina Library and the Institute for Research in Social Science.

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTIVE SERVICE DATA FOR NORTH CAROLINA. By Kie Sebastian. Under the direction of Gordon W. Blackwell (Master's thesis). Completed August 1945. Manuscript filed in the University of North Carolina Library and the Institute for Research in Social Science which sponsored the study. Part of a comprehensive study of Selective Service in North Carolina.

This is an analysis of relationships between rejection rates and selected socio-economic indices on a county and subregional basis.

COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS IN LOUISIANA By Marion B. Smith. Completed May 1946. Financed by Institute of Population Research, Louisiana State University.

PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN LOUISIANA, 1929-1943. By Marion B. Smith. Completed December 1945. Published in Proceedings, Louisiana Academy of Sciences. Financed by Institute of Population Research, Louisiana State University.

SEX RATIO OF LOUISIANA SCHOOL POPULATION. By Marion B. Smith. Completed February 1946. Financed by Institute of Population Research, Louisiana State University.

A DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. By T. Lynn Smith. Completed. Published in Social Forces, March 1945.

THE RECENT INCREASE OF PERSONS IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY AGES. By T. Lynn Smith. Published in the American Sociological Review, 10, June 1945, pp. 414-18.

THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITY--NASHVILLE AND DAVIDSON COUNTY. By Walter L. Stone. Published at Nashville, Tennessee, by the Council of Community Agencies, 1945. Financed by Community Chest. Used by business, welfare, civic, and religious organizations in studying population trends by census tracts and by comparison of 1930 with 1940.

By means of tables and maps, the characteristics of the population of Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee are analyzed according to sex, age, race, education, occupations, economic status, housing, social disorganization, etc. Much of the statistical data for Nashville is plotted according to census tracts.

ALL THESE PEOPLE: THE NATION'S HUMAN RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH. By Rupert B. Vance with the collaboration of Nadia Danilevsky. Published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1945.

WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION. By Rupert B. Vance. Completed. Published at Atlanta, Georgia, by the Southern Regional Council, 1946. This is a condensation of the author's latest work, All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South--a study of the southern people sponsored by the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

ALABAMA'S PEOPLE. By Lillian E. Worley. Under the direction of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama. Published at University, Alabama, November 1945. Financed by the University through the Bureau of Public Administration. Distributed to legislators and other governing officials, Planning Board members, educators, prominent lay citizens, in the hope that it may prove useful in certain aspects of state planning. The study has already been scored for readability preliminary to possible translation into more simple language.

THE OPERATION OF SELECTIVE SERVICE IN ALABAMA BY COUNTIES AND FOR THE STATE. By Lillian E. Worley. Under the direction of Gordon W. Blackwell. In progress. Date of completion indefinite. Possible publication by the University of Alabama. In part, a supplementary study to Alabama's People. (See above.) May be of value to planning, health, and educational forces in building legislative programs.

I. RACE, CULTURE, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

PRINCIPLES OF COLONIAL SOCIOLOGY. By Werner J. Cahnman. In progress. Date of completion indefinite.

This study will use mostly African, Near Eastern, and Western Hemisphere materials. It is hoped that it will give: (a) a theoretical framework for the study of colonial problems; (b) provide thereby an opportunity to understand better the problems of race relations in the American South.

CASTE, CLASS, AND RACE: A STUDY IN SOCIAL DYNAMICS. By Oliver C. Cox. Probable date of completion: June 1946. Manuscript now being read by prospective publishers. Part of a study of modern social change from capitalism to socialism.

This study endeavors to develop a theory of race relations and class struggle. The method is historical and analytical. The conclusion appears to be that race relations are one aspect or variation of the modern political-class struggle. However, further research is needed on the place of modern social revolution in social change.

CHANGING PATTERN OF FOOD PREPARATION OF SMALL TOWN FAMILIES OF MISSISSIPPI. By Dorothy Dickins. Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 415, April 1945 (In press). Financed by the Experiment Station.

A REGIONAL APPROACH TO FOOD HABITS AND ATTITUDE RESEARCH: SOME IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT FOOD PREPARATION STUDIES OF MISSISSIPPI. By Dorothy Dickins. Paper No. 106, Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station. December 31, 1945 (to be published by Q. M. C. Subsistence Research and Development Laboratory. Office of Quartermaster General, in Proceedings of Conference on Food Acceptance Research--Regional Food Consumption Habits and Nutrition). Financed by the Experiment Station.

SOME FACTORS RELATED TO FOOD PREPARATION. By Dorothy Dickins. Now in first rough draft and will be available as a Bulletin of the Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, summer 1946. Financed by the Experiment Station.

Its purpose is to examine some of the factors probably related to family food preparation--factors such as family composition, schooling, and food and nutrition information of homemaker, economic status of family, family background of homemaker and male head, time expenditures in food preparation, time scheduling of homemaker, type of menus served, equipment for food preparation, and arrangement of this equipment.

A STUDY OF THE EFFECT OF A WHITE CORNMEAL SHORTAGE ON THE CONSUMPTION OF CORNBREAD BY GROUPS OF WHITES AND NEGROES AS WELL AS THE EFFECT ON THE CONSUMPTION OF OTHER DISHES. By Dorothy Dickins. Journal of the American Dietetics Association, May 1945. Financed by the Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station.

TIME ACTIVITIES IN HOMEMAKING. By Dorothy Dickins. Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 424, October 1945. Financed by the Experiment Station.

TRADITIONAL FOOD PREPARATION RULES. By Dorothy Dickins. Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 418, June 1945. Financed by the Experiment Station.

RECONNAISSANCE SURVEYS: MAGOFFIN COUNTY, KENTUCKY; SCOTT COUNTY, KENTUCKY; HAYWOOD COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA; GREENBRIER COUNTY, VIRGINIA. By Linden S. Dodson. Completed January 1945. Manuscript filed with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Appalachian Region, Washington, D. C. Part of a sociological study of rural America. Sponsored by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare. To be used as a source of information on the social organization of selected rural counties in the United States.

The purpose of these county surveys was to give an overview of such factors as physical characteristics, settlement patterns, ways of making a living, social organization and participation, value systems and leadership in 71 selected counties in the type-of-farming areas of the United States. The immediate objective was to provide guide material in certain phases of postwar planning relating to rural people. The method followed was for the worker to spend about three weeks in each county, then write a report of 30-50 pages covering the factors mentioned above. The reconnaissance survey in each county is in the nature of a pilot or exploratory study to be followed in the next four years by a carefully prepared monograph. An additional 4-6 months are to be spent in each county preparatory to writing the monograph. The monographs are designed to be of use to professional workers in agriculture and to those working in the schools, churches, and government of each county studied.

LEVEL OF LIVING RELATED TO LAND CLASSES, By Clinton L. Folse. Probable date of completion: January 1947. To be published as a Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station bulletin, Spring 1947. Financed by the Agricultural Experiment Station. It is possible that the study may be used in TVA experimental farms.

A STUDY OF 500 WHITE AND 500 NEGRO GIVEN NAMES: AN ATTEMPT TO TEST THE ASSIGNMENT OF NAMES AS AN INDEX OF FAMILIAL CONTROL PATTERNS IN GIVEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES. By Paul N. Foreman. Date of probable completion: June 1946.

The hypothesis is that a person's belief as to who was primarily responsible for the assignment of given names might be used as a criterion of matriarchial, patriarchial or equalitarian familial control patterns and thus be used as a quantitative test of the frequently observed shift in type

control patterns among Negro families with a sample of white schedules used as contrast control. A schedule is now being completed which will isolate size of sibling group, case ordinal position, socio-economic level (using Edwards), attribution of responsibility for assignment of own names, satisfaction with names, and common use of given names, common diminutives, or "sport" nicknames. The manipulation planned will allow among other things: (1) relation of attribution of assignment to socio-economic class, by sex and color; (2) relation of use of diminutives or sport nicknames to socio-economic class, by sex and color; (3) relation of satisfaction with given names to socio-economic class, by sex and color; (4) a check on frequency of use of given or familial names as given names, by sex and color and socio-economic class; (5) a typological study of name usages. The plan is to use two college white (Oklahoma, Mississippi) and two college Negro (Oklahoma and Mississippi) samples of 250 cases each to allow a double break in the samples. When this is done, the schedule is in form which could be used for a further sample of public school white and Negro cases for a further check on generalizations--if any.

INVESTIGATION OF NEGRO WORK IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U. S. By Price H. Gwynn, Jr. Under the direction of the Committee of the Presbyterian Church U. S. Probable date of completion: March 1946. To be published at Richmond, Virginia, about April 15, 1946. Financed by the Presbyterian Church U. S. and the Rosenwald Fund. To be used as basis of report to the General Assembly of the Church.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BAGANDA TRIBE OF EAST AFRICA. By Ernest Balintuma Kalibala. Under the direction of Pitirim A. Sorokin (Doctoral dissertation). Probable date of completion: April 1946. To be submitted to Longmans, Green, and Co., for possible publication. Manuscript to be filed with the Department of Sociology at Harvard University. Part of a sociological analysis of a primitive society, the study is intended as reference material for students in anthropolocy and sociology.

This is an investigation of the social structure of the Baganda Tribe of East Africa. The larger project which the author contemplates is A Sociological Analysis of the Primitive Social Structure. This inquiry will undertake to make a thorough analysis of the studies already made which have used the anthropo-sociological methods and techniques, the primary and secondary methods, the empirical approach, and other special devices, and then compare the results with the findings of the author in which the participant observer method is used and in which case studies will be utilized. This will test the author's belief that our major contemporary theories and techniques of research of primitive societies are inadequate. Particularly it is believed that the theories that hold that primitive societies are showing signs of a vanishing culture and that they are peculiar anthropological phenomena are incorrect and that the fallacy grows out of the inadequacy of methods of research.

DEFINING PRESTIGE RANK IN A RURAL COMMUNITY. By Harold F. Kaufman. Under the direction of Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (Doctoral dissertation, in part). Completed. Two papers published in Sociometry, May 1945 and February 1946; papers to be combined into a Sociometry monograph. Publications present a small part of the data of a larger study on Social Stratification in a New York Rural Community. Financed by the Cornell Experiment Station and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

Prestige rank was determined by the composite ratings of 14 community members. The social psychological aspect of the rating procedure was analyzed and the 14 prestige judges were compared as to their rating ability.

SURVEY OF THE RACIAL CONDITIONS IN THE INLAND EMPIRE (Northwest United States). By Tolbert H. Kennedy. Completed. To be published as a study of State College of Washington, Spring 1946. Manuscript filed in the library of Washington State College, Pullman, Washington, and the Public Library, Spokane, Washington.

SOCIAL FACTORS OF FARM OWNERSHIP IN OKLAHOMA. By Robert T. MacMillan and Otis D. Duncan. Completed 1945. Published: Social Factors of Farm Ownership in Oklahoma, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin B-289, Stillwater, Oklahoma, November 1945. Part of the Southwestern Regional Land Tenure Project and financed by the Agricultural Experiment Station and the General Education Board.

The study analyzes data available from the Census and from numerous surveys, in Oklahoma, which show the importance of various social factors on the achievement of farm ownership.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH NEGRO UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE URBAN UNITED STATES. By Edward N. Palmer. Under the direction of Clark Tibbitts and Amos Hawley (Doctoral dissertation). Completed May 1945. Manuscript filed with University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Financed by the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

The research problem posed for investigation is the partial isolation of the statistical measurement of the relative influence of four factors on the relatively higher unemployment of urban Negro workers when compared to urban white workers. The factors to be investigated include: age, sex, occupation, health status, and race discrimination. This is done for the purpose of obtaining a more refined quantitative estimate of race discrimination than now exists. The estimate was subjected to investigation in terms of the possible influence of other factors upon it. These non-quantified factors include: education, efficiency and work habits, labor union membership, and wage differences. The analysis involved three major steps of exposition: (1) the demonstration that the several factors have a gross relationship with employment status and that these relationships hold for both the white and Negro labor forces, (2) the demonstration that the

white and Negro labor forces possess the factors grossly associated with unemployment in significantly different proportions, (3) the effort to measure the influence of each factor on the relative excess of Negro unemployment. The method of standardization used in conjunction with multiple classification of the data was the major statistical technique employed. The basic conclusion of the study is that essentially the whole of the excess of the unemployment among urban Negro workers results from race discrimination.

Several suggestions for further research can be mentioned: (1) to refine further the measurement of discrimination by increasing the number of factors under investigation; (2) to check the findings by employing another method--perhaps "the analysis of variance" technique; (3) to inquire into how economic discrimination affects the characteristics of the urban Negro labor force.

RACIAL SEGREGATION IN TRANSPORTATION IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. By Ira De A. Reid. Completed January 1946. To be published at Atlanta, Georgia, in excerpts to be used as source book for community action, 1946. Project intended to be broadened into a study of 13 cities. Manuscript filed with Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, and Department of Sociology, Atlanta University. Financed by Southern Regional Council. It is planned to use the study in the formation of local action committees.

How can a southern community pose the problem of racial separation so as to stimulate local action on its problems? This was the basic research problem. The research was conducted by the participant observer method, using case incidents, photographs, and statistics to indicate how the "separate but equal" law actually operates. White and colored investigators were used. Tentative conclusions indicate that separation laws do not apply successfully to any carriers save railroads, and that in no case is the equal provision maintained.

TABIO: A STUDY IN RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By T. Lynn Smith, Justo Rodrigues Diaz, and Luis Roberto Garcia. Published by the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., November 1945. Study was undertaken for the Ministry of National Economy (Colombia) and the U. S. Depts. of Agriculture and State.

J. RECREATION

CHURCH RECREATION IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Galen Elliott and Harold D. Meyer. Under the direction of Harold D. Meyer. Completed October 1945. Published by the North Carolina Recreation Commission, November 1945. Plan to broaden scope so as to enlarge numbers. Financed by the North Carolina Recreation Commission for whom the study was made. The published study has been sent to over 3000 churches and 500 leaders in North Carolina and other parts of the nation.

Of the approximately 9000 churches in North Carolina, 400 that were doing some work in the field of recreation were selected. Among these were Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant churches of all denominations. A questionnaire was mailed to these churches. 324 replies were received. The data were analyzed and the results put into mimeographed form. The unquestionable conclusions of the study are: (1) that the churches are changing their attitudes toward recreation and are moving toward a positive approach; (2) that they are very much interested in program activities; (3) that they are searching for aid and assistance.

AN INVENTORY OF PHYSICAL RESOURCES FOR RECREATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES. By Nancy Jefferis. Under the direction of Harold D. Mayer and Gordon W. Blackwell (Master's thesis). Completed: May 1946. Manuscript filed with the University of North Carolina Library and the Institute for Research in Social Science.

NATURAL RECREATION RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH. By Harold D. Meyer. Date of probable completion: April 1946. Part of an inventory of southern resources financed and sponsored by the Southern Association of Science and Industry and the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. The study should serve as an inventory of the present status of recreational resources in the South and offer recommendations for future growth.

A monograph which will indicate the natural recreation resources of the Southern States including Federal, State, county, and municipal areas and facilities.

TWELVE RECREATION SURVEYS OF NORTH CAROLINA CITIES AND COUNTIES. By Harold D. Meyer and Staff. Eight surveys completed; four now in progress. Upon completion, mimeographed. Under the auspices of the State Planning Board, these are continuous studies of cities in North Carolina. The mimeographed results are sent to interested groups to be used in aiding communities to understand resources and needs.

Cities and counties of the State are anxious to have recreation surveys and studies. The North Carolina Recreation Commission has made a study of four counties--Onslow, Granville, Cleveland and Guilford, and surveys of the following cities: Elizabeth City, Burlington, Raleigh, Waynesville, Liberty,

Tarboro, Oxford, and Tryon. Surveys of four cities are now in process. The objective is to find out the present status of recreation in the community and to offer recommendations as to needs. The studies are followed up by community meetings with authoritative groups leading toward action in development of the recreation program.

YOUTH CENTERS. By Harold D. Meyer. Date of completion: June 1945. Mimeographed by the University of North Carolina Extension Division for the North Carolina Recreation Commission which provided the funds for the study. Over 800 kits of materials on Youth Centers and results of special studies have been sent out to hundreds of local communities.

With the tremendous interest in youth activities there has spread throughout the nation a growing development of Youth Centers,--Teen Towns, Teen Bars, Teen Taverns. A study was made of 98 of these scattered throughout the nation, the objective being to find out how the centers are set up, the program, the administrative leadership between youth and adults, finances, program of activities, etc. From the studies came mimeographed material to aid North Carolina communities desiring to promote Youth Centers. They all seem to follow a similar pattern. There is a real question as to whether they are "fads and frills" and the extent to which without national organization to back them they will continue.

MUNICIPAL RECREATION IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Arlia Tomlinson. Under the direction of Harold D. Meyer (Master's thesis). Probable date of completion: August 1946. Published study to be used by the North Carolina Recreatiom Commission in cities of the State and elsewhere. Manuscript will be filed in the Library of the University of North Carolina. Study was financed by the North Carolina Recreation Commission. It is to serve as a basis or guide for legal recognition of recreation in North Carolina and also as an inventory of present status.

This study covers all the municipalities of the State with over 2,500 population, the objective being to find out what these cities are doing for recreation, the administrative set-up, finances, leadership, etc. It should give to the State an up-to-date picture of the status of municipal recreation.

K. REGION

AN INVENTORY OF SOUTHERN RESOURCES. By Gordon W. Blackwell and Howard W. Odum, assisted by staff members of the Institute for Research in Social Science and others. A series of 13 monographs, of which 7 have been completed and 6 are in preparation. Publication now being arranged. Manuscripts filed with the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. Financed and sponsored by the Southern Association of Science and Industry and the Institute.

THE CUMBERLAND PLATEAU IN TENNESSEE. By William E. Cole and William B. Jones, Jr. Probable date of completion: September 1946. Publication plans incomplete. Manuscript to be filed with the Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee. Financed by a research grant from the General Education Board.

SOUTHERN-BORN LEADERS OUTSIDE THE SOUTHEAST. A STUDY OF DISTINGUISHED SOUTHERNERS AND THEIR VIEWS OF THE SOUTH. By Edna C. Cooper. Under the direction of Howard W. Odum (Doctoral dissertation). In progress. Probable date of completion: March 1947. Possible publication through journals. Manuscript to be filed with the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina and the Library of the University of North Carolina. This is one aspect of a comprehensive study of southern leadership now under way in the Institute for Research in Social Science. This particular study is being financed from grants by the Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board.

This study attempts to inquire systematically into the nature and range of southern distinction outside the Southeast. What are the factors and conditions which influenced these leaders to emigrate from the region of their birth? Having gone to other regions of the United States, what are their attitudes toward the Southeast and its problems? What constructive suggestions do they offer for the future of the South? Through a study of selected men of leadership and eminence we hope to secure opinions on "what is wrong with the Southeast" and "what should be done to improve these conditions" to make the region more attractive to those leaders who wish to remain. The project divides itself into two main parts: the geographic distribution, personal and group characteristics of the southern-born distinguished persons residing outside the Southeast; and southern problems as seen through the eyes of these leaders.

ECONOMIC TRENDS IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY. By Lewis C. Copeland. In progress. Financed by the TVA.

THE WAY OF THE SOUTH. A BIOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES. By Howard W. Odum. Now in press. To be published by the Macmillan Company, New York, Fall 1946.

IN SEARCH OF THE REGIONAL BALANCE OF AMERICA. Edited by Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher. Part I, "From Empirical Studies to Regionalism," contributed by Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher. Published as the March 1945 issue of Social Forces. As one in a series of volumes commemorating the Sesquicentennial of the University of North Carolina, published at Chapel Hill, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1946.

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP. By Howard W. Odum and others. Under the general direction of Howard W. Odum. In progress--date of completion indefinite. However, several units have been completed including; The Development of Leadership by Southern Women through Clubs and Organizations by Margaret N. Price; An Inquiry into the Pattern of College and University Leadership in the South since 1900; "A Study of the Honor Graduates of 94 Southern Colleges and Universities in 1939 and 1940," by Ruth Lynch Kernodle, Social Forces, 24, May 1946. Manuscripts filed with the Institute for Research in Social Science. Other studies now in progress include: Southern Leaders Outside the South: A Study of the South's Contribution to the Nation's Leadership by Edna C. Cooper; Religious Leadership in the South since 1900 by Howard G. McClain; A Study of Graduates of Agnes Scott College, 1928-1945 by Louise Hughston Sievers.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP IN NORTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA, AND TENNESSEE. By Anna Greene Smith. Under the direction of Howard W. Odum. Probable date of completion: 1947. Part of a comprehensive study of Southern Leadership now being made under the sponsorship of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina where the manuscript will be filed.

THE DOCUMENTED SOUTH: A STUDY OF SOUTHERN BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Anna Greene Smith. Under the direction of Howard W. Odum and Fletcher M. Green (Doctoral dissertation). Probable date of completion: 1946. Manuscript to be filed in the University of North Carolina Library and the Institute for Research in Social Science.

This project is well under way with more than 11,000 items already catalogued. First drafts have been prepared of the introductory material for some of the chapters.

HUMAN RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH; AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH. By Rupert B. Vance. Completed 1945. Manuscripts filed with the Institute for Research in Social Science. Part of An Inventory of Southern Resources financed and sponsored by the Southern Association of Science and Industry and the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

SOUTHERN TRAVELS: SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND CULTURE, 1901-1945. By Rupert B. Vance. Under the direction of Tom D. Clark, chairman of cooperative study. Probable date of completion: June 1946. To be published by the University of Oklahoma Press, 1947. Part of a cooperative study of southern historians in bibliography. Financed by the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation.

RESEARCH IN SOUTHERN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT. By Edith Webb Williams. Completed 1946. Manuscript filed with the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. A part, "Research and Regional Development," published in Social Forces, 23, March 1945, pp. 349-56. Part of An Inventory of Southern Resources financed and sponsored by the Southern Association of Science and Industry and the Institute.

L. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN LAND USE IN THE BREATHITT AREA OF EASTERN KENTUCKY. By Howard W. Beers and Catherine P. Heflin. Probable date of completion: June 1946. To be published by the University of Kentucky, 1946. Manuscript filed with Rural Sociology Section, University of Kentucky. This is part of a larger study of land-resource management in the Eastern Kentucky Highlands. Financed by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station and the General Education Board, the project was under the sponsorship of the Experiment Station. The research program is being followed by a three-year extension project with the objective of improving production and market practices.

Not just a factory in Jackson, not just a continual "relief" program, not just a mass migration from the area, not just government acquisition of land could be expected to bring the desired amelioration. The study indicates that there are many problems in this area, hence, many answers, among them: the right factory appropriately organized, restoration of timber on many tracts, abandonment of some land rather than the clearing of more hillsides, better farming on the fertile bottom lands, a well administered program of public works, State and Federal aid to the schools, increased migration from some areas, government acquisition of some land, rural electricity and telephones, a hospital in Jackson, better business management of county government, cooperative use of machinery and marketing of special crops, organization of business people to promote improvement in business practices, improvement of public welfare and public health services. In other words, the problem of improving land use in the Breathitt area is as broad as the experience of living there.

A SELECTED SAMPLE OF ATTITUDES OF LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOWARD THE NEGRO: A STUDY IN PUBLIC OPINION. By Gus Turbeville and Roy E. Hyde. Completed Summer 1945. Published in Social Forces, 24, May 1946.

The objectives of this study were to determine the attitudes of a comparatively selected segment of Louisiana State University students toward the Negro, and to ascertain some of the bases for the attitudes. The method employed was to distribute schedules in sociology and psychology classes, and, after explaining to the students the purposes of the questionnaire, have them fill out the schedules in the classroom. As a whole the conclusions reached were surprisingly liberal: (a) the females were somewhat more liberal than the males; (b) seniors and graduate students more liberal than other students; (c) students born outside the South more so than the Southern students; (d) social science majors more than others; (e) students living in cities over 50,000 inhabitants more liberal than others; (f) Jewish students more so than those of other religious faiths; (g) students whose fathers were in the professional class were more liberal than students whose fathers were in other occupational classes. From an heuristic viewpoint this study indicates that it would be profitable to study the attitudes of a much broader sample of students in many other universities scattered over the United States.

M. SOCIAL THEORY

HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT. By L. L. Bernard. In progress with date of completion indeterminate. Publication not yet arranged. Part of a general history of sociology and will be published as a textbook when completed.

The first four chapters have been completed in tentative form. They cover primitive types of social thought in a manner not previously attempted. They are fully documented with citations to original sources and are illustrated by specimens of early social thought extending from the most primitive peoples of which we have information down to the beginning of the present era, but excluding Greek and Roman Social Philosophy. The titles of the chapters are approximately: (1) Social Thought in Early Folk Literature; (2) Social Thought in Magical Forms of Folk Literature; (3) From Supernaturalistic to Secular Social Thought in Folk Literature; (4) Beginnings of Formal Social Generalization (that is, before the Greeks): There will be a fifth chapter, dealing with early approaches to Natural Law concepts, before the formal social theories of the Greeks are presented. The five chapters listed above will be primarily original. The remaining chapters will be drawn from both primary and secondary sources.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RADICALISM IN THE SOCIAL THEORIES OF LESTER F. WARD. By James E. Fleming. Under the direction of Rupert B. Vance and Howard W. Odum (Doctoral dissertation). Completed: January 1946. Manuscript filed in the University of North Carolina Library. One aspect, "The Role of Government in a Free Society: The Conception of Lester Frank Ward," published in Social Forces, 24, March 1946, pp. 257-66.

N. SOCIAL WORK

PUBLIC WELFARE PROBLEMS IN KENTUCKY. By Howard W. Beers. Under the direction of the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station and Committee for Kentucky. Probable date of completion: April 1946. To be published at Louisville, Kentucky, by the Committee for Kentucky, May 1946. This is one of a series of reports on Kentucky's resources and problems sponsored by the Committee for Kentucky and financed by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station and the the Committee. The report will be studied as a basis for action by all organization members of the Committee for Kentucky.

The report will present a comprehensive statement of public welfare problems in Kentucky and will propose solutions to the problems.

A STUDY OF COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION AS A SOCIAL AGENCY. By Lillian C. Hunt. Under the direction of Mary P. Wheeler and Pearl Salisbury (Master's thesis). Probable date of completion: June 1946. Manuscript to be filed with the University of South Carolina and the Y.W.C.A. The study was made to determine the need of a new building and an extended program for the Y.W.C.A.

COMMUNITY WELFARE RATING SCALE AND COMMUNITY WELFARE NEEDS. By Walter L. Stone. Published by Council of Community Agencies, Nashville, Tennessee, 1945. For use by men's and women's civic clubs, schools, churches, and community service organizations in meeting the unmet social welfare needs; in arousing interest in Nashville and Davidson County and creating a greater sense of individual and collective responsibility; in studying the community and developing programs for social betterment.

The Information and Interpretation Committee, at the suggestion of the Council of Community Agencies' Research and Planning Division, outlined a community welfare rating scale for use with various civic groups in the community for educational purposes, and to determine what our unmet social welfare needs were. The study is a summarized statement of the first 107 returns from 13 Sunday School Workers, 9 members of Board of Directors of the Council, 12 Women's Civic Forum members, 37 Social Workers, and 36 Business and Professional Women of West End M. E. Church.

PERSONNEL CLASSIFICATION STUDY OF COMMUNITY FUND AGENCIES, 1945. By Robert K. Taylor, Ruth Butler, and Jeanette R. Gruener. Under the direction of Robert K. Taylor. Completed. Mimeographed, Atlanta Community Planning Council, April 1946. The study, sponsored by the Community Fund of Atlanta, was financed from a special appropriation. It is planned primarily for use in budgeting the work of the Community Fund.

Because personnel practices of agencies affect desirability of employment, some information regarding these was included in the study, whose principal purpose was to work out job classifications for personnel employed in Community Fund agencies.

O. SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

EDUCATION OF THE RURAL MINISTER. By Richard Obee Comfort. Under the direction of H. C. Brearley (Doctoral dissertation). Probable date of completion: August 1946. Manuscript to be filed with George Peabody College for Teachers.

This is a study, partly from primary and partly from secondary sources, of the present methods of training rural ministers. An analysis is made by questionnaires of the actual work activities of several hundred rural ministers, their training for these activities, and their suggestions for the improvement of the education of the rural minister. The author presents recommendations for increasing the value of the training now given to rural ministers.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION. By Vattel E. Daniel. Probable date of completion: March 1947. Manuscript to be submitted to publishers when completed.

The sociology of religious life is a study of religion primarily in its relation to social control. This study begins with a consideration of the human nature basis of religion which is followed by a study of historical religions in the light of social origins. This is followed by an interpretation of religion as creative and as a conservative factor. An attempt is then made to understand the function of the religious leader, prophet or priest; the function of religious ideas and beliefs in their relation to behavior. Institutional phases of religion, and the part which religion plays in the modern world as affected by the modern scientific world view and by widening horizons caused by industrial and commercial development complete the picture.

THE NEGRO CHURCH IN CHICAGO. By Vattel E. Daniel. Under the direction of Herbert Blumer and W. Lloyd Warner (revision of Doctoral dissertation). Probable date of completion: June 1946. To be submitted to publisher by June 1, 1946.

Former studies of the church have not been concerned specifically with a natural and functional classification that shows just how the several types of churches differ in their relationship to social structure, social status, and social situation. In this study, we have made such a classification and have found through an analysis of the type of life lived outside the church, that the type of ritual engaged in, reflects the life of the society of which the worshipper is a member. In determining the relation of ritual and general church behavior in urban Negro churches to various classes within the Negro group, we have been concerned primarily with the part which types of churches play in the social adjustment of types of persons. Hence we have used the sermons, prayers, songs, and behavior in studying the ceremonials and beliefs of types of communicants representing class and economic differences in urban Negro life. The functions which churches perform for Negroes

can be interpreted properly only when one realizes fully the nature of the social situations in which Negroes of different social status find themselves in the social structure of our nation. These churches serve a triple function. Not only do they enable the communicants to celebrate the Christian triumph, but they also render a distinct service to them as members of a minority group, and through differentiation in ritual, they minister to various classes within this group.

RELIGIOUS ORIGINS AND SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY. By Thomas H. Grafton. Completed September 1945. Published in the American Sociological Review, December 1945. Part of a larger study of changes in religion.

The scientific study of religious origins belongs to the theoretical sociologist. Religion is defined as interaction with supernatural social objects, and the conditions of its existence are social experience, social suggestion, reflective thinking, and events and needs motivating the construction of religious objects. Certain postulates are set up to guide analysis. The theory is advanced that there is an impulse to vest objects and situations under certain conditions with supernatural power and sociality and to interact with them. This impulse is traced to human nature as defined by Cooley, and to self-conscious thought as analyzed by Mead. The tendency to localize the "other" of religious consciousness in the spatial environment is crucial, inasmuch as its interaction with objects in the environment is the key to diversity in religious objects and activities. Rationalization, necessitated by the exigencies of propagandizing and defense, produces the concept of soul and other ideas important for religion. The writer's theory is further explicated in criticisms of the work of Tylor, Spencer, Lang, Durkheim, and Jane Harrison.

RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1900. By Howard G. McClain. Under the direction of Howard W. Odum (Doctoral dissertation). Probable date of completion: Summer 1947. Manuscript to be filed in the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina and also in the University Library. Part of a comprehensive study of southern leadership. Financed partially by a research assistantship in the Institute for Research in Social Science.

An effort is made to ascertain the determining influence of historical conditions on contemporary religious thought and action, to analyze the background and experience of men prominent in religion, and to discover the reasons for the influence of selected leaders in the South, through (1) statistical analysis of southern religious leaders in Who Was Who, Who's Who, 1942-43, Who's Who in the Clergy, and Religious Leaders in the United States; (2) case study of the 20-30 religious leaders considered by present church-leadership to be and to have been most influential in the South.

NEGRO RURAL MINISTERS IN VIRGINIA. By Harry W. Roberts. Probable date of completion: Spring 1946. Anticipate publication as an article in a scientific journal. Part of a study of rural life in Virginia. Virginia State College assisted in financing the study. The findings will be offered to churches, schools, and other interested agencies.

To discover the type of rural minister who is a leader is the principal objective of the study which is being investigated through questionnaires, interviews, church visitations, research. For definite conclusions it appears that further research and a larger sample are needed.

P. UNCLASSIFIED

SOCIOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA. By L. L. Bernard. Date of completion indeterminate but data largely collected. No definite plans for publication. This is part of a general study of Latin American Sociology several parts of which have already been published in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, American Journal of Sociology, Social Forces, American Sociological Review, The American Sociologist, etc. Financed partially by the Social Science Research Council.

The volume will cover the history, content, and trends of sociology in the several Latin American countries.

A SAMPLING OF KNOWLEDGE AND OPINION ABOUT THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT. By Lee M. Brooks. Probable date of completion: 1947. Plan to publish as an article. The study, as a feature of expanding international, national, and regional activity in cooperatives, should have general educational value.

On the assumption that students, citizens, business and professional leaders are uninformed or misinformed as to the origin, nature, and purposes of the Cooperative Movement, this study is projected with a view to checking this assumption.

SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION. By William E. Cole. Probable date of completion: September 1946. Manuscript to filed with the Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee. Financed by a research grant from the General Education Board.

DELTA BOTTOMLAND HARDWOODS. By Robert D. Highsaw. Under the direction of Forester-in-Charge. Completed, August 1945. Published at Stoneville, Mississippi, August 1945. This is considered a progress report to be repeated in 1950. Financed and sponsored by the Delta Council. The study is to be used in forest management schools, intensive extension program, Boys' Conservation School.

EXPANSION OF RESEARCH IN THE PHYSICAL AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By John B. Knox. Date of completion indefinite. An attempt to encourage the expansion of research in the social sciences.

The study will present facts on the expansion of research (especially applied research) in the physical sciences between World War I and World War II. The results of this expansion and the indication of large unexplored areas in the social sciences will be used as arguments for increased attention to research in the social sciences.

UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND DIRECTION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. By Howard W. Odum. Now in press. To be published by The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947.

BRAZIL: PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS. By T. Lynn Smith. Completed. Published at Baton Rouge, Louisiana by the Louisiana State University Press, 1946. Study was undertaken for the U. S. Department of State and the Institute of Population Research at Louisiana State University.

THE CULTURAL SETTING OF AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORK IN COLOMBIA. By T. Lynn Smith. Completed. Published in Rural Sociology, September 1945.

NOTES ON POPULATION AND RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN EL SALVADOR. By T. Lynn Smith. Completed. Published in Rural Sociology, December 1945.

GETTING ACQUAINTED WITH SHELBY COUNTY: AN INTRODUCTORY RESOURCE STUDY. By Lillian E. Worley and Workshop Group at Alabama College. Completed. Published at Montevallo, Alabama, by Alabama College, November 1945. Financed by Alabama College and Alabama industrialists and businessmen. The study was distributed to members of the Gatlinburg Conference II, to other prominent educators in the South, to all Alabama Senior and Junior High Schools, to all Alabama County and City Superintendents of Education, to all supervisors, to prominent lay citizens, to local and certain other governmental officials. The hope was that publication of this group effort might stimulate other groups to similar attempts, and that the study might also guide in some measure other groups undertaking community or county resource surveys. It was also hoped that the study would be widely used by Shelby County teachers.

INDEX OF INVESTIGATORS AND RESEARCH DIRECTORS

Name	Institution	Page
Anderson, Charles Brooks	Winthrop College	1
Beard, Belle Boone	Vanderbilt University	11,13,15,17
Beegle, J. Allan	Louisiana State University	17
Beers, Howard W.	University of Kentucky	5,17,18,19,31,33
Belcher, John Cheslow	Louisiana State University	18
Bernard, L. L.	Washington University	6,13,32,36
Blackwell, Gordon W.	University of North Carolina	1,6,9,10,11,13,14,17, 20,21,27,29
Blumer, Herbert	University of Chicago	34
Brearley, H. C.	George Peabody College for Teachers	14,34
Brooks, Lee M.	University of North Carolina	1,4,14,36
Butler, Ruth	Community Planning Council, Atlanta, Georgia	33
Cahnman, Werner Jacob	Atlanta University	22
Clark, Joseph Leon	Furman University	12
Clark, Tom D.	University of Kentucky	31
Coker, Mary E.	University of North Carolina	14
Cole, William E.	University of Tennessee	6,29,36
Comfort, Richard Obee	George Peabody College for Teachers	34
Cooper, Edna Catherine	University of North Carolina	29,30
Cooper, William Mason	Hampton Institute	14
Copeland, Lewis C.	Tennessee Valley Authority	29
Cottrell, L. S., Jr.	Cornell University	25
Count, Gloria	Louisiana State University	18
Cox, Oliver Cromwell	Tuskegee Institute	22
Daniel, Vattel Elbert	Alabama State Teachers College	34
Danilevsky, Nadia	Richmond Professional Institute	21
Diaz, Justo Rodriguez	Louisiana State University	26
Dickins, Dorothy	Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station	22,23
Dietrich, T. Stanton	Louisiana State University	18
Dodson, Linden Seymour	Bureau of Agricultural Economics U. S. Department of Agriculture	23
Ducoff, Louis J.	Bureau of Agricultural Economics U. S. Department of Agriculture	19
Duncan, Otis D.	Oklahoma A. and M. College	25
Ebaugh, Laura Smith	Furman University	14
Edwards, Allen D.	Winthrop College	2
Elliott, Galen	University of North Carolina	27
Ewbank, John R.	Philander Smith College	15
Fairchild, Henry Pratt	New York University	1
Fleming, James E.	University of Georgia	32
Folse, Clinton L.	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	23
Foreman, Paul B.	Oklahoma A. and M. College	23
Garcia, Luis Roberto	Louisiana State University	26
Garnett, William Edward	Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station	7,10,18
Grafton, Thomas H.	Mary Baldwin College	35
Gray, Wayne T.	De Pauw University	15
Green, Fletcher M.	University of North Carolina	30

Name	Institution	Page
Groves, Catherine	Family Society, Durham, N. C.	13
Groves, Ernest R.	University of North Carolina	13
Gruener, Jeanette R.	Community Planning Council, Atlanta, Georgia	33
Gwynn, Price H., Jr.	Presbyterian Church, Davidson, N. C.	24
Hagood, Margaret Jarman	Bureau of Agricultural Economics U. S. Department of Agriculture	19
Hamilton, C. Horace	N. C. State College of the University of North Carolina	7
Hartman, Ruth Thayer	Box 1861, Asheville, N. C.	11
Hartman, Vladimir E.	Council of Southern Mountain Workers, Berea, Kentucky	2
Hawley, Amos	University of Michigan	25
Hayes, Wayland J.	Vanderbilt University	2,13,15
Heberle, Rudolf	Louisiana State University	6,18,19
Heflin, Catherine P.	University of Kentucky	18,19,31
Highsaw, Robert D.	University of Mississippi	6,36
Hunt, Lillian Clement	YWCA, Durham, N. C.	33
Hyde, Roy E.	Louisiana State University	8,32
Jefferis, Nancy	University of North Carolina	27
Jensen, Howard E.	Duke University	3
Jocher, Katharine	University of North Carolina	1,30
Johnson, Guy B.	Southern Regional Council	20
Johnson, R. O.	Atlanta University and Morris Brown College	15,16,20
Jones, Dorothy	Winthrop College	18
Jones, William B., Jr.	University of Tennessee	6,29
Kalibala, Ernest Balintuma	Morris Brown College	24
Kaufman, Harold F.	University of Kentucky	3,8,13,25
Kaufman, Lois C.	University of Kentucky	3
Kemp, Louise	Louisiana State University	20
Kennedy, Tolbert H.	Washington State College	25
Kernodle, Ruth Lynch	College of William and Mary	30
King, Charles Edward	Allen University	3
King, Morton B., Jr.	University of Mississippi	4
King, Spencer B., Jr.	University of North Carolina	6
Kligman, Miriam	Woman's College of the University of N. C.	10
Knox, John B.	Alabama College	37
Kutak, Robert I.	University of Louisville	16
Logan, Ora D.	Atlanta University	16
Longmore, T. Wilson	Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare	8
MacMillan, Robert T.	Oklahoma A. and M. College	10,11,25
Matthews, M. Taylor	Bureau of Agricultural Economics Little Rock, Arkansas	8
McClain, Howard G.	Campbell College	11,30,35
Metzler, William H.	Bureau of Agricultural Economics Berkeley, California	7
Meyer, Harold D.	University of North Carolina	27,28
Morse, W. W.	Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station	8
Newsome, A. R.	University of North Carolina	6

35 - Southern Sociological Society,

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY - 1947

Members of the Committee

C. Horace Hamilton, Chairman
Clarence E. Glick
Mozell C. Hill
Irwin T. Sanders
Robert F. Winch

Presented to the Southern Sociological Society

April 1948

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY:

This year, for the first time, your Committee on Research has organized its work around what research workers have already accomplished. In previous years, Research Committees have placed major emphasis on research in progress--publishing a census of research projects underway.

The reason for this change in emphasis goes back to our 1947 meeting. It was generally agreed at this meeting that there should be a change in emphasis in the work of the Research Committee. However, no blueprint was given for the work of the new Committee. Some felt that there should be a critical evaluation of research accomplished. Your Committee discussed this question by correspondence but decided that it was not altogether feasible, mainly because it would involve a tremendous amount of work by persons who could spend their time more profitably in carrying on their present research programs.

The attached list of articles and other publications of members of the Society is no doubt incomplete. Two hundred and seventy-two letters were sent to members of the Society but only seventy-six replies were received. A follow-up card was sent to a number of members who did not reply to the first letter. We feel that everyone was given an ample opportunity to list his articles and publications. There is some question as to whether this is the type of thing your Research Committee should do. If you have any reactions to this feature, please come to the Society meetings prepared to discuss it.

Perhaps the major concern of most members of the Society is that of expanding and improving sociological research in the South. There is some feeling that we should develop a program of coordinated research among Southern sociologists, particularly those in the smaller colleges and non-land grant institutions. This proposal is to be discussed at our annual meeting. As a background for this discussion, your Committee submits some data which has considerable bearing on the question as well as on other phases of research development.

As shown in the attached table, only thirty-seven members of the Society reported that they did some sociological research work. Three of these persons spent all, and only fifteen spent more than fifty per cent, of their time in research. Of the thirty-seven members doing some research, thirty-one also teach, fifteen have administrative duties, and fifteen engage in other activities.

These facts speak for themselves. There are all too few sociologists doing research in the South. They do not have sufficient funds and many of those doing research must combine it with other activities. When these facts are considered, it is surprising that Southern sociologists have been able to produce so much in the way of articles and publications. It is not surprising that the quality of some of these products is below that which we could produce if time, working conditions, and facilities were available.

This general situation in which we find ourselves may also be demonstrated by the typical replies to the inquiry: "What are the major weaknesses of current sociological research in the South?". A list of most of the replies received to this question is also attached. Perhaps they offer little that is new; on the other hand, it is hoped that the presentation of these statements will help stimulate thinking and action by the Society to the end that our research work will be expanded and improved, and, possibly, better coordinated.

Another important question in our survey was: "In what ways has your research been used in educational and action programs during 1947?". This question was included because it was felt that the public did not realize the enormous amount of practical application being made of sociological research and of the public services being performed by sociologists in the South. The answers to these questions were highly gratifying but no attempt was been made to summarize them as yet. It is believed that further study should be made of this aspect of sociological research and that a more complete report should be made next year. A preliminary summary of the data will be presented at our annual meeting.

There was also included a question on research in progress—included for the purpose of making up the annual program. Anyone interested in knowing what research is being carried on in any particular field or by any particular individual or institution may write the Chairman of the Research Committee or refer to the Annual Census of Sociological Research, published in the American Sociological Review.

Sincerely yours,

C Horace Hamilton

C. Horace Hamilton, Chairman
Committee on Research

P. S. The above statement was prepared by the Chairman too late to be submitted for approval to each individual member of the Research Committee. The report, of course, will not be published without the approval of the Committee.

NUMBER OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH WORKERS ENGAGED IN TEACHING, ADMINISTRATION AND OTHER ACTIVITIES BY AMOUNT OF TIME GIVEN TO RESEARCH.

Non-research functions and Their combinations	Total Workers	Per cent time given to research				
		1-24	25-49	50-74	75-99	100
Total	37	9	13	11	1	3
Teaching, Administrative & Other	8	5	2	1	-	-
Teaching and Administrative	5	2	2	1	-	-
Teaching and Other	5	1	3	1	-	-
Administrative and Other	1	-	-	1	-	-
Teaching only	13	1	5	7	-	-
Administrative only	1	-	-	-	1	-
Other only	1	-	1	-	-	-
Total Teaching combination	31	9	12	10	-	-
Total Administrative combination	15	7	4	3	1	-
Total "Other" combination	15	6	6	3	-	-
None	3	-	-	-	-	3

COMMENT ON THE ABOVE TABLE:

The above table is based on replies of 37 sociologists who reported that they did spend some of their time in research. An additional 13 sociologists replied to the questionnaire saying that they gave no time to research. 26 additional sociologists replied to the questionnaire but gave no definite percentage estimate of their time devoted to research, teaching and other functions. 196 members of the Society did not reply to the inquiry.

SECTION I

PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY AS REPORTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH, 1947.

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13. _____. "Urban Development in the Tennessee Valley". Social Forces, 26; 1947. Pp. 62-75.

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22. _____ Taeuber, Irene B. and Hope Tisdale Eldridge. "Some Demographic Aspects of the Changing Role of Women", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1947. Philadelphia. Pp. 24-34.

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SECTION II.

TYPICAL REPLIES TO THE QUESTION: " WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER THE MAJOR WEAKNESSES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH TO BE?"

* * * * *

Research outside of a few large institutions is purely extracurricular activity. I'd bet my hat there aren't 15 institutions from Charlottesville to Austin which have research budgets or permit reduction of teaching loads or occasional summers off on pay for any kind of research.

The selection process which works in most Southern institutions operates against attraction of research minded personnel. Frequently, it operates against selection of any adequately trained personnel. Reasons: isolation, low salaries, heavy teaching loads, poor libraries, and bias against coming South - something I think isn't so much regional bias as unwillingness to move long distances into hot climates for what we can pay - and stand the risk of getting "lost" in familiar settings.

The regional societies, particularly the Southwestern, have not adequately explored the possibilities of using available personnel (1) in group projects and (2) to seek concerted action in the name of the society for research subsidy.

To my knowledge there has never been concerted effort to help the personnel in smaller schools - largely non-Ph. D level - to focus them on regional graduate centers to finish academic work or to improve their teaching background. Selection to the smaller schools may come from these graduate centers; it may not.

I think we actually need major-minor league relationships and that the possibilities of summer faculty exchanges and summer work in regional institutions for small school faculties needs much thought and planning. The isolation in the Southwest is enormous - more than in the Old South: out here a system of summer exchanges would do much to cut down on this. Here as elsewhere, departments are apt to be jealous, little dynasties, there are many good reasons why summer exchanges are not wholly practical - here nothing is wholly practical and the institution of such interests might examine how and to what extent such means of picking ourselves by the bootstraps would work!

* * * * *

...appear to be pretty much the same as in Sociology throughout the nation, namely: there is no comprehensive research of the social processes which underlie most of our social problems. I would recommend a coordinated research approach on (1) motivation, (2) conflict, (3) cooperation. It appears that the sort of coordinated approach being made upon tuberculosis, infantile paralysis and cancer by medical science could well be made by social sciences upon such social processes.

* * * * *

I would not wish to make specific statements without reviewing a sample of recent research by southern sociologists. In general, however, southern sociologists are overloaded with teaching and probably have not had sufficient training or experience in research.

* * * * *

In one word - its absence. There is very little current sociological research in the South. Except for some trivial boondoggling, all of the significant research in the south has come out of about two institutions - those which can afford to hire full-time research men.

* * * * *

I do not think it is possible to generalize. Perhaps too much preoccupation with Southern society, not enough comparative studies, and perhaps too much empiricism without theoretical orientation.

* * * * *

For four or five years I have presented to the Executive Committee of the S. S. S. a memorandum calling for the organization of a standing committee on recreation. It seems to me this is very important. Recreation is growing by leaps and bounds and in the South there is not exception. It is timed that the sociologists of the region recognize the importance of recreation in the social well-being of our people and put this recognition into practical action.

* * * * *

It is impossible to know which difficulties are of greatest importance, but I would list the following as being of a complex of difficulties that deter research workers in the South:

Limitation of funds; too few trained research workers, cultural resistances to conduct of sociological research, a tendency on the part of sociologists to prefer problem solving activities to research activities.

* * * * *

There is far too little money going into carefully planned, longtime research. Teachers carry such heavy teaching loads that research is practically impossible for many. The "let-facts-speak-for-themselves" school is far too strong; there is hardly a competent sociological theorist in the South today. There needs to be a more wholesome attitude toward sociological theory, and I feel we especially need new blood from the outside area in order to broaden our scope.

* * * * *

Major weaknesses...

1. Poorly trained sociologists.
2. Excessive teaching loads
3. Lethargy
4. Insufficient funds and facilities for collaborative work
5. Naivete in matters of scientific theory and the role of theory in research methods; excessive concern with "practical facts."
6. To much "folk loyalty", not enough blunt criticism and intellectual honesty.

* * * * *

Major weaknesses...

1. Too heavily burdened with teaching, administration, or promotion
2. Not related enough to world-wide context
3. Most emphasis upon fact-finding; less emphasis upon theoretical considerations.

* * * * *

Major weaknesses....

1.Research workers may not always be objective in giving interpretation to their findings. The researcher is often caught between either confining his efforts to harmless topics, pulling his punches, or risking reprisals.

2.Too much effort is expended in economic research merely having sociological implications rather than studying the relationships of people in groups (sociological research).

3.Lack of a uniform terminology to express concepts.

* * * * *

Major weaknesses...

1. Limited time and resources devoted to sociological research.
2. Too little coordination and too much individuality.
3. Lack of orientation to relevant theory.

* * * * *

Major weaknesses...

1. Much of it is of a pedestrian nature and is too narrowly conceived.
2. Except in the field of rural sociology, most sociological research lacks very much financial support.

* * * * *

Very few of our researches are planned to test important hypotheses or to advance the body of social theory point by point. Better formulation of our problem; coordination of different researches to bear to previous work and divide the field with greater allocation of resources; all are needed. Ad hoc research aimed at particular social problems has proved more successful and has paid dividends in legislation. It is not nearly so successful in building a body of theory that we can call general sociology.

* * * * *

My general impression of sociological research in all parts of the U. S. is that insignificant subjects are usually studied; that there is far too little cooperation in large, significant projects; that refined statistical procedures often give an impression of precision which is spurious.

* * * * *

I think much of the "research" in the South is not research at all, but merely surveys. Fundamental principles which should be good for all time are sadly neglected.

* * * * *

My chief criticism of research in the South is that there is little or no encouragement for research outside of rural sociology. The South lacks consciousness of itself culturally as a main participant in the history of civilization. But it is self-conscious politically.

* * * * *

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Weakness is not in the research especially but the fact that findings can not for the most part be used by the individual farm family. They cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents. This is a weakness in that the other type of research seems more important to the man on the street who votes funds.

* * * * *

It seems to me that the greatest weakness at the present time is lack of integration. There are far too many isolated studies which do not fit into any organized theoretical system.

A great many of the research findings have had only immediate value - the studies were designed for the solution of immediate problems. While this type of research is of great importance and should be continued and expanded, I feel that research of a long-range nature is much needed if we are to have a sound sociology of the southern regions.

* * * * *

We are not going back over some of the older theories and reworking them either from the point of view of checking the predictions that were made or of checking the validity of some of these same studies.

* * * * *

Major weaknesses...

1. Seeming inability to deal adequately with touchy questions.
2. Failure to serve useful ends.
3. Failure to get research findings over to the public.
4. Failure to collaborate sufficiently with other social sciences.

Sociology in and of itself can answer very few fundamental questions that most people are asking. It usually gives only a partial answer.

* * * * *

Most of that regarded by sociologists as creditable work is thought by laymen of all levels to have very little relationship to human welfare. They do not seem interested in purely intellectual exercises.

* * * * *

I believe the major weaknesses of current sociological research in the South lie chiefly in our lack of an adequate theoretical framework for the research. Too much of it has been merely fact gathering without relationships to hypotheses or larger bodies of theoretical content. Then, too, I believe we have not had sufficient teamwork in our research with too many of our efforts being small, piecemeal studies of little consequence in and of themselves. Without coordinated planning and greater teamwork among researchers, I believe we will do little to increase the body of knowledge and theory which is necessary to establish sociology as a science.

* * * * *

Like sociological research elsewhere, it needs more emphasis on the quantitative approach.

* * * * *

There is a marked lack of genuine scientific research in the field of Race Relations. Studies of Southern urban life is practically ignored. Nothing has been done for the study of rural family life that actually gives any propositions of the rural family and the South in the most fertile field for this type of research as well as for race relations. Nothing is being contributed from the South regarding cultural anthropology. There are possibilities for research in the field of industrial relations since the South is in the process of development in the area of industry. Cultural and social change isn't being investigated to any appreciable sense by Southern sociologists. Too much attention is being given to descriptive studies of population. Southern sociologists need to develop and exploit personnel and social resources for more research in the Southern regions. Southern sociology has been too much concerned with "teaching" and courses and too little concerned with research. Southern sociology needs to divorce itself from the tendency to rationalize the status quo or make excuses for the same and become interested in investigation for the purpose of understanding and presenting truth for the purpose of aiding in the development and sound scientific social policy and planning.

* * * * *

Major weaknesses in sociological research in the South: Unrelated and uncorrelated.

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Too often not sufficiently related to current live problems and not followed through into programs making functional use of results. At the present stage of development more research is needed on ways and means of making research functional rather than focusing too exclusively on further compiling of data as to conditions.

* * * * *

I think the major weakness of current sociological research in the South is the absence of any genuine and substantial support for it on the part of college administration. One is expected to be "a good teacher" and work at research at odd times for the love of it or for the prestige it is presumed to bring. One finds promotion and prestige based on the number of items appearing in his personal bibliography, very much similar to the number of scalps draped at the belt of a savage. The content of the printed articles and the contents of the crania under the scalps is of little importance. But don't quote!

* * * * *

I have tried to answer this question in my "Sociology and Sociological Research in the South," Social Forces, Vol. XXIII, No. 3.

* * * * *

On the race question I think they can be defined in terms of failure of some sociological leaders and writers to make plain that giving the Negro his economic, legal and political rights, does not mean that intermarriage and amalgamation will eventually follow, and that in a real Democracy every group should have a square deal. Again I believe that more could be done to effectively combat anti-Semitism, etc.

* * * * *

* * * * *

Major weaknesses...

1. Too little time given to teachers in which to do research. Many teachers still carry loads of 15 hours with innumerable outside responsibilities.

2. Little money provided for research by colleges and small universities.

3. Much research still mostly compilation of data. Greater need for interpretation of data and a concept for the research.

4. Getting across to the public the importance and the results of research.

* * * * *

Too many trivial studies with insufficient theoretical framework.

* * * * *

Not enough time given us for true study and supervising the original work of students. Possibilities infinite-rich subject matter.

* * * * *

The major weakness of current sociological research in the South is the same as that for the country as a whole, or for the world as a whole. That weakness is our tendency to substitute armchair theorizing and traditional philosophizing instead of verifiable research directed intelligently to seeking the answer to the operational question: Who is to do what under what circumstances to what end?

* * * * *

Major weaknesses...

1. Lack of money.

2. Lack of time after regular teaching load has been discharged.

3. Lack of stimulation and facilities, which are characteristics of small departments.

4. Although there are outstanding exceptions both as to men and areas of research, there seems to be a general failure to apply careful quantitative methods which have become available and to participate in the development and improvement of such methods.

5. Actually, I am encouraged by both the present status and the prospects of sociological research in the Southeast. I believe that college administrations are giving increasing support and that we are retaining and attracting good men.

* * * * *

Major weaknesses of sociological research in the South seem to lie in intellectual cowardice, lack of a sufficient number of men and women with adequate research training, prejudice, fear, and laziness on the part of many.

Southern Sociological Society

Program

OF THE

Twelfth Annual Meeting

OF THE

Southern Sociological Society

RECEIVED
MAR 21
Southern Regional Council

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

APRIL 1-2, 1949

Officers of the Society for 1948-49

President

Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University

First Vice-President

Raymond F. Bellamy
Florida State University

Second Vice-President

Harry Best
University of Kentucky

Secretary-Treasurer

Morton B. King, Jr., University of Mississippi

Representative to Executive Committee, American Sociological Society

H. C. Brearley, Peabody College

Executive Committee

Elected Members

Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College
Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College
Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute
Roy E. Hyde, Southeastern Louisiana College
Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky
Lorin A. Thompson, University of Virginia

Past Presidents

Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky
Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina
Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University
Coyle E. Moore, Florida State University
T. Lynn Smith, Vanderbilt University

Standing Committees

Membership

Harold F. Kaufman, Mississippi State College, Chairman
John D. Boynton, Florida State University
Laura Smith Ebaugh, Furman University
Sidney A. Forsythe, Alabama College
Hilda Hertz, Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Roy E. Hyde, Southeastern Louisiana College
Howard G. McClain, Mercer University
Daniel O. Price, University of North Carolina
Ralph J. Ramsey, University of Kentucky
A. Stephen Stephan, University of Arkansas
D. G. Stout, East Tennessee State College
John T. Blue, Jr., Howard University

Resolutions

B. O. Williams, University of Georgia, Chairman

Publications

Harlan W. Gilmore, Tulane University, Chairman
R. H. Bolyard, Southwestern Louisiana Institute
Harry H. Turney-High, University of South Carolina

Research

Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina, Chairman
Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College
Clarence E. Glick, Tulane University
Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College
Homer L. Hitt, Louisiana State University
Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky
Preston Valien, Fisk University

Social Work and Public Welfare

Harry Best, University of Kentucky, Chairman
Louise Diecks, Department of Public Welfare, Louisville, Kentucky
Arthur E. Fink, University of North Carolina
Earle E. Klein, Louisiana State University
Merton D. Oyler, Berea College
Olive M. Stone, Social Service Administration, Washington, D.C.

Special Committees

Committee on Local Arrangements

William B. Jones, Jr., University of Tennessee, Chairman
Margaret C. Franklin, University of Tennessee
Lewis Copeland, Tennessee Valley Authority
William Leap, Knoxville Council of Community Agencies

Contributed Papers by Graduate Students

John N. Burrus, Louisiana State University, Chairman
Felton D. Freeman, University of North Carolina
Raymond Payne, University of Kentucky

Nominations

Coyle E. Moore, Florida State University, Chairman
Dorothy Dickins, Mississippi State College
George A. Douglas, Alabama College
E. W. Gregory, Jr., University of Richmond
Robert I. Kutak, University of Louisville

HEADQUARTERS—ANDREW JOHNSON HOTEL

All meetings of the Society will be held in the Andrew Johnson Hotel. Please consult program for place of section meetings.

▲

HOTEL RESERVATIONS

Hotel reservations should be made by mail as early as possible.

▲

REGISTRATION

No registration fee is required of members or guests. Members and guests are requested to register at the Registration Desk as soon as possible after arrival. It is important that registration with hotel designations be completed in order to facilitate prompt delivery of telegrams. The registration and information desk will be maintained throughout the meeting, except at night, and will be located in the lobby of the Andrew Johnson Hotel.

▲

VISITS TO PLACES OF INTEREST

There are many places of interest in Knoxville and vicinity. Any member or guest wishing to visit these places is requested to make inquiry at the registration desk. The Committee on Local Arrangements will be glad to make provision for such visits as far as possible.

▲

THE PUBLIC

All of the sessions of the Society are open to the general public with the exception of the business meetings. The Society encourages the participation of the public in the various activities. We are looking forward to having many of the local citizens of Knoxville and surrounding areas attend our sessions.

TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

APRIL 1-2, 1949

▲

Program

THURSDAY, MARCH 31

7:30- P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee, *Blue Room.*

FRIDAY, APRIL 1

8:00- 9:00 A.M. Registration of Members and Guests of the Society (Lobby, Andrew Johnson Hotel)

9:00-10:00 A.M. Business Meeting. *Ball Room.*

10:00-12:00 A.M.

I. SOCIAL WORK AND PUBLIC WELFARE. Harry Best, University of Kentucky, Presiding. *Blue Room.*

1. "*The Role of Attitudes as an Area of Health Research,*" Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University.
2. "*Recent Developments in Negro Housing in the South,*" Donald W. Wyatt, Fisk University.
3. "*Fellowship Camps in Personal and Community Development,*" Nelle Morton, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
4. "*Values of Aid to Dependent Children Program,*" Ellen Winston, State Board of Public Welfare, North Carolina.
5. "*Preparation for Public Welfare Positions in the Southeastern Region,*" Lora Lee Pederson, Nashville School of Social Work.

II. TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY. H. C. Brearley, Peabody College, Presiding. *Ball Room.*

1. "*A Course, Societies Around the World,*" Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky.
2. "*Sociology in the Liberal Arts Curriculum,*" Sociology Staff, University of Mississippi.

12:00- 1:30 P.M. Luncheon hour.

1:30- 3:30 P.M.

I. COMMUNITIES AND NATURAL AREAS. Leland Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Presiding. *Ball Room*

1. "*Theoretical Framework for Sociological Research in Community Organization,*" Gordon W. Blackwell, University of North Carolina.
2. "*Some Effects of Industrialization in Southern Communities,*" Allen W. Edwards, Winthrop College.
3. "*Coal-Mining Community Structure in Terms of Race Relations,*" Ralph D. Minard, Morristown College.
4. Discussion:

   Wilson Gee, University of Virginia
   Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky
   John Knox, University of Tennessee

3:30- 5:00 P.M.

I. FAMILY AND POPULATION. Mrs. Margaret Jarman Hagood, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Presiding. *Ball Room.*

1. "*Long Range Trends in Factors Affecting Fertility,*" T. J. Woofter, Director of Research, Federal Security Agency.
2. "*Geographic Factors in Human Sex Ratios at Birth,*" Rollin Chambliss, University of Georgia.
3. "*Some Aspects of Recent Negro Population Movement in the South,*" Preston Valien, Fisk University.
4. Discussion: John Biesanz, Tulane University

II. CONTRIBUTED PAPERS BY GRADUATE STUDENTS. John N. Burrus, Louisiana State University, Presiding. *Blue Room.*

1. "*Rural Family Health in a Selected County in Kentucky,*" Marie Mason, Kentucky University.
2. "*Rural-Urban Population Differences,*" James W. Green, North Carolina University.
3. "*Racial Classifications In Latin-American Censuses,*" Mrs. J. S. Vandiver, Vanderbilt University.
4. "*Ideologies of Southern Social Movements,*" Mrs. Helen F. Cohn, Tulane University.

5:00- 8:00 P.M. Intermission.

7:00 P.M. Meeting of Executive Committee. *Blue Room.*

8:00- 9:00 P.M. GENERAL SESSION. Raymond F. Bellamy, Florida State University, Presiding. *Ball Room.*

1. "*The Impact of T.V.A. Upon The South,*" William E. Cole, University of Tennessee.
2. "*Revolution, Community Style,*" Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University.

SATURDAY, APRIL 2

9:00-10:00 A.M. Business Meeting. *Ball Room.*

10:00-12:00 A.M.

I. RESEARCH. Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina, Presiding. *Ball Room.*

1. "*Structure Analysis: A Method of Orienting Sociological Studies of Industry,*" T. Stanton Dietrich, Florida State University.
2. "*Projective Techniques in Sociological Research,*" Alvin W. Rose, Fisk University.
3. Discussion: Clarence H. Schletter, Duke University.
4. "*Certain Attitudes and Values in Nonliterate War Patterns,*" Harry H. Turney-High, University of South Carolina.
5. Discussion: Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina.

12:30- 2:00 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee for 1949-1950. *Blue Room.*

Full Name .....

Date ..... Were you a member in 1948-49? .....

Title ..... Department .....

School or Agency .....

Teaching Interests .....

Research Interests .....

Other Interests in South .....

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP

For year March 1, 1949 - February 28, 1950

(Including subscription to SOCIAL FORCES, Oct. 1949 - May 1950)

Name .....
(Last) (Other)

Mailing Address .....
(P.O. Box or Street Address) (Town, Zone, State)

Underscore type of membership:

Regular $4.00
Student $3.00
Joint (husband & wife) $5.00

Return with payment to
Office of Secretary-Treasurer

Please complete reverse side

THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

RECEIVED
MAR 21
Southern Regional Council

15 March 1949

Dear Member:

This letter, with its enclosures, brings you several items of interest and importance regarding the affairs of the Society. May I request that you give all the contents of this packet your careful attention?

First, let me remind you of the Annual Meeting of the Society to be held April 1st and 2nd at Knoxville, Tennessee, with headquarters in the Andrew Johnson Hotel. From the enclosed program you will learn of the papers and discussions which President Hayes and his section chairmen have arranged. The annual meeting is for all members of the Society, and other interested persons. I hope, therefore, that it will be possible for you to attend. Since the time is short you should start making your plans at once. Election of officers and most of the Society's business take place at these meetings. Therefore, the success of its contribution to Sociology in the South depends upon the number and representativeness of members in attendance. Should you be unable to attend the meeting you are urged to send any suggestions which you may have regarding nominations directly to the Chairman or other members of the Nominating Committee. You will find their names and addresses in the program.

The reports of the Membership and Research Committees and the Financial Report of the Treasurer are enclosed herewith. They tell something of the present status and activities of the Society and should be of interest to you. Either the present officers or the new ones to be elected would be glad to hear from you regarding any matters related to these reports.

At the 1948 meeting the Society voted to begin its fiscal year on March 1st to run through the succeeding February. We are, therefore, beginning a new year as well as winding up the present one. The enclosed card is for the renewal of your membership. The problems of this office will be relieved greatly if you will return it to me right away with the proper amount of dues. In particular, if you are not going to the meeting, it would be desirable for you to renew between now and April 1st. Until the names of the new officers are distributed, the card and dues may be returned to me at Box 473, University, Mississippi. Please send a check or money order rather than cash.

Looking forward to seeing you in Knoxville, I am,

Sincerely yours,

M B King

MORTON B. KING, JR.
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Treasurer's Report, 1948-49

RECEIVED
MAR 21
Southern Regional Council

A. FUNDS AVAILABLE:

I. Funds Brought Forward from 1947-48:			
1. 3 $100 Series G U.S. Bonds	$300.00		
2. Balance Last Statement, 3/20/48	387.64		
Total		$687.64	
II. Less Fixed Assets and Expenses Chargeable to 1947-48			
1. U.S. Bonds	300.00		
2. 1947-48 Expenses after 3/20/48 (See Item B, I below)	103.87		
Total		403.87	
III. Balance Available for 1948-49 Use (Equivalent Amount for 1947-48, $138.99)			$283.77
IV. 1948-49 Income			
1. Interest on Bonds	7.50		
2. Membership Dues			
4 Joint Memberships @ $5 -$ 20.00			
43 Student Memberships @ $3 - 129.00			
(*) 11 Regular Memberships @ $3 - 33.00			
261 Regular Memberships @ $4 - 1,044.00			
Total Dues Collected	1,266.00		
TOTAL 1948-49 Income		1,233.50	1,233.50
TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR USE IN 1948-49			1,517.27

B. DISBURSEMENTS:

I. 1947-48 Expenses Paid After 3/20/48:			
1. President's Office	7.98		
2. Secretary's Office	24.81		
3. Printing Programs	52.44		
4. Research Committee	18.64		
Total (See Item A, II above)	103.87		
II. 1948-49 Expenses to 3/10/49:			
1. Social Forces (319 subscriptions @ 2.50)	797.50		
2. Treasurer's Bond	5.00		
3. Stationery	55.62		
4. President's Office	11.00		
5. Secretary's Office	35.10		
6. Membership Committee	8.40		
7. Exchange charged by bank	24.10		
8. Printing cards	27.50		
Total 1948-49 Expenses, 3/20/48-3/10/49	964.22	964.22	
III. Special Expense:			
1. Purchase of Typewriter	35.00		
TOTAL EXPENDITURES 1948-49	999.22		999.22

C. SUMMARY BALANCES:

1. Excess of 1948-49 Income Over Expenses to 3/10/49..... (Equivalent amount for 1947-48 was $248.65)	$269.28	
2. Balance of Total Income and Expenditures..... (Equivalent amount for 1947-48 was $387.64)		$518.05
3. Add, 1949-50 Dues Prepaid		19.00
4. CASH IN BANK, 3/10/49..... (Equivalent amount 1947-48 was $402.64)		$537.05
5. Add, Value of U.S. Bonds Owned 3/10/49		300.00
6. TOTAL FUNDS OF SOCIETY, 3/10/49..... (Equivalent amount for 1947-48 was $702.64)		$837.05

(*) These persons paid dues prior to 1948 Meeting when dues were raised.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

1948

Members of the Committee

Allen D. Edwards
Clarence E. Glick
C. Horace Hamilton
Homer L. Hitt
Irwin T. Sanders
Preston Valien
Guy B. Johnson, Chairman

Presented to the Southern Sociological Society

April 1949

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY:

There were many things which your Committee on Research would like to have done. As usual, however, it is composed of busy people who live in widely scattered places and who could not even get together for a meeting because this would mean travelling long distances at their own expense. As usual, we have conducted our Committee discussions by mail--a slow and cumbersome interaction process. Under such circumstances, the Committee can do little more than scratch the surface of the research situation and report a few findings and observations to the members of the Society.

Early in January the Committee on Research sent a questionnaire to the 296 persons who were members of the Society as of January 31, 1948. This questionnaire asked for three things: (1) opinions on a proposed research workshop, (2) information on the proportion of time devoted to research or other functions, and (3) a listing of works published during the year 1948. The results of this survey, together with a few general comments, constitute the report of your Committee.

Up to the time this report was written, we had received returns from 183, or 61.8%, of the members of the Society. This number is so much larger than usual that it calls for some explanation. No doubt the questions relating to the possibility of holding a research workshop in connection with the annual meeting attracted replies from some members who might not have taken the trouble to reply otherwise. But a more important factor, in all probability, was the enclosure of a stamped and addressed return envelope with the communication which went to the members. There was no post-card follow-up for members who had not replied after thirty days. Apparently the "conscience value" of the return stamped envelope was rather strong. A member of your Committee, who wished to try this experiment, is absorbing the additional cost. However, since the difference in the cost of return stamped envelopes and the post-card follow-up is only about $5.00, we suggest that the Society might wish to authorize the Committee on Research in the future to consider this a legitimate expense item.

I. The Proposed Research Workshop

The Research Committee for last year, under the chairmanship of C. Horace Hamilton, collected some interesting statements from members on the question, "What do you consider the major weaknesses of sociological research in the South to be?" Those who attended the 1948 annual meeting will recall that there was some discussion of ways and means of improving the sociological research stiuation in the South. Certain perennial problems were recognized, such as: too much teaching lead, lack of thorough grounding in social theory, lack of familiarity with new research techniques, need for more cooperation between research people, need for more financial support for research. Various suggestions were made, among them the suggestion that the Society might sponsor a Research Workshop which would bring together those who were interested in trying to do something about these problems.

When President Hayes appointed the present Research Committee, he reminded it of the Workshop suggestion. He also took up with an official of the Social Science Research Council the possibility of the Society's applying for a grant in behalf of the Workshop. Your Committee was in something of a quandary, since it was operating on a suggestion rather than on formal instructions Should we proceed to set up a Workshop and hope that there would be enough

attendance to make it successful, or should we sound out the whole membership on the idea and ascertain the probable attendance? Naturally the Chairman had to assume the responsibility for certain decisions and procedures. He began by corresponding with other members of the Research Committee. While the reactions toward the Workshop idea were, on the whole, favorable, there was considerable variation of opinion on what sort of thing the Workshop might best do, and several members of the Committee had serious reservations concerning the worthwhileness of the project. It was decided to include in the annual research questionnaire some questions relating to the proposed Workshop. Members of the Committee agreed that the Chairman would have to make a decision on the basis of the returns and that a probable attendance of at least fifty persons would be the minimum on which to base a favorable decision.

By January 22 we had received 158 replies. Of these, 122 or about 80%, favored the idea of the Workshop. Exactly 50 members replied that they thought they could attend a Workshop for two days preceding the annual meeting. This looked rather good, but there was room for considerable doubt as to whether more than 25 or 30 of these could actually get time off from their work and attend at their own expense. The most discouraging aspect of the returns, however, was that among the 20 who said that they could help conduct a Workshop at their own expense, there were only four or five of our outstanding research people. It seemed to the Chairman that we would need a better representation of experienced research scholars if we were to conduct a successful workshop. While pondering over these matters, the Chairman received a letter from the Social Science Research Council saying that it would not be possible for the Council to consider a grant during its present fiscal year. The Chairman then wrote the members of the Research Committee and President Hayes that in his opinion it was not wise to proceed with the Workshop during the present year.

Since members of the Society may be interested in the final returns (183) on the questions relating to the Workshop, we present them here.

	YES	NO	DOUBTFUL, NO ANSWER, ETC.
IN FAVOR OF WORKSHOP IDEA	142	12	29
WOULD ATTEND WORKSHOP	57	72	54
WOULD HELP CONDUCT WORKSHOP AT OWN EXPENSE	22	114	47
WOULD HELP PROVIDED A GRANT IS OBTAINED	43	94	46

While it seemed wise not to try to undertake the Workshop this year, your Committee is aware that the above tabulation indicates a very strong interest in the idea of a Workshop. Therefore your Committee makes the following recommendations:

1. That the members present at the annual meeting vote on the question of whether they wish to have the Society undertake a Research Workshop during the coming year.

2. That, if this is the wish of the members, they vote on certain specific instructions as to time, place, length, and functions of the Workshop.

The next Research Committee, or a special committee on Workshop, operating under definite instructions, could proceed at once to try to obtain a grant, and it would have plenty of time to set up a really attractive program for a Research Workshop. Please think over these matters and come to the annual meeting prepared to discuss them.

II. Research And Other Activities Of Members

Members were asked to indicate on the research questionnaire the approximate proportions of their time devoted to research, teaching, administration, and other activities. The results of this survey supplement the information reported by the 1947 Committee on Research, and they should be of some interest to members of the Society.

Number of questionnaires sent out 296
Number of persons replying 183
Number not answering research questions 13
Number of replies used in tabulations 170

Number reporting some time spent in research 119
Number reporting no time spent in research 51

Note: In some of the tables which follow, the following abbreviations will be used:

R for Research	A for Administration
T for Teaching	O for Other Activities

TABLE 1

AMOUNT OF TIME DEVOTED TO RESEARCH

% of Time	Number of Persons	Percent
None	51	30.0
1 to 9%	15	8.8
10 to 24%	42	24.7
25 to 49%	31	18.2
50 to 74%	22	13.0
75 to 99%	4	2.3
100%	5	3.0
	170	100.0

TABLE 2

ACTIVITIES OF THOSE REPORTING NO TIME SPENT IN RESEARCH

Activities	No. Persons
T only	14
A only	3
O only	3
T and A	13
T and O	12
T, A and O	6
	51

TABLE 3
ACTIVITIES OF THOSE REPORTING SOME TIME SPENT IN RESEARCH

Activities	No. Persons	Activities	No. Persons
R only	5	R, T and A	20
R and T	32	R, T and O	26
R and A	5	R, A and O	1
R and O	8	R, T, A and O	22
		Total -- 119	

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH WORKERS WHO HAVE OTHER FUNCTIONS, BY PROPORTION OF TIME DEVOTED TO RESEARCH

A. Research Combined With One Other Function

Time Devoted To Research	R and T	R and A	R and O	Total
Over 50%	4	0	2	6
Fifty-fifty	5	0	3	8
Less than 50%	23	5	3	31
	32	5	8	45

B. Research Combined With Two Other Functions

Time Devoted To Research	R, T and A	R, T and O	R, A and O	Total
Over one-third	4	7	1	12
One-third	2	2	0	4
Under one-third	14	17	0	31
	20	26	1	47

C. Research Combined With Three Other Functions

Time Devoted To Research	R, T, A and O
Over 75%	0
50 to 75%	4
25 to 49%	3
Under 25%	15
	22

III. Comments

The foregoing tabulations merely confirm what most of us already knew. For one thing, full-time research workers among our ranks are very rare creatures. Only 5 of the 119 persons who reported some research activity are devoting their full time to research, and all of these are working in federally supported programs in state colleges of agriculture. Also we see, by referring to Table 1, that 108, or 63.5%, of our 170 respondents are devoting either no time or less than 25% of their time to research. Furthermore, as might be expected, teaching is the main job of our members. Of the 170 reporting, 145

are doing teaching or teaching combined with other functions. Again, research comes off rather poorly when combined with other functions. Of 45 persons who combine research with one other function, 31 are devoting less than half time to research; and of 47 who combine research with two other functions, 31 are devoting less than one-third time to research. Finally, we might point out that our tabulations actually overstate the amount of regular working time given to research, because many of our members have to "make" their own time if they are to get any research done. Quite a few who indicated that they devote five or ten per cent of their time to research appended such notes as, "On my own time," or "This includes Saturdays and holidays."

The main problems in our research situation, as viewed by your Committee, are as follows:

1. The need for more money and time for research work. This is largely a problem of finance and administration in the individual institutions with which our members are associated. The average institution simply does not have the money to afford the "luxury" of reducing teaching leads so that staff members can devote more time to research.

2. The need for a better quality of research work. Due to lack of time, lack of money, poor training, failure to keep in touch with improvements in theory and methodology, and other factors, there is undoubtedly a good deal of sub-standard "research" being done. The problem is largely one of individual training and initiative. In so far as the Society might undertake to do something about this situation, the best approach would seem to be to institute a continuing series of research conferences or workshops which might retrain and stimulate a sizeable number of research people. This, of course, would involve the problem of obtaining a grant from some foundation which is interested in our problems.

3. The need for more cooperation and coordination in research work. We believe that even under present conditions there is much that could be done by individuals and institutions to achieve better cooperation and coordination in research projects. There could be, and should be, more cooperation between the larger and more favored institutions and the smaller colleges, between white and Negro institutions, and between educational institutions and government agencies.

The following comments made by members of the Research Committee in the course of their "meetings by mail" are quite relevant to this discussion of these problems:

> ... The plan, as I understood it, was for the Research Committee to develop further plans for a coordinated research program for the South. I, for one, am still not very hopeful that an all-around acceptable program can be worked out or that a very high level of region-wide research may be obtained in this manner. We do not have an Oak Ridge Center in sociology, with numerous related probelms that can be "farmed out" to institutions with lucrative grants to go along with them, and the results then reintegrated at the Center....Frankly, I do not believe the possibility of establishing a Center is very realistic at this time...

A committee is not a research center; it is so difficult for a committee of persons scattered over a large geographic region to do an effective job of directing research and of administering the funds so as to obtain the greatest possible results....

One alternative is .... to find out through questionnaires sent to the membership how many persons now working on research projects, or contemplating undertaking projects, think their research could profit through having sociologists in other parts of the region contribute to it by making similar, sample, or control studies in the localities in which these other sociologists reside. This would call not only for an opinion, but also for a presentation of enough material about the projects to spell out in rather concrete terms just what would be involved in the collaboration .... (Note: This excellent suggestion came too late to be included in the questionnaire this year. Perhaps the next Research Committee would like to follow up on it.)

.....

..... I think our Research Committee might be rendering a real service if we found some way of stimulating and to some extent guiding research by those sociologists who are struggling all alone at some small college and who feel somewhat "out of the swim of things." For two years I was at _____ College and would have welcomed the chance to work with several other sociologists in other institutions on some common project on which we had agreed upon procedure and scope of study. The Research Committee might serve as a channel for crystallizing some such cooperative activities.

.....

It is my belief that one possible action the Committee might take is to select some willing and capable sociologist, either in or out of the region, to critically appraise the research turned out during the previous year in the region. This could be undertaken by the Chairman* of the Committee or by the Committee as a whole, but, as suggested above, it could be done by a competent person not of the Committee. (Note:* The Chairman did not take readily to this part of the suggestion!)

.....

I wonder if the Committee could take the function of improving and stimulating sociological research seriously enough to attempt to set up a set of standards which might be useful in facilitating research by college faculty members. I have in mind such things as a suggested maximum teaching load, suggested possible facilities for doing research, and the encouragement of faculty members to attend scientific meetings. Of course, the corollary to this would be the determination of the extent to which various colleges approximate these standards,.... If this were done it would then be possible to draw up a statement for submission to college administrators as to ideal standards and actual practice.... I believe that this could be done in such a way as not to compromise members of the Society, nor embarrass or antagonize college administrators.

The above comments represent the thinking of several of the members of the Research Committee. So far the Committee has not devised any ways of implementing good suggestions except by bringing them to the attention of members of the Society. Unfortunately, because of the impossibility of holding a meeting at the crucial time and because of a lack of continuity in the work of the Committee, the Committee does not begin to cut its wisdom teeth until about the end of its period of service. More than one member has commented on the lack of continuity, and one has suggested that the Committee could serve more efficiently if the personnel were kept intact over a period of several years.

We present in Section IV a listing of publications by members of the Southern Sociological Society during 1948. The list is not complete, of course, since it is based on the returns from the Research Committee Questionnaire. Of the 183 members who replied, 50 reported one or more publications. In many cases the bibliographical information given was not complete as to periodical volume numbers, dates, pages, etc. Book reviews, with the exception of two or three which seemed to make some contribution to method or theory, have been excluded.

Your Committee has considerable doubt as to whether this sort of list has enough value to members of the Society to justify its continuation. It takes time for members to report their publications accurately, and, at the best, from one-third to one-half of our members will fail to respond. It takes time and expense to compile the report and mimeograph it. Then, too, a good deal of the bibliographical information is readily available in the periodical indexes and book lists found in any good library. Therefore we raise the question, How useful have you found the sort of listing of publications which was first tried last year and which we have repeated this year? It may be that the Research Committee would do well to discontinue sending out questionnaires or publishing lists and devote all of its limited time and resources to the preparation of better Research Section programs at the annual meetings. Please think about these questions and be prepared to express your opinions at the annual meeting.

Due to the pressure of other duties and to a miscalculation of the date on which this report would have to be delivered to the Secretary of the Society for mailing, the Chairman of the Research Committee has had to proceed with mimeographing before receiving the formal approval of all members of the Committee. The report is therefore, at the moment, "unofficial".

IV. Publications By Members During 1948.

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2. _____. A Supplemental Report on Public School Facilities for Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta, 1948.

3. Baker, Catharine M. Human Relations in the School. University of Kentucky, Lexington.

4. Beard, Belle Boone. "The Aged -- Ten Million Displaced Persons." Proceedings, New York State Conference of Social Work, Albany, May 1948.

5. _____. "When I am 70." Home Quarterly, Methodist Publishing Co., Nashville, December 1948.

6. _____. "Geriatric Social Work, a Preventive Field." Virginia Public Welfare, December 1948.

7. Bonser, Howard J. Opportunities for Getting Started in Farming in Tennessee. Research Monograph No. 235, Dept. of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee.

8. Borinski, Ernst. "The Social Science Laboratory at Tougaloo College." Journal of Educational Sociology, December 1948, pp. 276-86.

9. _____. "Erwachsnenbildung in Amerika." In Dekendes Volk, 2, Jahrgang Heft 3, March 1948, Braunschweig, Germany.

10. Brearley, H. C. "Are Southerners Really Lazy?" American Scholar, December 1948.

11. Brooks, Lee M. "Hawaii's Puerto Ricans." Social Process in Hawaii, August 1948, pp. 46-57.

12. Cox, Oliver C. Caste, Class and Race. New York: Doubleday & Co.

13. Dickins, Dorothy. "Consumption Patterns of Cotton-Farm Families and an Agricultural Program for the South." Rural Sociology, March 1948.

14. _____. "The Farm Home Improves Its Equipment." Journal of Home Economics, December 1948.

15. Douglas, George A."Social Values: a 'Must' Concern of the Social Scientists." Journal of the Alabama Academy of Science, December 1947.

16. "Ferriss, Abbott L. "Rural-Farm Level of Living Indexes for Two Southeastern States." Social Forces, May 1948, pp. 420-30.

17. Foreman, Paul B. (With others). Criminology: A College Library Resources Checklist. Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

18. _____. "The Theory of Case Studies." Social Forces, May 1948, pp.408-19

19. _____. "Negro Lifeways in the Rural South." American Sociological Review, August 1948, pp. 409-418.

20. Freeman, Felton D. "The Army as a Social Structure." Social Forces, October 1948.

21. _____. "Immigration to Arkansas." Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Fall 1948.

22. Garland, Jewell. A Study of Extension Work in Winston County, Mississippi Agricultural Extension Service, Mississippi State College.

23. Hagood, Margaret Jarman. "The South's Greatest Export -- People." Southern Agriculturalist, February 1948. (Reprinted in condensed form in Farm Policy Forum, October 1948.)

24. _____. "Farm Population Estimates, January 1948." Bureau of Agricultural Economics, June 1948.

25. _____. (With Louis J. Ducoff). "The Hired Farm Working Force of 1947." Bureau of Agricultural Economics, July 1948.

26. _____. (With Carl C. Taylor and Louis J. Ducoff). "Trends in the Tenure Status of Farm Workers in the United States Since 1880." Bureau of Agricultural Economics, July 1948.

27. _____. "Changing Fertility Differentials Among Farm-Operator Families in Relation to Economic Size of Farm." Rural Sociology, December 1948.

28. Hamilton, C. Horace. "Better Medical Care." Progressive Farmer, October 1948.

29. _____. "Farm Living Level Improves." Research and Farming (N.C. State College), July 1948.

30. _____. "Farm Tenancy: East Up, West Down." University of North Carolina News Letter, May 5, 1948.

31. _____. "Rural Medical Care." Better Health, Raleigh, N. C., June-July 1948.

32. Harlan, Howard. (With Jack Wherry). "Delinquency and Housing." Social Forces, October 1948.

33. Hart, Hornell. "Atomic Cultural Lag: I. The Value Frame." Sociology and Social Research, March-April 1948, pp. 768-75.

34. _____. "Atomic Cultural Lag: II. Its Measurement." Sociology and Social Research, May-June 1948, pp. 845-55.

35. _____. "The Logistic Growth of Political Areas." Social Forces, May 1948, pp. 396-408.

36. _____. "Technological Acceleration and Cultural Lag Are Crucial." American Sociological Review, August 1948, pp. 487-89.

37. Hawk, David B. "Panel Discussions in Teaching." Georgia Education Journal, October 1948.

38. Hayes, Wayland J. "The Place of Sociology in Professional Education." Social Forces, March 1948, pp. 292-98.

39. _____. "The Small Community in New Perspective." Community Service News, _____ 1948.

40. _____. "Educational Sociology," Article In Collier's Encyclopedia, 1948 edition.

41. _____. "The Family and Education." Article in Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan Company.

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43. _____. "The Sociological System of Ferdinand Toennies." In Barnes (ed.) An Introduction to the History of Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.

44. _____. "The Sociology of George Simmel." In volume cited in No. 43.

45. _____. "Social Consequences of the Industrialization of Southern Cities. Social Forces, October 1948.

46. Himes, Joseph S., Jr. "Guidance: A Critical Problem in Negro Secondary Education." School Review, April 1948.

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48. _____. "A Sociological Redefinition of the American Negro Group." Phylon, June 1948.

49. _____. (With A.E. Manley). "Guidance Practices and Problems in Secondary Schools for Negroes in the Southeastern Region." In Significant Issues in Education Today, Proceedings of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, November 1948.

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53. _____. Editor of Social Studies in Action, Bulletin of the North Carolina Council for the Social Studies.

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Local Police L.O. 3/28/49
Anti-Klan Ordinance

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE MAYOR AND GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF ATLANTA, AND IT IS HEREBY ORDAINED BY AUTHORITY OF THE SAME:

Section 1. Purpose and Policy of the Law:

Church, civic groups and other public bodies have expressed in an increasing volume of resolutions the public concern about the operation of masked and hooded organizations in the Atlanta Community. The Mayor and General Council have ordained to prohibit certain activities of masked and hooded men which it has found to constitute a grave threat to the peace, good order and safety of the community. The enforcement of this law will require the most diligent and conscientious service of the law enforcement authorities of the city.

Further, the Mayor and General Council cannot permit law enforcement officers to be members of any organization whose very purpose and activities constitute a threat to citizens whom these law enforcement authorities are engaged to protect and to secure against harm and danger.

The Fulton County Grand Jurors Association has recently resolved unanimously urging that law enforcement officers be prohibited from joining or being members of masked or hooded organizations. It is to accomplish this purpose that this ordinance is enacted.

Section 2. Definitions:

For the purpose of this ordinance:

(a) Law enforcement officer includes all policemen, detectives, traffic regulation control men, and all other persons employed or engaged by the City of Atlanta for the purpose of policing the city and maintaining and enforcing therein law and order.

(b) All masculine terms include the feminine term thereof.

(c) "Masked organizations" include all associations, groups and societies, whether incorporated or not, members of which in connection with ceremonials or activities of the organization wear in public masks or other devices or hoods whereby any portion of the face is so hidden or covered as to conceal

the identity of the wearer.

(d) The term "Mask" includes any mask, device or hood whereby any portion of the face is so hidden or covered as to conceal the identity of the wearer.

(e) The term "member" includes any person who applies for or holds membership in, pays dues or contributes personally to, participates in demonstrations, meetings or other assemblages of, or in any wise affiliates himself in an active capacity or who hereafter accepts or holds affiliation in any honorary capacity with a masked organization.

Section 3.

As a condition of employment as a law enforcement officer of the City of Atlanta, all applicants shall be required to sign an oath, swearing that such applicant is not then a member of any masked organization and does not thereafter intend to become a member of such an organization.

Section 4.

Sixty days after the date this ordinance becomes effective, any law enforcement officer who is or thereafter becomes a member of a masked organization shall be ineligible for continued employment as such by the City of Atlanta and shall be immediately discharged from said employment by the City of Atlanta.

Section 5.

Sixty days after the date this ordinance becomes effective, each law enforcement officer employed by the City of Atlanta shall as a condition of continued employment as a law enforcement officer be required to sign under oath a statement that he is not then a member of a masked organization. Furthermore, every officer newly employed on or after said date shall at the time of entering said employment be required to sign under oath a statement that he is not then a member of a masked organization.

Section 6.

Each law enforcement officer under the employ of the City of Atlanta shall, as a condition of continued employment as a law enforcement officer, sign annually under oath a statement that he is not then and has not since his last oath been

or become a member of any masked organization.

Section 7.

The following are exempted from the provisions of this ordinance:

(a) Organizations whose members wear masks in connection with a trade or occupation wherein a covering for the face is customarily worn for physical safety and protection against the occupational hazard, or because of the nature of the occupation or trade.

(b) Persons engaged in producing a play, dramatization, opera or other theatrical production.

Section 8.

If any section or provision of this ordinance, or the applicability thereof to any person or persons, or circumstance, is held invalid or unconstitutional, the remainder of this ordinance and the applicability thereof and of such provisions to other persons, or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

Section 9.

All prior ordinances of the Mayor and General Council of the City of Atlanta inconsistent in whole or in part with this ordinance are hereby repealed.

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE MAYOR AND GENERAL COUNCIL, AND IT IS HEREBY ORDAINED BY THE SAME:

Section 1.

Purpose and policy of the law.

Church, civic and other public bodies within the Atlanta Community have been increasingly alarmed and have expressed their alarm in a growing volume of protests against the activities within the area of masked and hooded men and organizations. Recently, the Fulton County Grand Jurors Association has added its protest to the others who have voiced the gravest concern at the challenge presented by masked and hooded organizations to the law and safety of the community.

The Mayor and General Council expressly declare that public appearances, especially in automobiles, of men who are masked and hooded and unidentifiable, threaten the supremacy of law and cannot be permitted in Atlanta. The city herein exercises its police power to protect its citizens from intimidation, the public from crime by masked and hooded persons, and to give to its police the fullest opportunity to detect, apprehend, and bring to justice violators of the law.

Section 2.

Definitions.

For the purposes of this Ordinance:

a. The term "mask" includes any mask, device or hood whereby any portion of the face is so hidden or covered as to conceal the identity of the wearer.

b. The term "public place" includes all walks, alleys, streets, boulevards, avenues, lanes, roads, highways or other ways or thoroughfares dedicated to public use or owned or maintained by public authority; all grounds and buildings owned, leased by, operated or maintained by public authority; all buildings owned, leased or operated for the use of organizations enjoying any tax exempt privilege as a charitable use.

Section 3.

No person or persons, while masked, shall be or appear on or in any public place in the City of Atlanta.

Section 4.

The following are exempted from the provisions of the act.

a. All children under the age of seventeen.

b. All workers while engaged in work wherein a covering is worn for physical safety and protection against occupational hazards, or because of the nature of the occupation or trade.

c. Persons while wearing traditional Holiday costumes.

d. Persons while engaged in theatrical productions or masquerade balls.

e. Persons wearing gas masks in civil defense drills and exercises or emergencies.

Section 5.

Any person or persons violating Section 3 of this ordinance shall be deemed guilty of an offense and upon conviction in the Recorder's Court shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $200.00, or sentenced to work on the public works of the City for not exceeding 30 days, either or both penalties to be inflicted in the discretion of the Recorder.

Section 6.

If any provisions of this ordinance, or the applicability thereof to any person or persons, or circumstances, is held invalid or unconstitutional, the remainder of this ordinance and the applicability thereof and of such provision to other person or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

Section 7.

All prior ordinances of the Mayor and General Council of the City of Atlanta inconsistent in whole or in part with this ordinance are hereby repealed.

Greensboro Daily News 4-8-52

Antimask Ordinance Is Approved In Whiteville

WHITEVILLE, April 7.—An antimask ordinance, making it illegal to wear masks in public places of the City of Whiteville, has been approved by the city council, it was announced by City Manager C. D. Pickerrell.

The ordinance excepts children under 17 years of age, those engaged in occupational duties, those in theatrical productions, and persons wearing gas masks prescribed in civil defense drills.

The ordinance follows:

Against Public Interest

Section 1. Finding of Facts—The town council of the Town of Whiteville hereby finds as facts that public appearances, whether in motor vehicles or otherwise, of persons who are masked or hooded are against the public interest and cannot be permitted in the Town of Whiteville, that such appearances interfere with the enforcement of law and order and interfere with the protection of the citizens of the Town of Whiteville from intimidation and interfere with the protection of the public from crime by masked or hooded persons and interfere with detecting, apprehending, and bringing to justice violators of the law.

Section 2. Definitions—For the purposes of this ordinance:

(a) The term "mask" includes any mask, device or hood whereby any portion of the face is so hidden or covered as to conceal the identity of the wearer.

(b) The term "public place" includes all walks, alleys, streets, avenues, lanes, roads, highways or other ways or thoroughfares dedicated to public use or owned or maintained by public authority, all grounds and buildings, owned, leased, or operated by public authority, and all buildings owned, leased, or operated for the use of organizations enjoying any tax exempt privilege as a charitable use.

Secton 3. The following are exempted from the provisions of this ordinance:

(a) All children under the age of 17.

(b) All workers while engaged in a work wherein a covering is worn for physical safety and protection against hazards or because of the nature of the occupation, trade, or profession.

(c) Persons while engaged in theatrical productions or masquerade balls.

(d) Persons wearing gas masks prescribed in civil defense drills and emergencies.

The ordinance was made effective as of Tuesday, April 1. Under its terms, parades in robes would be permissible, but all such persons would be required to remain unmasked.

SOUTHARD
G. E. APPLIA
SYLV
STOKESDA

A BILL

To be entitled an Act to prohibit the wearing of a mask or any device whereby any portion of the face is so hidden or covered as to conceal the identity of the wearer while upon the public ways in this state or while upon property of any municipality or county in this state or while upon the property of the state; prohibiting the demanding of entrance or the entrance upon the premises of another while wearing the same; prohibiting the holding of a meeting or demonstration or the placing of an exhibit on the property of another while wearing the same unless by written permit of the owner or occupier of the property providing for certain exemptions from the Act; providing for the punishment of violations of this Act as crimes; and for other purposes.

SECTION I: BE IT ENACTED by the General Assembly of Georgia, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same that no person or persons over sixteen years of age, shall while wearing any mask or device whereby any portion of the face is so hidden or covered as to conceal the identity of the wearer, enter upon, or be or appear upon any lane, walk, alley, street, road, highway or other public way in this state.

SECTION II: No person or persons shall in this state while wearing any mask or device whereby any portion of the face is so hidden or covered as to conceal the identity of the wearer enter upon, or be or appear upon the public property of a municipality, a county or of the state.

SECTION III: The following are exempted from the provisions of Sections one and two of this Act: No person or persons over sixteen years of age shall, while wearing a mask or device whereby any portion of the face is so hidden or covered as to conceal the identity of the wearer, demand entrance or admission or enter or come upon into the premises, enclosure or house of any other person in this state.

SECTION IV: No person or persons over sixteen years of age shall, while wearing a mask or device whereby any portion of the face is so hidden or covered as to conceal the identity of the wearer, hold any manner of meeting, make any demonstration or place any exhibit upon the private property of another unless such person or persons shall have first obtained from the occupier or owner of the property his or her written permission to so do.

SECTION V: The following are exempted from the provisions of this Act:
(a) Any person or persons wearing traditional Christmas costumes.

SECTION VI: Any person or persons violating Sections one, two, three, or four of this Act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction, shall be punished as now provided in Code Section 27 - 2506 of the Civil Code of Georgia.

SECTION VII: Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that should any provision of this Act, or the applicability thereof to any person or circumstance, be held illegal or unconstitutional, the remainder of this Act and the applicability thereof and of such provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SECTION VIII: All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this Act shall be and are hereby repealed.

SECTION IX: This Act shall be known and may be cited at the "Public Order Act of 1949."

STATE vs FEDERAL AUTHORITY IN VIRGINIA

A Background Memo

August 22, 1958

Prepared by the Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

INTRODUCTION

Four Virginia school districts are under court order to desegregate in September. In Arlington County, Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Newport News, there will occur the first decisive tests of the efficacy of Virginia's policy of "Massive Resistance".

Immediately following the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, the then Governor, Thomas Stanley, said that Virginia would work toward a plan acceptable to Virginians and in keeping with the edict of the Court. Shortly thereafter he was reversed by Senator Harry F. Byrd who, in June 1958, declared for partial resistance which later became "massive resistance". The Governor quickly joined the Senator in this posture.

However, it should be noted that the question was not closed to debate among the people and the leaders of Virginia. A fair sized, respectable minority called for compliance. Virginia has been described as an upper-South state with a deep South posture; a position difficult to maintain.

A MODERATE PROPOSAL: THE GRAY COMMISSION

Virginia directed its efforts first along lines proposed by the so-called Gray Commission, created in August 1954. This body, which reported back to the legislature in November 1955, outlined a program which at least on its face might have satisfied the criterion of "deliberate speed". By early 1956, however, it became apparent that the Commission's report was to be in fact rejected in favor of less moderate measures. The Commission was recalled by the Governor in May 1956, and told, "Most any act that's passed is subject to a test to see whether it's valid--you can imply from that that I would not be averse to trying some." The Gray plan had been predicated on local option; its acceptance would have allowed the differences within the state to be reflected. In its place, Virginia turned toward a monolithic posture of state resistance.

Here, in summary, is the legislative record of resistance to desegregation:

1. The first step was to amend the state constitution to permit tuition payments by the state to private schools. A resolution to this effect was passed by a special session of the General Assembly in late 1955, approved by a popular referendum in January 1956, and formally adopted by a Constitutional Convention in March of that year.

2. A second step, of more emotional than practical force, was the passage in February 1956, of an interposition resolution, "against encroachment upon the reserved powers of this state".

3. Of more real importance was the state action taken in the same month against the only local school board which had announced in favor of desegregation. The Arlington County school board was henceforth not to be elected, but appointed by the County Board of Supervisors.

4. The real spate of legislation came, however, in November 1956. Measures were directed toward two ends: the protection of segregated schools; the crippling of the NAACP.

5. The primary means to the first objective was the Placement Act. This transferred the function of pupil assignment from the localities to a state board. One of the criteria to be observed was that of maintaining "efficient schools," defined in a separate act as being segregated schools. This feature principally led Judge Hoffman, U. S. District Court, to hold the law "unconstitutional on its face;" his decision was upheld in the Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court in October 1957, refused to review. Accordingly, in March 1958, the legislature amended the Act, eliminating the "efficient school" requirement, and generally modelling the Act on the North Carolina statute which has so far withstood court attack. Whether the new Placement Act will furnish a legal basis for further postponement is an as yet unanswered question. It should be noted too that the act defining "efficient schools" still stands,

and authorizes the Governor to declare a state of emergency wherever "inefficient" schools exist.

6. Other laws require the closing of a school to which a child of the race other than that served by the school has been assigned; place closed schools under the immediate, personal control of the Governor; and authorize the Governor to make tuition grants to children attending segregated, nonsectarian schools. The Governor has the power to return control of the schools to the local community. If the community re-opens them on a desegregated basis state funds are cut off. In Arlington, at least, there is the possibility of this happening for out of a ten million dollar school budget only one and one-half million come from the state.

7. No child can be forced to attend an integrated school; school boards are not required to furnish bus transportation, but may provide it for children on tuition grants as well as for those attending public schools; and teachers may continue in the state pension system even if instructing in the "private" schools.

8. In March 1958, two other acts, known as the "Little Rock Act" and the "Little Rock, Jr. Act" were passed. The first directs the closing of a school if desegregation is being enforced by federal troops or other personnel (persumably, federal marshalls.) The second permits the Governor to extend the closing to all schools in the same district; the purpose being, of course, to close Negro as well as desegregated "white" schools.

9. The anti-NAACP legislation is almost too complicated to summarize. Its candid purpose has been harassment and enfeeblement of the NAACP. Its result has been to force the NAACP to defend itself in order to be allowed to combat segregation. Federal courts have to date invalidated two of the measures; perhaps the most burdensome of them all. Two special committees of the legislature have also been actively "investigating" the NAACP. These were the Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities, popularly known as the "Boatwright

Committee;" and the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, better known as the "Thompson Committee". These committees are being replaced by a single joint-committee.

AFFECTED COMMUNITIES

In the four communities facing court ordered desegregation this Fall, School-opening dates are:

September 2, Charlottesville
September 4, Arlington County and Newport News
September 8, Norfolk (originally scheduled for Sept. 4)

ARLINGTON COUNTY

Arlington has been described as one of "Washington's bedrooms;" certainly it is true that many of its residents work in the Nation's Capital and have racial attitudes different from those of most other Virginians.

Its Negro population constitutes a smaller proportion of the total than in the three other communities under court order. In Arlington, there are only 7,200 Negroes out of an estimated population of 158,410.

Thirty-one Negro pupils, including five of the original seven litigants, have applied for admission to the previously white schools.

Although there is divided opinion in Arlington, there are strong forces working for the maintenance of the public schools--even if desegregated. The Committee to Preserve the Public Schools, headed by Warren Cox, enjoys the support of the County Board of Supervisors, the Council of PTAs, the Arlington Council of Churches, the League of Women Voters, the Council of Church Women, and the Northern Virginia Sun.

Opposition to desegregation is led by the local chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty, headed by Jack Rathbone. Mr. Rathbone also heads the 10th District Fundamental Education Organization, whose purpose is the creation of a "private" school system. Local respect for this organization was not enhanced when they opened a model "Grammer" school. The police force is reported to be prepared to handle any situation which might arise.

CHARLOTTESVILLE

The memory of Thomas Jefferson stalks the hills of this old Virginia town which is the site of his home, Monticello and "his" University. The University has had a limited number of Negroes in the graduate and professional schools since 1950.

Negroes make up only 18% of the population; though Negro pupils comprise 22.5% of the children in the public schools. As of August first, thirty-four Negro pupils had applied for admission to four "white" schools. The school board, under the leadership of its attorney John Battle, Jr., has waged a lively battle to preserve segregation. However, three of the five city commissioners are reported to have said that the people prefer some desegregation to closed schools.

There are a group of influential "moderates", in Charlottesville, who have yet to be heard from publicly. Their influence is considerable, however. They will be a restraining influence on those who might be given to excessive acts of defiance. The retiring President of the University of Virginia, Colgate Darden has broken with the Byrd machine on the question of massive resistance. There are, however, vocal groups in the community.

In the community, both sides are well organized. The pro-integration forces are led by the Charlottesville-Albemarle Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, headed by Mrs. B. A. Makielski; and the NAACP. The anti-integration forces are led by a local chapter of the Defenders, headed by Professor E. J. Oglesby; there is, or was a chapter of the Seaboard White Citizens' Council founded by John Kasper. State Senator Edward McCue is another ardent segregationist.

City officials do not expect violence unless it comes from "outside." The 48 man police force has had a majority of its men trained at the State Police Training School in Richmond.

NORFOLK

This port city is dominated by Federal installations, mostly Navy and ship-building. It is the most cosmopolitan city of comparable size in Virginia. One-fourth of the citizens of Norfolk are Negroes but it is estimated that there are 15,000 Negro pupils out of a total school population of slightly more than 42,000.

Norfolk is unique among southern cities facing desegregation; usually the number of Negroes applying for admission to "white" schools is relatively small; in Nrofolk 151 Negro pupils have applied.

The school board has announced that it does not intend to place itself in contempt of Federal court; it has also said that the question is out of its hands, that the Federal and State Governments must resolve the conflict of authority. Its placement committee has turned down the applications of the 151 Negro pupils, admittedly on the basis of race in some cases.

Norfolk has a Committee to Preserve the Public Schools, which is headed by Professor Robert Stern of William and Mary's Norfolk Division faculty. Opposition to desegregation is led by a local chapter of the Defenders and the Tidewater Educational Foundation, headed by W. I. McKendree who is also president of the Council of PTA's.

The Norfolk police department is well-led, well-trained, and experienced. The ever-present Navy shore-patrol is an added reminder to would-be trouble makers of law enforcement power.

NEWPORT NEWS

Newport News merged with Warwick in July of the present year, thereby reducing the percentage of Negroes in its total population. Negroes made up roughly one-half of the population of the old city of Newport News; population figures, on a racial basis, are not yet available on the merged cities.

Court action in Newport News has parallelled that in Norfolk. It is generally agreed that city officials intend to use the merger with Warwick as

a new delaying weapon in the legal fight.

Eight Negro children seek admission to the "white" schools. The NAACP, the Peninsula Council on Human Relations and the Peninsula White Citizens' Council are the private organizations on either side of the question.

CONCLUSION

At his press conference on Wednesday, August 20, the President of the United States said:

> Each state owes to its inhabitants, to its sister states, and to the union the obligation to surpress unlawful forces. ...Defiance of this duty would present the most serious problem, but there can be no equivocation as to the responsibility of the Federal Government in such an event...the certainty that the President and the Executive Branch of the government will support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the federal courts...

At his press conference on Thursday, August 21, the Governor of the State of Virginia called upon the people of his state to stand with him and the legislature in their efforts to maintain school segregation. He said, in part, "This is a state matter...The State of Virginia and the localities of Virginia cannot...and will not operate mixed schools."

Thus, the constitutional issue is clearly joined: do states' rights extend to the interposition of the power of the state between the citizens of the United States and their national government?

List of incidents connected with Negro suffrage prepared for NATION magazine's special issue on the Southern Negro. (Sent to SRC by Carey McWilliams, Aug. 15, 1952)

Suffrage, Negro 8-15-52

1945 - October 12: Harlem, N. Y.: Guy Brewer, Democratic leader, beaten and kicked in the face for protesting early closing of a registration board. Originally, court found Brewer, not the assulting police officer, guilty. Apellate Court reversed the decision.

1946 - January 25: Birmingham, Ala.: 100 Negro veterans denied the right to register due to "lack of ability to interpret the Constitution." Alabama State Constitution and statutes make no such requirement.

June: Baxley, Ga.: 400 Negro voters challenged because they had not taken "the proper oath." They were purged after rejecting a five hour postponement. (Atlanta Constitution)

June 12: Brandon, Miss.: Eboy Fletcher, veteran of World War II, beaten and flogged with a wire cable, and threatened with death for attempting to register.

June 22: Jackson, Miss.: Theodore G. Bilbo, Radio address quote "every red-blooded American in Mississippi" to use every means at their (sic) command" to prevent the negroes from voting.

July 2: Gulfport, Miss. Richard Daniel, struck on the head by election officials, arrested and jailed, while attempting to register. Daniel is a veteran of World War II.

July 20: Swainsboro, Ga., Eugene Talmadge, candidate for Governor: "Wise negroes will stay away from the white man's ballot boxes on July 17th."

July 16: (Atl. Const) Fitzgerald, Ga. Notices tacked on negro churches "The first nigger who votes in Ga. will be a dead nigger."

July 17: (Atl. Const) Manchester, Ga. A state senator guarded the polls with a shotgun, warning negroes not to vote.

July 20: Taylor Co., Ga. Mazie Snipes, veteran of World War II who had voted in the July 17 primary, was dragged from his home and shot to death by four whites. A sign was posted on a nearby negro church, "The first negro to vote will never vote again."

July: Athens, Tenn.: Tom Gillespie was shot by a white when he attempted to vote.

(Atl. Const) June: Spaulding Co., Ga., C.R. Fossett admitting purges of 150 Negro voters because of their "Handwriting." C.E.Mc London objected to the purging of 800 negro voters. Judge C.H. Dukes dismissed him from his post of Chairman of the board of registrars, to "expedite the hearings."

(Atl. Const) Colquitt Co., Ga.

1947 - February 23: Chicago, Ill. Albert Jamney, negro candidate for alderman from the 20th ward, had his life threatened. A negro woman resident, accused of working for Jamney, was reminded that Octavius Grundy, a previous negro candidate in the '20's had been murdered, and intimated the same might occur to Jamney.

1948 - June 30: Larkin Mitchell, negro IPP candidate for congress, had a fiery cross burned at his home, and received threatening notes regarding his candidacy. Macon, Ga.

August 9: Columbia, S.C.: a fiery cross burned near a Negro church where the mechanics of voting were being discussed.

August 10: Calhoun Falls, S.C.: Rev. Archie Ware, a 66 year old Negro minister was attacked after voting in the Democrat primary.

Sept. 6: Montgomery Co., Ga.: Isaiah Hinson, veteran of World War II, shot and killed after voting in the primary election. The accused murderer was freed.

Sept. 24: Montgomery, Ala.: John J. Sparkman: "If elected, I will continue to fight, as I have fought for the last 12 years, against the imposition of Civil Rights Legislation upon the South."

October 28: Florida: The KKK announced it would ride thru 8 cities on election eve.

November 1: Tuskegee, Ala.: The KKK burned two crosses. One near the Court House, the other near the college.

November 1: Plymouth, Fla. Tavares, Fla. Leesburg, Fla. Wildwood, Fla. The KKK made one half of its promised ride, raiding and burning crosses in negro sections of the four cities opposite.

November 2: Nashville, Tenn. Leaflets sent to hundreds of Negro voters, saying "the KKK knows you." "Keep away from the polls."

Touhaloo, Miss. Dr. William Bender, minister and instructor at Touhaloo College, was kept from the polls by three whites, one brandishing a pistol.

??????????????? Joseph Parham, was kept from the polls by the sheriff who asked him-"aren't you too old to get in trouble?" and two others who asked him what kind of flowers he wanted on his grave.

Louisville, Miss. Rev. C. M. Eiland was stopped by two whites who said they had no objections to his voting but, "if you vote, we'll have to let the veterans vote too."

Greenwood, Miss: J.D. Collins and A.C. Montgomery were visited by the Mayor and other leading citizens, urging them to stop Negro veterans from voting.

November 20:	Lyons, Ga. Robert Mallard, shot and killed. He had led and campaigned for a movement defending the right of negroes to vote. He had been warned against voting.
1949 - April 10:	New Orleans, La.: Sam Spears was badly beaten and discharged from his employment for reading literature of the Young Progressive movement. The beating was conducted by the police in their car and in the police station.
October 22, radio address:	Herman Talmadge: "We will fight them in the counties and the cities; we intend to fight hand to hand with all our weapons and we will never submit to one inch of encroachment on our traditional pattern of segregation.
1950 - June 6: (The day before, 6 Negroes had been pistol-whipped while attempting to vote.)	Opelousas, La. George Guillory and Frank Guillory, 19 and 18 years respectively, were beaten while looking for draft board in the St. Landry Parish courthouse. They had mistakenly entered the registration line. Neither spoke English well.

MM

Nat - Suffrage

Is Your Name Written There?

—on the voting list?

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Is your name written there?—on the voting list?

If you want to have a say about how you are treated as a citizen, you must register and vote.

You can complain all day and weep all night, but public officials will not pay much attention to you. Local, state and federal governments listen to *voters*.

In the South as a whole, only 25 out of every 100 Negro citizens of voting age are actually registered.

On the other hand, 60 out of every 100 white citizens of voting age are registered.

In some localities and counties the picture is worse and in a few it is better, but the average of the whole South shows Negro registration far behind.

Get your name on the voting list!

If your state has a poll tax, pay it and then register.

The new Federal Civil Rights law protects your right to register and vote.

Find out the requirements in your state. Go to the registration place at the usual time and apply to register. Know when the primary and general elections are held.

If you have difficulty and you think you are being treated illegally, report the details to the NAACP in your town, or write to:

MR. J. M. BROOKS
NAACP REGISTRATION DIRECTOR
4041½ North Second Street
Richmond, Virginia

PLEASE RETURN
TO S.R.C.

LAW OFFICES
OF
ARTHUR D. SHORES
1630-4TH AVE., NORTH
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

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Suffrage Materials

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA

HUNTER DAVIS, JULIUS B. COOK, ETHEL K. CARTER, JOHNIE Q. LAINE, JOHN JOSEPH DAUGHTRY, MONROE KIDD, W. F. CUNNINGHAM, WILLIE H. GARVIN, RUSSELL GASKINS, RUSSELL JULY, JR., in their own proper behalf, and on behalf of all Negro citizens of Mobile County, Alabama, similarly situated,	)	
Plaintiffs	)	CIVIL ACTION
vs.	)	NO. 758
MILTON SCHENELL, individually, and as a member of the Board of Election Registrars of Mobile County, Alabama; MRS. D. C. RANDALL, individually, and as a member of the Board of Election Registrars of Mobile County, Alabama; E. J. GONZALES, individually, and as a member of the Board of Election Registrars of Mobile County, Alabama; and BOARD OF ELECTION REGISTRARS FOR MOBILE COUNTY, ALABAMA,	)	
Defendants	)	

Before McCORD, Circuit Judge, McDUFFIE
and MULLINS, District Judges

MULLINS, District Judge

OPINION

This case was tried before a duly constituted three-judge District Court.

Under the amended complaint, this suit is brought by ten Negro citizens of Mobile County, Alabama, against the Board of Registrars of said County and the individual members thereof, to declare and secure their rights to register as electors. The plaintiffs bring the action on their own behalf, and on behalf of all Alabama citizens similarly situated.

The plaintiffs allege that registration is a prerequisite of the right of a citizen of Alabama to vote in any election, Federal, State or local. (1)

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(1) Title 17, Section 12, Code of Alabama 1940, so provides.

The plaintiffs allege that at a general election held on November 7, 1946, there was submitted to and adopted by the people of Alabama an amendment to Section 181, of the Constitution of Alabama (popularly called and referred to herein as the Boswell Amendment), changing the requirements for registration of electors so that only those persons who can "understand and explain" any article of the Federal Constitution can be registered as electors. (2) They allege that this amendment was purposely sponsored, its adoption obtained, and its provisions are being administered so as to prevent the plaintiffs and others, because of their race, from exercising their right to vote.

The plaintiffs aver that they appeared before the defendants, members of the Board of Registrars for Mobile County, Alabama, and, acting under color of law, the defendants required the plaintiffs, all members of the Negro race, to explain an article of the Federal Constitution, which they did, and the defendants informed them that the defendants were not satisfied with the explanations given, and refused to register them.

It is further averred that said Section 181, as amended, requiring applicants for registration to "understand and explain" any article of the United States Constitution, together with the provisions of Title 17, Section 33, Code of Alabama 1940, (3) vests in the Board of Registrars unlimited discretion to grant or deny the plaintiffs and others similarly situated the right to register as electors; that said Amendment provides no definite, reasonable

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(2) Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama, as amended:

"After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence, prescribed in section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under section 182 of this constitution: those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work and those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked or been regualrly engaged in some lawful employment, business, or occupation, trade or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register, including those who are unable to read and write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; provided, however, no persons shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

(3) Title 17, Section 33, Code of Alabama 1940:

"Any person making application to the board of registrars for registration who fails to establish by evidence to the reasonable satisfaction of the board of registrars that he or she is qualified to register may be refused registration."

or recognizable standard or test to be applied in determining the qualifi - cations of electors; that defendants refused to register plaintiffs and other qualified Negro applicants, while at the same time defendants were registering white applicants with less qualifications; that plaintiffs, solely because of their race and color, were required to make lengthy explanations of articles of the Constitution of the United States, while white applicants were being registered without being required to make any such explanations.

Plaintiffs further allege that they possess all of the qualifications and have none of the disqualifications to register as electors, except that they are unable to comply with or reasonably satisfy the defendants that they can comply with the requirements of the Boswell Amendment, which requirements they aver are void in that they are vague, uncertain, undefined, and provide no dis - cernible standard; that said Amendment, without mentioning either race or color, was adopted for the purpose and with the intent of the proponents thereof to create a scheme to prevent qualified Negroes from voting; that the qualifications to "understand and explain" any article of the Constitution is a mere subter - fuge designed for the purpose of depriving plaintiffs and others of the right of franchise on account of race or color; that it has become the general and habitual practice of the defendants, acting under color of law, to refuse to register Negro residents of said county, including the plaintiffs, on the pretext that they are unable to "understand and explain" any article of the Federal Constitution. The plaintiffs further allege that they have been denied the right to register as electors solely on account of their race or color.

The plaintiffs aver that an actual controversy exists between the plaintiffs and the defendants within the meaning of Title 28, Section 400, United States Code (now Section 2201 of Revised Title 28, United States Code), in that the plaintiffs contend that Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama, as a - mended, is unconstitutional on its face and because of the manner in which it is administered, as being violative of the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and other provisions of the Constitution of the United States while the defendants contend that said Boswell Amendment is constitutional both on its face and in the manner in which it is administered.

Plaintiffs seek a declaratory judgment declaring the Boswell Amendment unconstitutional and ask for injunctive relief against the further enforcement of the provisions of the same. Plaintiffs waived their prayer for damages.

The defendant board and two of the individual members thereof answered the complaint. They deny that the Boswell Amendment is unconstitutional and deny that they administer the registration laws differently as to white and Negro applicants, and aver that they administer the laws fairly to all applicants for registration, without regard to race or color. They admit that the individual defendants compose the Board of Registrars of Mobile County; they admit that at least three of the plaintiffs, Hunter Davis, Julius B. Cook, and Russell Gaskins, applied to the board for registration and were rejected; they aver that the records of the board do not disclose that any of the other plaintiffs ever applied to them for registration, and deny that any application for registration has ever been refused on account of race or color. They admit, and the Court finds, that an actual controversy exists between the plaintiffs and the defendants and that the contentions of the parties with reference thereto are substantially stated in the amended complaint.

E. J. Gonsales, the third member of the defendant board, declined to join in the answer filed by the other defendants, stating that he could not join in all of the denials contained in their answer. He filed no formal answer, but testified and represented himself on the trial of the case.

Only two of the plaintiffs, Hunter Davis and Julius B. Cook, testified on the trial. From the evidence we find that these two plaintiffs presented themselves to the defendant board seeking to register as electors and that they presented satisfactory evidence of their qualifications to register as electors, but their applications were denied. The evidence shows they had the residential qualifications prescribed by Section 178 of the Constitution of Alabama, having continuously resided in the State of Alabama, in the County of Mobile, and in the precinct or ward where they lived for more than two years immediately preceding the time when they applied for registration; that they were over the ageof twenty-one years, and had been regularly engaged in lawful employment, business or occupation for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time at which

they offered to register; that they are citizens of Alabama, and of the United States, of good character, and possess all other qualifications of electors, unless it be said that they can be required to "understand and explain" any article of the United States Constitution to the reasonable satisfaction of the members of the defendant board. These two plaintiffs have none of the disqualifications set out in Section 182 of the Alabama Constitution.

We further find from the evidence that prior to the filing of this suit said Board of Registrars required Negro applicants for registration as electors in Mobile County to attempt to explain at least some article of the United States Constitution, while no such requirement was exacted of white applicants. We also find that the plaintiffs Davis and Cook were refused registration as electors because of their race or color.

Prior to this suit defendant board did not keep records of rejected applicants, whether white or Negro. The members of said board went into office in October, 1947. Registration records of said board, which were not disputed, were interduced showing that during their tenure, prior to March 1, 1948 (the filing date of this suit), 39 colored applicants were registered; that subsequent to March 1, 1948, 65 colored applicants were registered and 57 were rejected, the records of these 57rejected applicants showing, in substance, that they were rejected because they could not "understand and explain" an article of the Federal Constitution. These records show that three white persons who were registered after this action was filed were asked to explain a provision of the Federal Constitution. The records of 11 rejected white applicants show that they were denied registration on grounds other than the requirements of the Boswell Amendment. The defendants offered nine colored witnesses, all of whom with one exception were public school teachers of good education, who testified that they were registered by the defendant board, some of them being asked if they could explain provisions of the Federal Constitution. The members of the defendant board generally required Negro applicants to explain or interpret provisions of the Federal Constitution, and did not generally require white applicants to do so.

The evidence shows that during the incumbency of the defendant board that more than 2800 white persons have been registered and approximately 104 Negroes. The estimated population of Mobile County is 230,000 of which approximately 64 percent is white and 36 percent is colored.

The States, not the Federal Government, prescribe the qualifications for the exercise of the franchise, and Federal Courts are not interested in these qualifications unless they contravene the Fifteenth Amendment or other provisions of the United States Constitution. The States have a right to prescribe a literacy test for electors. Guinn v. United States, 238 U.S. 347. However, state action which denies due process or equal protection of the laws in the exercise of the right of suffrage is prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment. Nixon v. Herndon 273 U.S. 536; Nixon v. Condon, 286 U.S. 73 . The Fifteenth Amendment guarantees the free exercise of the right of franchise as against state discrimination based upon race or color. Guinn v. United States, supra; Lane v. Wilson 307 U.S. 268.

The subject matter of the Boswell Amendment is within state power, and its validity depends upon whether it squares with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. We think it does not.

The original Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama has stood for nearly 50 years and has provided definite standards for passing upon the qualifications of prospective electors. The original section provided for two qualifications, the possession of either of which was sufficient to permit registration. An applicant was required to be able to "read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language," or in the alternative he could qualify if he owned, assessed and paid taxes on real or personal property of an assessed value of $300.00. The Boswell Amendment dropped the property qualifications, and adopted a qualification requiring not only that an applicant be able to "read and write" but also that he be able to "understand and explain any article of the constitution of the United States in the English language".

Do the words "understand and explain, as used in the Boswell Amendment furnish a reasonable standard whereby boards of registrars may pass on qualifications of prospective electors, or are these words so ambiguous, uncertain, and indefinite in meaning that they confer upon said boards arbitrary power to register or to refuse to register whomever they please.

"Understand" is a word of many meanings and "a verb of very extensive signification."(4) Understanding may be based upon learning or knowledge or upon rumor or hearsay. It may mean to apprehend, or to comprehend, partially or fully. It may deal with meaning, import, intention or motive. It may mean to appreciate the force or value of a thing or proposition. It may mean that to person is informed or that he has merely received notice or heard of something. To understand may mean to imply, infer or assume, or it may contemplate knowing the meaning or the supposed meaning. It may mean to interpret.

"Explain" is also a word of indefinite meaning; it may mean to make plain manifest or intelligible; to clear of obscurity; to expound, to illustrate by discourse or by notes.

The Boswell Amendment requires a prospective elector to "understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language." There is no requirement that the understanding or explanation be in writing. The language does not call for a simple, fair or reasonable understanding or explanation. It does not say that the understanding and explanation must be partial, full, complete, definite, proper, fair, reasonable, plain, precise, correct, accurate, or give any rule, guide or test as to the nature of the understanding or explanation that is required. The Amendment does not say to whose satisfaction to applicant must "understand and explain", but under the statutes, it must be to the reasonable satisfaction of a majority of the members of one of the 67 boards of registrars that are provided for the 67 counties of Alabama.(5)

The members of these boards are not required to be lawyers or learned in the law(6), and it is fair to assume that many members of these boards do not have a good or correct understanding of the various articles of the Constitution, and that they might not be able to give any explanation of many of them. Many members of the boards of registrars might justly and properly say to an applicant for registration, "My legs do better understand me, sir, than I understand what you mean."

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(4) Dearing, Sink & Co. v. Smith and Wright, 4 Ala. 432, 438.

(5) See Note (3) above.

(6) Title 17, Section 21, Code of Alabama 1940.

No uniform, objective or standardized test or examination is provided whereby an impartial board could determine whether the applicant has a reasonable understanding and can give a reasonable explanation of the articles of the Constitution (if, indeed, the test were to be a reasonable understanding and a reasonable explanation). If such a test or examination were provided to be administered to all prospective electors alike, then the boards of registrars would have definite guides to control their judgment in determining whether or not an applicant could "understand and explain" the provisions of the Constitution. Under such a test with proper questions or guides a record could be made which would give a rejected applicant a definite basis upon which he could seek and obtain a proper judicial review of the board's action, and the reviewing court would have something definite to act upon in ascertaining whether an applicant had been rightfully or arbitrarily and unjustly denied the right of suffrage.

As pointed out, "understand" may mean to interpret. This meaning requires an exceedingly high, if not impossible, standard. The distinguished Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States have frequently disagreed in their interpretations of various articles of the Constitution. We learn from history that many of the makers of the Constitution did not understand its provisions; many of them understood and believed that its provisions gave the Supreme Court no power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. An understanding of explanation given by the Supreme Court a few years ago as to the meaning of the commerce clause does not apply today. Among our most learned judges there are at least four different understandings and explanations of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution as to whether it made the first eight Amendments applicable to state action (7). Such a rigorous standard--to interpret--is clearly within the legitimate range of the meanings of the phrase "understand and explain", and illustrates the completeness with which any individual or group of prospective electors, whether white or Negro, may be deprived of the right of franchise by boards of registrars inclined to apply this one of the innumerable meanings of such an indefinite phrase.

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(7) Cf. Adamson v. California, 332 U. S. 46 (1947).

The word "understand and explain" do not provide a reasonable standard. A simple test may be given one applicant; a long, tedious, complex one to another; one applicant may be examined on one article of the Constitution another may be called upon to "understand and explain" every article and provision of the entire instrument.

To state it plainly, the sole test is: Has the applicant by oral examination or otherwise understood and explained the Constitution to the satisfaction of the particular board? To state it more plainly, the board has a right to reject one applicant and accept another, depending solely upon whether it likes or dislikes the understanding and explanation offered. To state it even more plainly, the board,, by the use of the words "understand and explain," is given the arbitrary power to accept or reject any prospective elector that may apply, or, to use the language of Yick Wo v. Hopkins, 118 U. S. 356, 366, these words "actually do confer, not a discretion to be exercised upon a consideration of the circumstances of each case, but a naked and arbitrary power to give or withold consent***." The board has the power to establish two classes, those to whom they consent and those to whom they do not--those who may vote and those who may not. Such arbitrary power amounts to a denial of equal protection of the law within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and is condemned by the Yick Wo and many other decisions of the Supreme Court.

When a word or phrase in a statute or constitution is ambiguous, it is the duty of the court, in construing the meaning of that word or phrase, to attempt to determine whether an exact meaning was intended and if so, to ascertain that meaning. If an exact meaning of the phrase "understand and explain" were to be discovered by a process of construction in this case, it might be that a suitable and definite standard could be found, which would not give to the board of registrars arbitrary power. However, a careful consideration of the legislative and other history of the adoption of this Amendment to the Constitution of Alabama discloses that the ambiguity inherent in the phrase "understand and explain" cannot be resolved, but, on the contrary, was purposeful and used with a view of meeting the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in Smith v. Allwright, 321 U. S. 649. The history of the period immediately preceding the adoption of the Boswell Amendment, of which we take judicial notice, and the evidence in this case prove this.

The State Democratic Executive Committee is an official arm of the State, its action constitutes state action. Smith v. Allwright, supra. (8) The activities of this committee in sponsoring and leading the fight for the adoption of the Boswell Amendment are admissible and material in determining whether the Boswell Amendment is a contrivance by the State to thwart equality in the enjoyment of the right to vote by citizens of the United States on account of race or color.

The State Democratic Executive Committee spent its funds and led the fight to secure the adoption of the Boswell Amendment in its endeavor "to make the Democratic Party in Alabama the 'White Man's Party.'". (9)

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(8) The State Democratic Executive Committee is the official governing body of the Democratic party in Alabama; its members are elected by the voters in Democratic primaries. Cf. Title 17 Section 341, Alabama Code of 1940. Said committee is authorized to prescribe rules and regulations governing matters of party procedure. Title 17, Section 389. It has the authority to determine who shall be qualified as members and candidates for nomination, who shall be entitled to vote in primary elections, and to fix assessments to be paid by candidates for nomination at a primary election. Title 17, Section 347. Compensation of officers and expenses of all primary elections are paid out of the county or municipal treasury in the same manner and to the same extent as provided for the payment of expenses and officers of general elections held under the general election laws of Alabama. Title 17, Section 343. Section 196 of the Alabama Constitution provides that the legislature shall make provision by law for the regulation of primary elections, but provides that primary elections shall not be made compulsory.

(9) In a letter dated August 27, 1946, addressed to the members of the State Democratic Executive Committee, the chairman of that committee, among other things, said:

> "45 ballots were cast in favor of the State Committee expending up to $3,500.00 in a campaign to have the 'Boswell Amendment' adopted, 7 ballots were cast against such expenditures, and 1 ballot was not voted. * * *
>
> " I might add that while a few members of our State Committee have expressed the thought that the funds of the State Committee should not be expended in a campaign either for or against the adoption of the proposed "Boswell Amendment,' yet the great majority of the members of our Committee have taken the position that since the emblem of our Party is a crowing rooster, with the words 'WHITE SUPREMACY' above the rooster, and the words 'FOR THE RIGHT' below the rooster, that it is entirely proper that the State Democratic Executive Committee should lead the fight to maintain the traditions of our Party in this State by adopting the proposed amendment to our Constitution and endeavoring, as far as it can legally be done, to make the Democratic Party in Alabama the 'WHITE MAN'S PARTY.'"
> (From Plaintiffs' Exhibit 5)

The chairman of this committee was instrumental in originating the Amendment and in making recommendations to the legislative committee as to changes he deemed advisable in Alabama's election laws to meet the "Texas case," under which Democratic primaries could no longer be limited to white voters. An overwhelming majority of the membership of this committee "took the position that we should be Militant Democrats and continue to fight for white supremacy in our State."(10)

The 72 members of this State Committee were urged to contact the members of the county Democratic executive committees, some 2500 in number, and all of the general election officials, some 14,000 in number, to secure their support in the campaign for the adoption of the Boswell Amendment, on the basis that the purpose of the Boswell Amendment was to restrict Negro registration.(11)

In the ALABAMA LAWYER, the official organ of the State Bar of Alabama, in the July 1946 issue, a distinguished Alabama lawyer, writing in opposition to the adoption of the Boswell Amendment, which was at that time awaiting action at the hands of the people of Alabama, said:

> "Let us be frank and honest with ourselves. You and I know that the people of our State are expected to adopt this Amendment in order to give the Registrars arbitrary power to exclude Negroes from voting."

In the October 1946 issue of the same official publication, an equally distinguished Alabama lawyer, who favored the adoption of the Boswell Amendment, declared with reference to that Amendment:

> "see I earnestly favor a law that will make it impossible for a Negro to qualify, if that is possible. If it is impossible, then I favor a law, more especially a constitutional provision, that will come as near as possible, making possible, the impossible."

All of the foregoing but illustrates the intention and general understanding of the Legislature and electorate of Alabama at the time this Amendment was proposed and adopted by a small majority of a light vote. Such a history further demonstrates that this restrictive Amendment, coming on the heels of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Smith v. Allwright case,

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(10) Plaintiffs' Exhibit 7.

(11) Plaintiffs' Exhibit 6.

was intended as a grant of arbitrary power in an attempt to obviate the consequences of that decision.

Thus, the process of attempted construction of an ambiguous phrase by reference to legislative history and to the intent of the makers of the phrase in this instance only reinforces the conclusion that the provision in question was incorporated for the purpose of allowing arbitrary action, and not for the purpose of providing a definite and reasonable standard.

The defendants argue that the Boswell Amendment is not "racist in its origin, purpose or effect," but, as has already been illustrated, a careful consideration of the conditions existing at the time, and of the circumstances and history surrounding the origin and adoption of the Boswell Amendment, and its subsequent application, demonstrate that its main object was to restrict voting on a basis of race or color. That its purpose was such is further illustrated by the campaign material that was used to secure its adoption.

The ALABAMA DEMOCRAT,(12) a campaign document in the form of a newspaper published in support of the adoption of the Boswell Amendment consisted in its entirety of arguments urging the voters to adopt the Amendment for the purpose of restricting voting by Negroes. This document carried the headline: "WARNING IS SOUNDED: BLACKS WILL TAKE OVER IF AMENDMENT LOSES" and the foot line: "VOTE WHITE__VOTE RIGHT__VOTE FOR AMENDMENT NO. 4."

Similarly, an editorial of the TALLADEGA HOME, reproduced in said document, asked the question: "What is the Boswell Amendment?" and answered the question by saying, "It is a measure designed simply and solely to enable registrars legally to hold down the number of Negro registrants."

Furthermore, the administration of the Boswell Amendment by the defendant board demonstrates that the ambiguous standard prescribed has, in fact, been arbitrarily used for the purpose of excluding Negro applicants for the franchise, while white applicants with comparable qualifications were being accepted. The evidence is without dispute that this Amendment has been used to disqualify many Negro applicants for registration while it does not definitely disclose that it has been used to disqualify a single white applicant. It is further shown that as a rule the Boswell test of "understand and explain" is required of Negroes while no such exaction is made of white applicants.

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(12) Plaintiffs' Exhibit 8.

If, this, clearly appears that this Amendment was intended to be, and is being used for the purpose of discriminating against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race or color. Therefore, we are necessarily brought to the conclusion that this Amendment to the Constitution of Alabama, both in its object and the manner of its administration, is unconstitutional, because it violates the Fifteenth Amendment. While it is true that there is no mention of race or color in the Boswell Amendment, this does not save it. The Fifteenth Amendment "nullifies sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination," and "It hits onerous procedural requirements which effectively handicap exercise of the franchise by the colored race although the abstract right to vote may remain unrestricted as to race." Lane v. Wilson, 307 U.S. 268,275. Cf. Smith v. Allwright, supra; Guinn v. United States, supra.

We cannot ignore the impact of the Boswell Amendment upon Negro citizens because it avoids mention of race or color; "To do this would be to shut our eyes to what all others that we can see and understand." (13)

The Amendment being unconstitutional, the plaintiffs are entitled to injunctive relief.

McCORD, Circuit Judge, and McDUFFIE, District Judge, concurring.

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(13) United States v. Butler, 297 U.S. 1,61.

U. S. DISTRICT COURT
Sou. Dist. Ala.
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SUMMARY OF RECENT SEGREGATION LAWS

ENACTED IN SOUTHERN STATES

October 1, 1957

ADDENDUM TO SUMMARY OF SEGREGATION LAWS

ALABAMA

1957 Session of Legislature

A stronger interposition resolution than that enacted in 1955 was passed. Unlike the earlier resolution, it was signed by Governor Folsom.

The legislature passed laws to implement amendments which had been approved in the August, 1956, general election. One strengthened the 1955 placement law by designating school board as "judicial tribunals," with the power to subpoena witnesses and records, administer oaths, issue orders, etc., in addition to their previously given assignment authority. Further enactments, designed to bolster the "Freedom of Choice Amendment," included a bill authorizing the abolition of public schools if such a step is necessary to prevent integration (state funds are to be used to support "private schools"). It was provided that teachers employed in schools abolished would retain retirement and other benefits.

Also passed was a bill reducing the city limits of Tuskegee so that only about 10 out of more than 400 Negro voters remain eligible for voting in city elections. A two-year study of a proposal to abolish and divide Macon County, Alabama, was approved.

ARKANSAS

1957 Session of Legislature

A twelve member State Sovereignty Commission with wide investigative powers was created, and $30,000 was appropriated for its operation. Along with other duties, the Commission is required to protect the sovereignty of Arkansas and her sister states from encroachment by the Federal government. The commission is to collect information on developments which invade the rights of the state and investigate written allegations that certain persons or groups are advocating or aiding in the invasion of the sovereign powers of the state or its citizens. The commission may subpoena witnesses and records, and penalties for failure to obey subpoenas and for perjury were established.

Certain persons and organizations are required to register with and make periodical reports to the Sovereignty Commission. Included are persons or groups who solicit or receive contributions to aid passage of laws by the United States Congress which limit Arkansas' control of its school districts; to defeat legislation through which the Arkansas Legislature proposes to maintain the "rights of the State;" to recruit plaintiffs for litigation regarding public schools of the state; to promote integration of the races in the public schools; etc. Fines and/or imprisonment may be imposed for violation of the act.

The decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases were said to have raised many legal problems for school boards and the boards were authorized to employ and pay legal counsel when necessary.

The legislature said that the general welfare of children required that white and Negro children should not be compelled to attend public school together. Therefore the compulsory school attendance law was amended so that no child is required to attend a school in which both races are enrolled.

FLORIDA

1957 Session of Legislature

Although there was much debate on segregation measures, the 1957 session of the Florida legislature did not enact any major new laws. An interposition resolution was adopted; however, Gov. Collins (who has no power to veto such an action) has stated that it is of no legal effect. A bill allowing local districts to abandon public schools ordered to desegregate was passed, vetoed by the governor, and the veto sustained by the legislature. A group of bills, admittedly aimed at the NAACP, resulted in the enactment of only one - the two-year continuation of a joint legislative committee authorized to investigate "racial agitators."

A local bill, affecting only one county, was approved. Teachers in Jefferson County are forbidden to teach members of another race; white and Negro children are forbidden to sit together in school cafeterias or at athletic events, or to participate with one another in athletic events.

GEORGIA

1957 Session of Legislature

The Governor was given broad police powers, permitting him to use the state militia or any law enforcement officers to maintain peace and order if there were violence or (in his opinion) threats of violence or disorder. To maintain law and order, the governor may direct any person or group to engage in any act or refrain from any designated act. He is specifically empowered to regulate the manner and time of use and the persons using public parks, public buildings, public utilities, and any public facilities in Georgia if he believes a threat to peace and order exists.

The Georgia Education Commission was given subpoena powers to facilitate its carrying out investigations and preparing legislation on education. The Commission was also authorized to tell the South's story to the Nation, and funds for this were allotted.

All public school employees who accept employment in nonsectarian private schools are to continue under the coverage of the state retirement and pension fund.

The governor was authorized to suspend the compulsory school attendance law for all or any part of the state if he felt this was necessary to prevent public disorder or preserve the welfare of the citizens and the State.

A number of activities were defined as barratry (stirring up law suits); this was declared a misdemeanor, punishable as prescribed by law. The legislature included in its definition of barratry proposals by one person to another that a suit be brought against the State of Georgia or any other legal entity. Any persons aiding others in acts intended to result in litigation are also committing barratry.

The 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution were declared null and void, and the Congress of the United States was requested to declare them null and void.

Six United States Supreme Court justices were said to have usurped the powers of the people and the Congress and to have given aid and comfort to enemies of the United States. The General Assembly of Georgia therefore requested the Georgia delegation in the United States House of Representatives to institute impeachment proceedings against Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas, Reed, Frankfurter, and Clark.

An act provided that Georgia should reacquire civil and criminal jurisdiction over persons and citizens on roads maintained and used by Georgia, but which are within territory ceded to the United States. (One legislator said this was designed to restrict the authority of Negro military police officers.)

SOUTH CAROLINA

1957 Session of Legislature

An anti-barratry bill directed at the NAACP has been enacted. Included in the definition of barratry are the actions of any persons or groups who incite litigation by others or actions of those initiating suits in which they have no "direct or substantial interest in the relief sought." Penalties for violation of the act may be fines and/or revocation of licenses and charters.

The legislature repealed a bill, passed in 1956, making it illegal for any agency of the state to hire NAACP members. Another law was enacted which requires applicants for teaching and other state positions to list the names of organizations to which they belong.

TENNESSEE

1957 Session of Legislature

A pupil assignment law gave local school boards the full power to assign pupils within their jurisdiction on the basis of sociological, physical, psychological and other factors. A previous statute relating to the transfer of students from one school district to another was amended so that local boards have more power.

Local school systems are to provide separate school systems for white and Negro children if parents or guardians voluntarily decide that their children are to attend schools with members of their own race only.

Separate public schools for boys and girls may be operated.

Two or more school boards may operate a school or schools jointly. Reportedly, this will permit two or more counties, each having small Negro populations, to operate a single school for Negroes from the several counties.

A statute dealing with the transportation of school children was amended to remove the reference to race in the law.

At the end of its session, the legislature adopted a measure eliminating compulsory school attendance in that parents might withdraw their children from schools if the conditions were detrimental to thewelfare of the children. Children must be reentered at another public or a private school within 30 days after withdrawal. Governor Clement has implied that he will veto this bill.

A resolution of protest deploring and denouncing the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases was passed. This is not an interposition or nullification resolution such as has been passed by several states.

Three laws specifically designed to curb the NAACP were passed, though the language also permits application to others. One law defines barratry as stirring up litigation, and it is prohibited. There are penalties for violation of the law. Persons or groups soliciting funds for or spending money to finance litigation must file annually with the Secretary of State a list of their officers, sources of revenue, expenditures and other information. Failure to do so may result in fines and/or revocation of licenses. Persons and organizations engaged primarily in promoting or opposing legislation and action relating to race and color or whose activities tend to cause racial violence must register with the Secretary of State and they may be fined for violation of this act.

TEXAS

1957 Session of Legislature

A law was enacted which calls for majority approval (through elections) in each school district before there is future school integration. Districts already desegregated are not affected though 20% of the electors in any district may petition for an election to consider restoration of segregation.

A pupil assignment law authorizing local school boards to assign students on the basis of aptitude, psychological factors, threats of friction etc., was passed.

December, 1956

STATE SUMMARY OF RECENT SEGREGATION LAWS

ALABAMA

The regular session of the 1955 Legislature passed the School Placement Law. The law lists numerous factors to be considered in assigning pupils and confers authority for placement on city and county Boards of Education. No child is to be compelled to attend any school in which the races are commingled if a parent or guardian files a written objection.

Two local bills were passed for Wilcox County. (1) Organizations soliciting memberships or funds are required to pay a $200 license fee, a $50 fee for each solicitor and a $5 fee for each member signed up. (2) If compulsory school segregation is invalidated for Wilcox County, no white or Negro children are to be compelled to attend mixed schools.

There were two special sessions of the Legislature in 1956, in which the following measures were enacted:

A strong interposition resolution declaring the school decision of the Supreme Court null and void was passed.

Local bills authorizing the Macon and Marengo County school boards to fire teachers belonging to organizations advocating racial integration were passed.

Two amendments relating to segregation were proposed and approved by the voters on August 28, 1956. One permits cities and counties to give away or sell public parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, golf courses, public housing projects, etc., to keep whites and Negroes from using them together.

The other amendment and implementing legislation affect schools. Public schools are abolished, though it continues to be the policy of the state to provide education. School property may be leased, sold, or donated to non-profit groups for educational purposes. Grants for private education are authorized and the compulsory attendance law is changed so that children may attend either a public or private school. Parents may elect that their children attend schools exclusively for their own race. School boards and education employees are vested with judicial authority (which is interpreted as conferring immunity from law suits) and the attorney general may be required to defend school boards and school officials in any suits brought against them.

ARKANSAS

In 1955 the Arkansas Senate killed a school assignment bill designed to preserve segregation in public schools. It had previously been passed by the House. A committee authorized by the governor to study school segregation,

recommended that the voters decide in the November, 1956, election whether they desired some alternatives to integrated schools. The three measures placed on the ballot were approved by the voters. One, sponsored by Jim Johnson, an ardent segregationist, authorized the Legislature to nullify the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation. The other two measures were sponsored by Gov. Faubus. One was a resolution saying the state should operate the schools as it chose. The other was an initiated act giving local boards authority to assign pupils.

FLORIDA

1955 Regular session of the legislature passed a bill allowing local school boards to assign pupils to a specific school on the basis of a number of factors.

The Legislature also asked Congress to pass legislation or propose amendments to the Constitution which would enable the sovereign states to continue education of their people under segregated systems if they saw fit to do so.

1956 special session of the Legislature broadened the powers of local school authorities in assigning pupils and called for consideration of a number of additional factors including "compatibility with other students,..... socio-economic factors."

School authorities are empowered to ignore continuing contracts and tenure in assigning teachers when schools are consolidated or pupils reassigned.

The governor was empowered to make and enforce rules (without further legislative action) relating to "the use of any state, county or municipal park, building or facility that may be necessary or expedient to preserve the peace and tranquility of the state and prevent violence."

The power of the governor to proclaim a state of emergency and to use the state's police force or militia to preserve order was detailed.

A resolution proposing an amendment to the U. S. Constitution was passed. It asked that the matter of education and regulation of the schools be left to the states.

A committee with a $50,000 appropriation was set us to investigate the NAACP. Language of the law is broad enough to include investigation of other groups, but its sponsors said the primary purpose is to investigate the NAACP though it is not mentioned by name.

GEORGIA

November - December 1953 Session of Legislature.

The "Private School Amendment" was proposed prior to the school decision of the United States Supreme Court and was ratified in the November 1954 general election. The legislature provided for grants of state, county or municipal funds to citizens of the state for educational purposes, thereby discharging all obligations of the state to provide education.

The Georgia Commission on Education was established to maintain separate schools for whites and Negroes.

1955 Session of Legislature

Legislature provided that no state funds were to be paid in support of any school district which did not maintain separation of the races in the schools.

The Georgia Commission on Education was continued.

1956 Session of Legislature

In the appropriations act schools are deemed ineligible for state funds if schools are not separate for white and Negro.

The governor is authorized to close schools not eligible for state funds and provisions were made for the preservation of such property. The governor was authorized to make education grants to children whose schools had been closed. The use of such funds for religious or sectarian schools was prohibited.

Authority was given local school boards to lease property for private school purposes.

The teacher retirement law was amended to include teachers in privately operated sectarian schools.

Provision was made for the sale, lease or disposal of any public park or recreational facility by the state, county, city, or political subdivision owning or operating it.

It was deemed a misdemeanor, punishable by law, if any person entered (without authority) property that the State had closed to the public.

In the area of transportation, common carriers were required to furnish separate traveling and waiting room accommodations for white and colored persons in intrastate travel.

The legislature provided that the state patrol and the GBI could enter any county or municipality upon request of any citizen or official thereof to enforce segregation laws.

Any peace officer who failed or refused to enforce segregation laws might forfeit all retirement benefits and disability payments.

The attorney general was advised to order any solicitor general to represent any public official or employee who may have been charged with failure to carry out federal regulations if his performance was in accordance with the laws and judicial rulings of the state of Georgia or its subdivisions.

AN INTERPOSITION RESOLUTION declaring the May 17, 1954 and the May 31, 1955 decisions of the United State Supreme Court null, void, and of no effect was passed.

KENTUCKY

Legislation

The General Assembly has passed no pro-segregation legislation. With a few recently publicized exceptions school desegregation has proceeded smoothly and widely.

LOUISIANA

Legislation

The Louisiana Legislature was in session at the time of the May 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court. It subsequently passed three school segregation measures. All were declared invalid in February 1956 by the U. S. District Judge J. Skelly Wright. Judge Wright also enjoined the Orleans School Board from enforcing school segregation. The decisions were appealed. The measures passed in 1954 and declared invalid were as follows:

1. The Constitution was amended to provide that all public elementary and secondary schools in the state of Louisiana would be operated separately for white and colored children. The state was to use its police powers to maintain segregation.

2. A law was passed which stated that the State would not approve any public school violating the above segregation provision. No free school books, supplies, or lunches would be provided for schools violating the provision nor would the State colleges recognize their certificates of graduation.

3. Local school superintendents were given the power to designate which school each pupil should attend and no pupil could enroll until assigned.

1956 session of Legislature passed a number of segregation bills including a proposed constitutional amendment and an interposition resolution. Provisions of bills follow.

LOUISIANA

The amendment approved by the electorate in November, 1956, named a number of recreational and school boards which were declared "special agencies." With a few specified exceptions the State of Louisiana withdrew permission for these to be sued.

Other bills set up new grounds for dismissal of public school bus drivers, teachers, and any regular employees of tax supported schools. Grounds include belonging to any organization prohibited by state law or enjoined from operating in the state and personally advocating racial integration in any public school or college.

A bill was passed requiring the separate use of public schools for white and Negro children and racial assignment of teachers in cities of 300,000 or more. Schools are to remain as they were when bill became effective. The state is the only legal defendant in event of suits against school authorities in these cities and the consent of the legislature is necessary to bring suit.

Compulsory school attendance is no longer required where integration has been required by court or other order. Any person entering a tax supported college must file a certificate attesting to eligibility and good moral character that is signed by his high school principal and district school superintendent. Signing of such certificates has been interpreted as advocating racial integration if the student is a Negro applying to one of the formerly all-white colleges, and the school employee signing is subject to dismissal.

All public parks and recreational facilities must be operated separately for white and colored persons. There may be mixed audiences at some affairs provided separate seating and rest room facilities are provided. All persons, firms and corporations are prohibited from sponsoring or participating in interracial functions and athletic activities.

In transportation three types of facilities are to be set up. These are to be for interstate passengers, white intrastate passengers, and colored intrastate passengers. Separate toilet and drinking facilities are to be provided for colored passengers whether in intra or interstate travel.

Employers are required to provide separate rest room, drinking and eating facilities for Negro and white employees.

The Joint Legislative Committee created in 1954 for the purpose of "carrying on and conducting the fight to maintain segregation of the races" was continued.

The Legislature passed a resolution of interposition in which it condemned the United States Supreme Court and declared the May, 1954, decision in violation of the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Louisiana.

MISSISSIPPI

The 1954 Legislature passed a law providing for the assignment of pupils on the basis of health, morals, community welfare factors. The Legal Educational Advisory Committee was created to plan ways to retain segregation.

A special legislative session in 1954 proposed a constitutional amendment which was adopted by the people in December, 1954. Its measures are mainly permissive, providing that public schools may be abolished for the entire state by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature and for a county or separate school district by a majority vote of the Legislature. Funds may be appropriated to assist in the education of children if public schools are abolished and school properties may be disposed of. However, the Legislature is permitted to continue support of the public schools without reference to the provision in the state constitution for separate but equal schools for the races.

A special legislative session in 1955 adopted a measure prohibiting Caucasians from attending public schools attended by non-whites. Fines up to $25 and/or jail sentences up to six months may be imposed for violation and each day of such violation can be considered a separate offense.

In 1956 the Legislature adopted an interposition resolution and resolutions commending members of the state's congressional delegation for opposing desegregation. Other measures created a State Sovereignty Commission to resist federal encroachment and integration (this replaced the Legal Educational Advisory Committee) and directed all public officials to prohibit the implementation or compliance with the integration decision by all legal means. Compulsory school attendance laws were repealed and all teachers and other professional school employees in state supported schools were required to file affidavits listing all organizations to which they presently belonged or contributed or which they had belonged to in the last five years. The formenting or solicitation of litigation and receiving and donating funds for the filing or prosecution of lawsuits were prohibited. Common law marriages, formerly recognized, were abolished and all children born of such marriages were declared illegitimate (this is expected to implement the pupil assignment law of 1954).

All common carriers operating in Mississippi were required to provide separate waiting and rest room facilities for white and Negro passengers and penalties were provided for those using facilities for another race. Law enforcement officers and court officers were exempted from damage suits in the courts of the states as a result of enforcing these acts.

Absentee voting because of illness and occupation were eliminated and more specific instructions on the method of marking ballots and the time (5 to 10 minutes) one could take for voting were established.

Any business, profession, or trade, excepting utilities, was given the right to refuse to serve any person, and a person who had been refused could be convicted of trespass. Penalties were established for persons "creating a disturbance" in a place of business.

Criminal and civil penalties were set up for any person who sought to deprive a citizen of Mississippi of the rights and privileges guaranteed him by the Constitution and laws of Mississippi. Criminal penalties were established for any person convicted of inciting a public disturbance by advocating disobedience to any state law and non-conformance with the customs, traditions and usages of the state.

NORTH CAROLINA

The 1955 session of the General Assembly approved a resolution saying "mixing of the races in the public schools throughout the state cannot be accomplished." A pupil assignment law conferring the complete authority in the enrollment and assignment of pupils on local city and county school boards was passed. The school laws were reworded so that all reference to race was removed. School bus titles were transferred to the counties though buses still operated with state funds. Teachers contracts, formerly on a continuing basis unless the teachers was notified otherwise, were placed on a one year basis.

A special session of the Legislature was held in July, 1956. The main action was the proposal of a constitutional amendment and passage of implementing legislation. The amendment was approved in a special election in September, 1956. Provisions were made for a "local option unit" (a community or subdivision) to vote to close the public schools if there were integration of these schools. Tuition grants are to be provided for children to attend private schools if the public schools are closed. Any parent in a community where schools are integrated may also secure a tuition grant for his child to attend private school if the child cannot be reassigned to a segregated public school and the parent objects to attendance at the integrated school. Compulsory school attendance is no longer required for a child whose parent objects to his attending an integrated school and for whom no segregated public school or private school is abailable.

A resolution of "protest" against the Supreme Court's decision on education was passed. This is milder than the interposition resolutions passed in other states.

SOUTH CAROLINA

The Legislature proposed a constitutional amendment in 1952 to abolish the General Assembly to provide free public schools. This was approved by the voters in November 1952, but did not become official until early 1954 when it was ratified by the General Assembly in accordance with South Carolina law.

The 1955 session of the Legislature passed several laws specifically designed to prevent school integration. These grant local school authorities more latitude in transferring and assigning pupils. Pupils may be transferred from one county to another though parents do not own property in the county to which the pupil is transferred. The compulsory school attendance requirement was appealed, and visiting teachers authorized to use persuasion in influencing school attendance. School trustees are permitted to lease or sell school property. All state appropriations are to be cut off for any school from which and to which students are transferred as a result of any court order. Continuing contracts of teachers were eliminated so that year by year hiring is now the practice.

1956 Regular Session passed a strongly worded resolution in which it avoided using the word "interposition", but which is generally considered to be a resolution of interposition. It condemned the action of the Supreme Court and reserved to the state of South Carolina certain "sovereign" powers.

A concurrent resolution was passed by the House and Senate endorsing the formation of Citizens Councils in the State. Another resolution requested the State Library Board to remove certain books from circulation. (Circulation of a book for children, "The Swimming Hole", in which a Negro child assumes leadership, prompted the resolution).

An act was passed making it unlawful to hire in any state, school, county or municipal job any person who was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This law faces a test in the U. S. District Court. Eighteen teachers who were dismissed from the Elloree Training School in Orangeburg County for refusing to sign statements relative to their NAACP membership filed suit in September.

In other action the Legislature set up a committee to investigate NAACP activities "among the faculty and students of the South Carolina State College for Negroes".

The appropriations bill specified that all appropriations were made for racially separate school and parks. Any institution of higher learning ordered by the court to admit a pupil would be closed. If any school other than the State College for Negroes closed as a result of this, the Negro school would also be closed until the other institution was opened.

Provisions were made for transferring certain pupils from one school to another with the aid of law enforcement officials. More power was given local school trustees in conducting hearing on segregation problems. The life of a 15 member committee (The Gressette Committee) set up in 1951 to study school segregation was extended indefinitely and its activities broadened to include all phases of segregation affecting the state. It is to coordinate its activities with similar groups in other states having "similar problems".

TENNESSEE

The Tennessee legislature had not passed any prosegregation legislation up through 1956. Local laws were vetoed by Governor Clement and a general segregation law died in committee.

TEXAS

No new segregation laws had been passed prior to 1957. However, voters in the Democratic primary in July, 1956 were asked if they wanted specific legislation (1) exempting a child from compulsory attendance at a mixed school, (2) stronger laws against racial intermarriage, and (3) a resolution of interposition. The voters approved these measures.

VIRGINIA

A constitutional convention amended the state's constitution in March, 1956, so that tuition grants might be paid out of public funds for children to attend private schools.

The 1956 regular session of the Legislature passed an interposition resolution. It also approved resolutions stating that only minor federal employees and clerks can serve on school boards and that there are to be no interracial athletic contests at high school level. Bills were passed which provided for the full disclosure of persons or groups supporting suits against school boards and for appointment of Arlington County School Board members (previously elected).

A special session of the Legislature enacted a number of anti-integration laws in September, 1956. These provided that public school integration could no longer receive state funds. The funds cut off would be available for tuition grants for children to attend private non-sectarian schools. Local school areas could also raise money to be used for tuition grants. Month-to-month financing of schools is permitted. Schools are no longer required to operate nine months a year nor does the compulsory attendance law require any child to attend a mixed school. The governor is permitted to take over any school that has been closed because of integration and attempt to reorganize and open it on a segregated basis.

Teachers in non-sectarian private schools formed after the passage of this law are brought under state retirement system. Local school boards, rather than the district superintendent, are made responsible for teacher assignment. However, pupil assignment is placed under control of a three man state Assignment Board.

School boards are directed to secure legal aid to defend themselves against suits and the attorney-general is authorized to assist them.

County school boards may furnish pupils transportation, but are no longer required to do so.

Organizations engaged in activities for the benefit of one race which create or might create racial conflict are required to register.

Several laws were passed prohibiting the instigation of litigation if one is not a party to it, regulating the solicitation of litigation, and requiring information on those bringing and financing law suits.

Nov., 1966

TRAGEDY IN GRENADA - spec file

A Study in the Breakdown of Law Enforcement

Many scenes of tragedy in Southern communities faced with Negro protest have raised up single villains - "Bull" Connor, Jim Clark, Laurie Pritchett. Most have eventually faced up to the necessity for accommodation of Negro rights. Not so, Grenada, Mississippi.

Grenada, in the Summer of 1966, was not prepared to face the hard reality of unhappy local Negroes. Official Grenada responded to Negro demands with the familiar, "no, never." Law enforcement officers, faced with what they considered the "odious" job of protecting peaceful Negro demonstrators, simply abdicated their legal responsibilities; in confrontations between Negro protestors and white mobs, these officials resembled nothing so much as "bought" referees.

Each time such a confrontation occurred, there was a breakdown in law enforcement - a vacuum of power. Sometimes, other law enforcement agencies filled the vacuum. More often, it was filled by white mobs.

In the Spring of 1966, Grenada, a sleepy, North Central Mississippi town of some 8,000 inhabitants -- whites outnumbering Negroes by about 250 -- had no civil rights organization and had experienced not even the faintest manifestations of organized Negro unrest. Civil Rights Acts, Freedom Rides, sit-ins, protest, had not come to Grenada. The town remained segregated.

"Two sets of restrooms (numbered One and Two) had been built into the County Courthouse. Negroes had never been permitted library privileges. The police force, the city's swimming pool and the town's twelve white churches were all segregated. Even the U. S. Post Office in Grenada was entirely white-staffed." (1) Only 135 of the County's 4,300 eligible Negroes were registered to vote in June, 1962. Four years later, on June 14, 1966, only 700 Negroes were registered. (2)

June 14, 1966 is the day that divides Grenada's history into "before" and "after." For on that hot, sunny Tuesday, the Meredith March came to town. About 175 marchers arrived at the city line; but as the group passed through the town it picked up considerable local support, until one Highway Patrolman, ordered to be on good behavior by an image-conscious

By SRC (Bill Farmer)

state, estimated that he saw "about a mile of niggers."(1)

The town had made some preparations for the arrival of the marchers. One Grenada official recalled: "We had several meetings among ourselves before the marchers came. We wanted to avoid trouble."(2)

City Manager John McEachin told a reporter who preceded the march: "All we want is to get these people through town and out of here. Good niggers don't want anything to do with this march. And there are more good niggers (here) than sorry niggers."(3)

The streets along which the march proceeded were relatively empty. There were no shouted obscenities, no cat-calls, no missile throwing. The population had been prepared for the march and warned to remain calm.

Policeman Jack Shipp told a couple of would-be troublemakers: "If you want to boo, boo out in the woods."(4)

City Attorney Bradford Dye later described how word was spread to avoid incidents, with statements to this effect: "Roll with the punch." "The County itself is granting concessions to Negroes all over the place." "Let them demonstrate for a day and then the parade will be over - and things will return to normal."(5)

And so, the marchers swarmed into courthouse square, which was ringed by state and county lawmen. The surrounding crowds of whites remained silent, though sullen. Even when SCLC official, Robert Green, climbed up on the town statue of Jeff Davis, slapped the face of the Confederate hero, and referred to him as "this joker . . ." The whites made no public outcry, although that "desecration of our monument" became the Summer rallying cry of bitter, resentful whites.(6)

This demonstration of civic self-discipline didn't mean that the townspeople were reconciled.

From a chair in the barber shop that day, one customer intoned: "They can pass all the laws they want, but niggers'll still have black faces. Where's this gonna end? I'll tell you. It's gonna end when we mow'em down, mow'em down."(7)

A merchant said: "I saw two of my niggers in there, an' they won't have no jobs tomorrow . . . they get in that march an' that's it. They'll be on relief tomorrow." (8)

A Sheriff's Deputy remarked the next day: "After they leave, everything will be the same again. The nigger in this town depends on the white man for his living." (1)

However, in the face of Negro demands and in the presence of national television and newspaper correspondents, city officials yielded gracefully. Prosecutor Dye met with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other Negro leaders. He agreed to desegregate the Courthouse washrooms. Six Negro teachers were added to the complement of voting registrars. Registration hours were extended from 5:00 pm to 9:00 pm.(2)

As the conference continued, a night march was organized from a nearby church to the town square. "When Dr. King emerged smiling to report that the town had 'completely capitulated' to Negro demands, the crowd went home."(3) Again, the white community remained silent.

"As the group of 300 marchers filed past the darkened homes of the white section, the only sound that rose through the dark-boughed shade trees was the steady scuffle of marching feet. The restraint on the part of the whites was overwhelming. Not one heckler emerged. Not one epithet was hurled. Not one "Nigger" shouted. But the silence was a dark, brooding, seething silence . . ."(4)

But for all of the underlying resentment, the public behavior of local law enforcement officers could scarcely be criticized. They were displaying, for all to see, the image of a "New Mississippi."

"At 8:00 am Wednesday, the Courthouse opened as promised and by the time the march left Grenada Thursday afternoon, some one thousand Negroes had been added to the voting rolls. At a press conference in front of March headquarters, Dr. King declared: 'We will not allow window dressing compliance that will get us out of town. We can't guarantee there won't be some suffering and sacrifice. I've never worked anywhere where Negores haven't lost jobs. But I'm convinced Mississippi will never be the same."(5) June 16

Prophetic words indeed when applied to Grenada.

Before the March was a day down the road, Grenada's true colors - the stars and bars - again fluttered from the War Memorial. Two days later, the Negro registrars disappeared - and the color line reappeared wherever Grenadans gathered.(6) And so, amid mounting tensions, the Movement returned to Grenada full force, "demanding impossibly much of a town

willing to yield impossibly little."(1) Hosea Williams of SCLC unfurled a 51 point bill of demands and pledged to make Grenada nothing less than an "open city," integrated everywhere from the Little League to the Old Folks' Home.(2)

Since the efforts of law enforcement officers were based on the assumption that their difficulties would disappear with the passing of the march, the news that SCLC was planning to conduct an ongoing campaign came as a severe blow. It was at this point that the quality of law enforcement began to deteriorate rapidly - not just from ill-will, but from a real inability to grasp the fundamental issues involved.

Said Sheriff Suggs Ingram: "They had it so easy during the March they thought they could come back and take over. We are not going to put up with what we have in the past, even if it takes force."(3)

In response to the initial demands of SCLC organizers, the city and county officials issued a joint manifesto, stating baldly: "There will be no concessions of any type or degree made to anyone whatsoever."(4)

Grenada wasn't budging. And the second act of the tragedy began.

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A detailing of the Summer's events might well begin with the Independence Day celebration held on the night of July 3 in an abandoned barn outside of town. In attendance, among a crowd of 150, were 8 SCLC staffers, 5 Negro and 3 white, who had been left behind by Dr. King after the March departed. About 10:00 pm, Sheriff Ingram and a deputy appeared. The 3 SCLC whites were arrested and the next day, most of the Negro staffers were rounded up on various charges of being tramps and disturbing the peace.(5)

On July 7, 41 Negroes and 2 whites planned a march on the jail to protest the earlier arrests. (According to some reports, they had just been denied entry to a theater.)(6) They were refused a march permit and then staged a sitdown strike. All 43 were arrested.(7)

Open police brutality on a large scale first occurred on July 10. A group of about 50 Negroes arrived at the Jail for the stated purpose of visiting those already arrested.(8) They were informed that the couldn't visit and were ordered to disperse. When they failed to do so immediately, they were told

that they were under arrest. The group crossed the street and mingled with a crowd of about 150 Negroes who had been watching the demonstration. At this point, approximately 25 State Highway Patrolmen, who had been kept out of sight around the corner, charged the crowd swinging billies and gun butts. The bystanders were still being beaten by the Highway Patrolmen when County policemen were ordered to disperse a nearby crowd of noisy whites. No whites were struck.(1)

From this point on, official hatred and violence were out in the open. There was no longer even a pretense of equal protection under the laws.

The situation grew increasingly tense. White fears and hatreds were further aroused by SCLC's call for a boycott or "black-out" of white-owned downtown stores and by continued concerted attempts to test desegregation in public facilities.(2)

On Wednesday, July 13, the second day of boycott picketing, 35 picketers were arrested after City Attorney Dye ordered police to "disperse these people any way you can."(3)

The next day, about 200 marchers approached the town square, planning to hold a demonstration in front of the War Memorial. But the Confederate statue was guarded by 8 Negroes - identifed by Constable Grady Carroll as prisoners serving life sentences.(4) They were ordered to shove back anyone who came near the statue. The marchers retreated rather than place the Negro prisoners in the position of having to attack other Negroes. Sheriff Suggs Ingram seemed amused by the confrontation of black vs. black.(5)

The struggle grew in intensity. As the boycott became increasingly effective, more picketers were arrested.(6) The Federal Court ordered County officials to provide adequate protection for the demonstrators.(7) The Justice Department sent in Federal Voting Registrars.(8) There were continuous marches and counter-marches, and only the presence of over 100 state Highway Patrolmen prevented massive violence.(9) Three Negroes leaving a theater were brutally beaten because one of them was so light-skinned he appeared to be white.(10) Mass arrests took place at a Negro dance in Tie Plant, a nearby community.(11)

The situation had become so serious, and complete loss of control by responsible community leaders so imminent, that "County officials requested a conference with Movement leaders. They asked for a temporary halt to demonstrations. Leon Hall,

a 19 year old SCLC Project Leader, answered with a list of 17 urgent demands, including the release of the 57 Tie Plant party-goers. Declared one outraged white official: "That settles it. We just wanted you to know that we can't protect you. You are on your own."(1)

Here was an official abdication of responsibility for law enforcement by the power structure. The lid was off. The pot was ready to boil over. And it did.

On August 8, the Police and Highway Patrolmen were issued tear gas and were quick to use it. That evening,"some 75 - 85 City, County and State officers"(2) broke up a Negro voter registration rally by firing about 20 cannisters of tear gas(3) into a crowd of 200 people. City Attorney Bradford Dye explained that the crowd had been ordered to clear the street, "which they did, partially. Then they were asked to open it more. They didn't. Tear gas was used to disperse them."(4) Officers then chased bystanders ten blocks into the heart of the Negro district, clubbing some down on their own front lawns.(5)

The next night, violence became general. As demonstrators neared the town square for a planned rally, Sheriff Suggs Ingram told a reporter: "Now you're going to see a show."(6)

A mob of 250 whites waited by the Confederate monument in the square. As the demonstrators approached, the mob "threw bottles, bricks, steel pipes and firecrackers at the 300 Negroes. The attack sent demonstrators fleeing from the town square with whites in pursuit. A one point, over 100 state and local officers stepped in between the whites and the demonstrators, turned their backs to the white crowd, and rested their guns on their hips with the gun barrels pointed over the heads of the Negroes. Whites continued hurling missiles over the heads of the officers." (7)

"Many of the officers, including Sheriff Ingram, laughed as the missiles struck the Negroes, then issued angry warnings after 2 Negroes hurled missiles back at the whites."(8)

One of the demonstrators was taken to the hospital and at least a dozen others were injured.(9)

When asked the next day why he hadn't stopped the mob, Ingram responded: "Police couldn't have stopped it without using violence." He told how, a few minutes before the attack, he had asked several members of the mob to back away from the demonstrators. "I asked'em to do me a favor. Told'em I'd 'preciate it."(10)

The events of that night made it clear that there was no effective law enforcement in Grenada. In response to the obvious power vacuum, Governor Johnson sent in his riot control expert, Giles Crisler.(1)

On Wednesday evening, August 10, another demonstration was held, this time with rather different results. The evening began with a mob of some 300 whites firing chiselled bolts from sling shots and throwing cherry bombs and other firecrackers at 40 demonstrators, mostly teenagers, who had gathered in the square. Then came the difference. Crisler, backed by 250 officers, mostly State Troopers and Game and Fish Commission Officers, cleared the mob from the square at gunpoint, after they refused to heed warnings about throwing rocks.(2)

Shouts of "nigger lovers" and "traitors" came from the mob as troopers pressed them down streets leading from the square. "I never thought I'd live to see the day,"(3) shouted one man.

Sheriff Ingram remained in the background as State officials took over.

Once it had been demonstrated that there was a force in Grenada bigger than the mob, a certain degree of peace, or at least truce, settled over the town. And that should have been the end of Grenada's chapter in the annals of violent resistance to civil rights activities, but it was not. There was yet a third act.

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On August 26, Federal Judge Claude Clayton, on petition of the Justice Department, ordered Grenada's schools desegregated.(4) School registration had been set for September 2, but because of the complexities involved in the processing of "freedom of choice" forms, it was postponed until September 12.(5)

During the more than three weeks which elapsed between the issuance of the court order and the opening of school, local law enforcement officials, despite their Summer experiences, made no plans for special precautions or protection for the Negro students.(6) According to testimony later given before Judge Clayton, they assumed that the State Highway Patrol would be available for special help, although State law forbids the Highway Patrol to operate in municipalities without the express request of local officials or a formal order from the Governor.(7)

As a result, when School Desegregation Day came, the only law enforcement agencies available to maintain order were the Sheriff and his deputies and the City Police Department, both of which agencies had long since demonstrated their unwillingness and inability to keep order in the community.(1)

Thus, the tragic events of September 12-13 were, in a way, inevitable.

300 of the 1,387 eligible Negro children registered for admission to the formerly all-white Lizzie Horne Elementary School and John Rundle High School.(2)

On the evening of September 11, separate columns of Negro and white demonstrators marched around the Courthouse Square, side by side.

About 275 Negroes shouted, "John Rundle, John Rundle High School," in answer to a shout of "Where are we going to school tomorrow?"(3)

While there was no large scale violence that evening, it was obvious that feelings among both communities were running very high. Still, city officials made no special arrangements.

On the first morning of school, small roving bands of whites, armed with axe handles, lead pipes and chains, attacked many of the 150 Negro children who appeared, lashing out at boys and girls alike. The gangs were directed to their victims by walkie-talkies or gun shot signals, from pick-up trucks which cruised the streets near the school complex.(4)

A few items will, perhaps, catch the flavor of the day.

A gang of whites trampled Richard Sigh, 12, in the dust, breaking a leg.(5)

One group of girls, including 14 year old Emerald Cunningham, were on their way to school when they saw a crowd of whites approaching. Most of the girls fled, but Emerald was caught by the mob. One man pointed a gun at her head and pushed her into a front yard. Then the mob began to beat her with fists, pipes and chains. When Emerald tried to leave, the man with the gun said, "Nigger, you move I shoot your brain out." Finally a white man pulled her up and said: "Get away and don't come back."

Why didn't she flee with the rest of the girls? Emerald explained: "I had polio and couldn't run."(6)

One twelve year old boy, attempting to escape, was forced to run a block-long gauntlet of whites who flailed him with chains. He emerged with a bleeding face and torn clothes.(1)

These, of course, are only a few of the incidents. In all, 33 Negroes and three white newsmen were assaulted that day.(2)

Perhaps the most significant fact is that almost all of these attacks and beatings took place within view of local law enforcement officials.(3)

"While Negro youngsters were thrown to the ground, kicked and beaten, Grenada Policemen stood by and grinned.

"These niggers', explained Constable Grady Carroll,'is keeping the law enforcement officers from doing their duty."(4)

NAACP Attorney Henry Aaron~~son~~ said that he heard white men make threatening remarks when he arrived at the school grounds. Constable Carroll and Police Captain Turner were nearby, so he asked them for protection.

Aaron~~son~~ testified: "Carroll looked at the toughs and nodded at me. It was a very distinct nod. Immediately on nodding, the group charged me. I ran to Carroll and said, "Grady, Grady, help me.' He said, 'You don't belong here.' Then the group got me. They hit me on the head and I don't know where else. They beat me to the ground. And I was screaming to Grady for help. I saw Grady's shoes the whole time, while Grady and Turner stood there."

When the ordeal was over, Aaronson reported that Carroll asked him: "What the hell are you doing here causing all this trouble." (5)

A Negro woman stated that she opened her car door to let broken glass fall out of her auto after a white crowd attacked, and Carroll, who had been standing by all the time, said: "Don't you get your . . . out of there. If you do, we'll kill you."(6)

Robert Gordon, a reporter for UPI, tried to escape from the mob by running across the school grounds, but was ordered off the premises by a County Policeman. Then the mob caught Gordon again and knocked him to the street. Finally, two policemen came up and rescued him. One of the policemen told the mob: "OK,boys, he's had enough."(7)

Charles Alexander, 17, was struck with a pistol outside the high school. The assailant then pointed the gun at him. When Alexander pointed the man out to a policeman who was patrolling the sidewalk, he was rebuffed. "I'm busy now," said the policeman.(1)

Instances of police indifference to, and apparent approval of, the brutalities of the day would fill many pages. The police attitude is best summed up by Constable Carroll's explanation concerning the attacks on reporters. "Some of the newsmen needed a cleaning. If they tell a lie, they need a whupping . . ." From whom? "From any body who wants to give it to them," Carroll said.(2)

This day's events did not mark the end of the violence. Although Governor Johnson ordered the State Highway Patrol into the area on Monday night, they did not move into the school area on Tuesday morning until asked to do so by local police.(3) By the time they went into action, many car windows had been smashed and at least four more children beaten.(4)

While the presence of the State law enforcement officers put an end to attacks on women and children, it did not have a beneficial effect on the mood of the white community.

Several hundred whites, shouting defiance of state and federal authority, held a furious session Monday night in the City Hall Auditorium to demand that the patrol be withdrawn. "If you get that State Highway Patrol out of here, there won't be a nigger left in Grenada," cried one man.(5)

On Tuesday night, a group of Negro demonstrators were attacked by a white mob in the town square. The large contingent of State officers stepped between the groups only after the white attack had taken place.(6)

This was the last serious incident of violence. Order was finally brought to Grenada by the presence of the State Highway Patrol, 13 FBI arrests,(7) and a Federal Court order to local officials, so sternly worded by Judge Clayton that one official reported: "When the judge got through, you thought you could crawl through the eye of a needle."(8)

None of these events seems to have brought any basic change to Grenada. Sheriff Suggs Ingram still occupies the throne. Constable Grady Carroll, who received a four month sentence for Contempt of Court, will probably soon be back at the old stand, if he is not already there. The City Council has issued yet

another statement in favor of "law and order."(1) A white minister reports that racial lines are so tightly drawn that: "If you so much as suggest talking to the colored leadership, you're labelled a 'nigger lover' and a 'race mixer."(2)

These last items serve to illustrate that the law enforcement process can fail again in Grenada. No changes have been made. No lessons have been learned. As late as the last week in October, over 275 young Negro demonstrators and picketers were arrested, some of them sent to the state prison at Parchman, because all of the jails in the area were full to overflowing.(3)

The only small ray of hope for the future came from the children themselves. One the afternoon of that terrible first day of school, many of the Negro children had gathered in the Auditorium waiting for the mob to disperse somewhat. Sheriff Ingram came and told the children that they could leave and would be given a police escort home. He advised them to leave by a rear door but the youngsters replied:

"No Sir, we're going out the front door like white folks."(4)

They did.

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FOOTNOTES

The footnotes listed below are intended to provide documentation for the facts stated in the article. While some passages are direct quotations from the sources given, this is not true in all cases.

PAGE 1

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PAGE 2

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PAGE 3

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PAGE 4

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PAGE 5

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FOOTNOTES
(Continued)

PAGE 5

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PAGE 6

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PAGE 7

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PAGE 8

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PAGE 9

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PAGE 10

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FOOTNOTES
(Continued)

PAGE 11

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"A Charge To Keep We Have"

WORKBOOK ON WHAT TRANSPIRED
MARCH 22-23, 1967

The Workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned

The Charge To Us From The President of Our Country:

It is the citizen who will finally determine whether the agencies of law enforcement and criminal justice are staffed and nourished by first-rate skills and modern equipment.

It is the citizen who maintains and enlarges respect for law and order.
It is the interaction of the citizen and the community — their common dedication to public order — which is the most powerful deterrent of crime.

It is the citizen who will determine whether streets will be safe to walk, whether homes will be secure, whether property rights will be respected, whether integrity and honest dealing will govern relationships between men.
We can control crime if we will.

We must act boldly, now, to treat ancient evils and to insure the public safety.

—From Message to Congress
"Safe Streets and Crime Control"

I N D E X

Page

"A CHARGE TO KEEP WE HAVE"..... 1-3

Miss Thelma Stevens, Assistant Secretary
Section of Christian Social Relations
Board of Missions, The Methodist Church

RECOMMENDATIONS..... 4

Voted by the Fellowship of the Concerned
March 23, 1967
Thus we "charged ourselves to a big task"

"TO REDEEM THE WORST, TO BETTER THE BEST"..... 5

Reprint from Time Magazine
Summary of the President's Message to Congress

REPORT OF DISCUSSION GROUPS..... 6-7

"Behold the Turtle He Makes Progress Only When
He Sticks His Neck Out" --James B. Conant

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE IN THE PROCESS OF CRIMINAL
JUSTICE..... 8-10

OBSERVERS PROGRAM..... 11

EMORY UNIVERSITY VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION ALCOHOL
PROJECT..... 12-13

--Mr. Bruce Herrin

PROJECT ON CRIME AND CORRESTIONS --Mr. John Boone..... 14

EXCERPTS FROM PANEL DISCUSSION..... 15-19

--Mrs. Betty Cantor, Moderator

THE WORSHIP SERVICES..... 20-21

"A CHARGE TO KEEP WE HAVE"

By Thelma Stevens

(A Message to Participants in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.)

"To be a troubler in Israel" is the calling of every person concerned with the wellbeing of God's children. A "troubler" in Isarel is not afraid to undertake the difficult, the unpopular and whay may seem too frequently to be impossible. Throughout history there have been concerned women whose courage, sensitivity, knowledge of the facts and understanding of the needs moved the world forward.

Mrs. Tilly, herself, with her own indomitable courage, her great knowledge and understanding of the injustices that beset our land, and her fearless creative effective involvement where suffering is greatest, illustrates in action today God's calling to be a "troubler in Israel!" She must have had something extra special in mind for all of us, when she said: "I want you to help us all see our responsibility and define our duty, as church women, to know what is happening in the courts." I doubt if I would have been presumptuous enough to say yes to such a mandate if any one except Mrs. Tilly had asked me!

Let me try to be as specific as I know how to be in trying to put in words a mandate to action that every person present understands or we would not have come to the meeting. We are all concerned with justice in the courts because the meaning of democracy is at stake. But even much more important, we are concerned with justice in the courts because we believe that God's children of every color and creed, of every station in life, have the right to equal protection under the law without fear of injustice and violence.

Citizens have a responsibility! Some one has said that "Responsibility that's real is duty." The Fellowship of the Concerned has functioned over the years because concerned committed women translated their duty as citizens into compassionate fearless bold action to effect change wherever injustices and violations of human dignity existed.

The primary focus of our concern in this conference is not necessarily with crime in general as important as that is. This concern must be focused by sheer necessity specifically on justice in the courts as the issues concern race and human freedom with dignity in the south today. The flagrant violations of the rights

of persons of color and their supporters in courts is a travesty of justice, a blot on our much boasted democracy, and in total conflict with every worthy and relevant religious principle in which our faith is rooted. We have no recourse but to act if there is integrity in our witness.

The idea of justice in the courts started the ball rolling some fifteen years ago when "The Fellowship of the Concerned" was born. But 1967 is different! The whole world is watching us! The revolution among us in the U.S.A. has gathered momentum that will grow in its demand for freedom, justice and equality for all the people. Every part of our behaviour is on trial. Nothing less than full opportunity to walk and work and live in dignity and freedom will ever be accepted by the participants in the revolution.

March 21st, 1967 was designated by the U.N. General Assembly as world-wide "Eliminate Discrimination Day." This means in the U.S.A. too! More than fifty new nations have gained independent statehood in the last 20 years. These nations and some fifty or sixty other nations in the U.N. (total membership in 1967 is 121) will observe in 1968 the 20th Anniversary of the Adoption by the U. N. of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As our own nation participates there hopefully will grow new understanding of our responsibility in the world community where the achievement of human dignity is the chief cornerstone of peace.

"Injustice" in the Courts, in some parts of the south, has become a devastating symbol of U.S.A. across the world. Punishment of murderers has in some instances become a farce. Not enough citizens have become "troublers in Israel!"

In the U.S.A. and across the world the demand for freedom and power has become a slogan of destiny for many, with a time schedule that turns upside down "long range plans" that have characterized the postponement tactics of the traditional past. "Freedom - Now" means justice before the law or else there is no freedom. In the face of such fear ravaged change we have increasingly moved into a climate where violence beyond anything this nation has known has become a ground swell across the nation. Some parts of the south are more devastated because there the "law of the land" is being flouted by law enforcement power in the states.

In the face of this kind of challenge let me list a few premises:

1 - Law is neither enacted nor enforced unless the voting citizens demand it.

2 - Community organization to achieve power for the dispossessed needs the full support of concerned courageous citizens in thousands of local communities.

3 - The middle class power structure is scared to death, and this fear finds one of its most overt expressions in law enforcement and court decisions.

4 - Law enforcement and court integrity are the most crucial, the most difficult, and the most urgent issues or questions before us as concerned church women seek ways of witnessing as <u>responsible citizens.</u>

5 - The united voices calling to action and the visible presence of women of all faiths and races in the courts and wherever the law is flouted will go far toward determining just and fair procedures by the powers that seem to prevail.

In summary we may well ask <u>how can we act effectively in 1967 and in the crisis years immediately ahead</u>?

Even as <u>we</u> move <u>now</u> we must <u>prepare ourselves</u> and <u>enlist other concerned women</u>:

---To know the facts and understand them.

---To develop the skills of effective participation. Experience is often a great teacher.

---To enlist the community power structures for justice.

---To influence state political power. Women are voters with power!

---To make our voices heard in Washington on issues such as civil rights, law enforcement, and anti-poverty programs.

To be a "troubler in Israel" means working to break the old patterns that all too often have become the walled-in symbols of "our (so called) American Way of Life". It means <u>acting</u> with integrity to make real the religious faith we profess! This "Charge To Keep We Have" ever before us!

RECOMMENDATIONS

Voted by The Fellowship of the Concerned, March 23, 1967

Thus we "charged" ourselves to a big task.

1. It is recommended that the Fellowship of the Concerned encourage women in every state to safeguard the legal services available and that guidelines for action be gotten from the Civil Liberties Union, and N. A. A. C. P.

2. To have the women's groups in every community, to become alert about the qualifications of their judges and to, observe the process of justice in their courts.

3. Find out what kind of facilities exist in our respective states for taking care of problem children--children who go through the courts. Find out what steps can be taken to alleviate these situations.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. To provide a simple handbook of orientation and procedures for effective court action, with a training film strip, if possible.

2. That refresher periods be planned when we can come together to check up on what we have done and get further direction for future action.

TO REDEEM THE WORST, TO BETTER THE BEST

IN two messages to Congress last week, President Johnson put before the country major measures involving the youth of America. His proposals to combat crime ranged far beyond the problems of youth to consider curbs on all manner of violence in American society, but they vitally concerned the young because so large a proportion of crime is committed by them. His message on youth itself discussed how to nourish achievement, open opportunities and channel youthful energies into law-abiding pursuits. The gist of the President's messages:

CRIME

The "Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967" would give the Federal Government little new authority and not even the germ of a national police force. But it would provide the funds ($350 million in the next two years) to induce city and state police forces, courts and correctional agencies to come to grips with the problem. Washington would give 90% of the money needed to finance modernization plans, foot 60% of the bill for crime-deterrent innovations, some of the more interesting of which have been suggested by Los Angeles' new police chief, Thomas J. Reddin (*see* THE LAW). It would also provide 50% of the construction cost of crime laboratories, community correction centers and police academies.

One innovation, said L.B.J., might be the appointment of community "service officers," who would know and maintain close relations with people in neighborhoods. With their contacts in the slums, they could alert authorities to trouble, help stave off riots. Juvenile delinquents might also be rehabilitated more successfully in their home communities than in reform schools; a five-year California experiment along this line, said the President, has shown "dramatically impressive" success in turning errant youths from all-too-promising careers in crime.

Startling Facts. The President relied heavily on data accumulated during an 18-month study that is to be published later this week by the National Crime Commission headed by Under Secretary of State (and former Attorney General) Nicholas deB. Katzenbach. As summarized in his message, the report presented some startling new facts about crime. Some of them:

▶ Fifteen-year-olds commit more serious crimes than those in any other age group, with 16-year-olds close behind. Youths under 18 account for more than half of all burglary arrests.

▶ Relatively few major crimes are interracial. For the most part, criminals prey upon their own race and economic group.

▶ The cost of white-collar crime, such as embezzlement, consumer frauds and petty theft from businesses, "dwarfs" that of all crimes of violence. Property losses from both kinds of crime total more than $3 billion a year.

▶ More than 7,000,000 people come into contact with some agency of criminal justice each year. More than 400,000 are behind bars in any one day.

▶ At least half of the aggravated assaults, burglaries and larcenies are probably never reported. In some communities, only one-tenth may show up on police records.

▶ One-third of all arrests—2,000,000 a year—are for drunkenness. If it were treated as a social problem, suggested Johnson, rather than a crime, the criminal enforcement apparatus would be relieved of a huge burden, leaving more time for more serious concerns.

The drive on crime would be left largely to the states and cities, but the President did ask Congress once again for passage of a firearms-control act, which would be one of the cheapest, yet probably one of the most effective crime-fighting tools. "Further delay," he said, "is unconscionable." And along with new guarantees of personal safety, he asked for a guarantee of personal privacy in a bill aimed at outlawing all wiretapping and electronic bugging, both private and public, except when national security is involved. In this request, the President is at odds with some important members of Congress, who favor limited wiretapping and bugging privileges for police forces.

YOUTH

Yet hitting at crime from above, said Johnson, is not enough. "To speak of crime," he said, quoting the Crime Commission, "only in terms of the work of the police, the courts and the correctional apparatus alone is to refuse to face the fact that widespread crime implies a widespread failure by society as a whole." A much broader assault must be directed at the underground causes, and L.B.J. outlined such an assault in his youth message. For crime is often one visible effect of poverty, and economic deprivation in youth sows a huge harvest of blighted promise and lost opportunity.

Johnson's list of the country's neglect of its youth was exhaustive. Some 14.5 million young under 17 live in families too poor to feed and house them adequately. One million will drop out of school this year, most to join the ranks of the unemployed. More than 3.5 million poor children who need medical help do not receive it and nearly two-thirds of all poor children have never visited a dentist. At least ten nations have lower infant mortality rates than the U.S.; if the U.S.'s rate were as low as Sweden's, 40,000 babies that now die each year would be saved.

The President noted nonetheless that the U.S. has sharply stepped up its aid to the young in recent years, from $3.5 billion for all federal programs benefiting young people in 1960 to more than $11.5 billion in the budget now before Congress. Much more, he said, needs to be done. Head Start, the intensive educational program for poor pre-schoolers, should be widened so that it can help more very young children (three-year-olds) and older children, who often lose momentum when they enter regular classrooms. A not unimportant side benefit of Head Start gives medical and dental care to many children who otherwise would never see the inside of a doctor's or dentist's office. "In short," said L.B.J., "for poor children and their parents, Head Start has replaced the conviction of failure with the hope of success." Under Johnson's proposal, $135 million would be added to the $337 million already budgeted in the next fiscal year for the program, probably the most popular that the "War on Poverty" has introduced, and a particular Johnson favorite.

Pilot Program. The President urged that payments to the three million children who now receive social security —because the family breadwinner has died, retired or is disabled—be increased by an average 15%, at a cost of $350 million. Average benefits now, he noted, are only $52 a month. He also proposed a pilot program to ensure that 100,000 children in poverty areas can visit a dentist and 500,000 be examined by a doctor in the next year. To take care of the babies that are yet to be born, Johnson asked for legislation authorizing ten pilot centers to train health workers, look into the problems of child health, and provide care for 180,000 needy children and 10,000 mothers. There are in the U.S. today, he pointed out, only 12,000 trained pediatricians and 13,000 obstetricians, "far too few to provide adequate medical care."

The total cost of all his proposals would be $650 million. But in a number of them, some small and experimental, Johnson was clearly pointing the way to bigger programs he hopes to initiate in post-Viet Nam years, when there will be more room in the budget for the new social-welfare measures that he longs to add to those already under the umbrella of the Great Society. Meanwhile, in both its youth and its crime programs, the Johnson Administration aims to redeem the worst and to better the best.

Courtesy Time The Weekly Newsmagazine; Copyright Time Inc., 1967

REPORT of Discussion Groups

"BEHOLD THE TURTLE, HE MAKES PROGRESS ONLY WHEN HE STICKS HIS NECK OUT."

It was interesting to find this on Dorothy Tilly's program. I have known two other women who dared to use the Turtle: Mrs. C. N. Richardson from Florida usually wears a Turtle pin on her dress and can tell some tall tales about turtles. Margaret Applegarth, used to spend some time in Georgia, which she did right after finishing her book "Moment by Moment" and you may remember in this book she has a chapter headed "A TENDER TURTLE IS A TENDER TURTLE". She quotes St. Augustine when he said: "They that sit at rest while others take pains are tender turtles, and buy their quiet with disgrace." After reading the five reports and talking with the reporters I am sure that we are not "Tender Turtles." The question of the day was: How many have visited the jails? Not as many as might have been expected but more jails will be visited. Mrs. Donohoo told of a plan that the women of the Christian Church had to visit the jails the first of October. This is a set time with something definite for the women to look forward too. She hoped that all women would join in this effort so that it might become a Church Women project -- think what it could mean for an army of women to visit the jails at the same time!

WHAT POSITIVE THINGS CAN WE DO?:

Work together with groups of similar interest in writing letters to the editor and public officials. Arousing interest by visiting "Child Centered Agencies." (Florida Church Women United worked with all groups to ban the sale of alcohol on beaches during the influx of Easter students.) Visit children's Court with personal followup of the offender. Serve on the Jury. Look into the Jury. Get a list of the Jury. Make a court survey. See the records--although it will not be easy in many cases. Work hard for Legal Service Clinics. Each person must go home with a real concern to take definite action. Begin with May Fellowship Day--when we are thinking of "Community Concerns and How all can Share."

(Do not obey because it is the Law--But obey because it is Right. Remember, Mr. Durr Said: "This is the Law--can we say--This is right.")

The Church is very respectable--some want to keep it so. Will we be the "Tender Turtle" and let it remain just a respectable church? Nightclubs, ball games, etc. are integrated -- Look at your own church--see the respectability.

Proper desegregation comes from working together--not just talking together.

Flash radio and tv comments are needed--these will do a great deal for the prisons and courts--and to change ATTITUDES--ATTITUDES are important and often need CHANGING.

INFORMATION--coming from the leaders here--needs to come back to Mrs. Tilly.

INFORMATION--about the conditions in your local communities. NOTHING IS WORTH MUCH UNTIL IT IS LOCAL.

"BEHOLD THE TURTLE, HE MAKES PROGRESS ONLY WHEN HE STICKS HIS NECK OUT"

We need to go back into our communities--committed to the task of doing something about the evils all around us. Let us remember St. Augustine:

"THEY THAT SIT AT REST WHILE OTHERS TAKE PAINS ARE TENDER TURTLES, AND BUY THEIR QUIET WITH DISGRACE."

The recommendations from one of the groups seem to give us the tool with which we need to work. (See Recommendations)

Mrs. John Patton
Reporter for Discussion Groups

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE
IN
THE PROCESS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Several weeks ago, the Project on Crime & Corrections of the Southern Regional Council proposed to enlist the cooperation of the Fellowship of the Concerned - United Churchwomen - to prepare a booklet based on a survey of arrest and detention procedures in the Southern Region as they bear on misdemeanant offenders.

After a preview of the national survey of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice was reviewed, more attention was focused on the very poor provisions for the administration of criminal justice (law enforcement, probation and parole, and corrections) in the South. (Some of the data abstracted from the survey, and some of the more than 200 recommendations, are attached).

We realized that we were asking the Fellowship to venture out into unknown territory because few persons, lay or professional, are able to acquaint themselves fully with the arrest, judicial and correctional processes. Therefore, we secured the services of a member of the California Bar, Mr. Ronald Sievers, who is a VISTA Volunteer, to organize a pilot experience so that you would have some understanding of the problems that you will encounter in the study process.

After two meetings with some of the members of local religious organizations, the following women either visited local institutions or gathered as much data as possible from jail and court records. Some of these participants will apprise you of their experiences.

Mrs. John Golden
Mrs. Byron Kirkland
Mrs. Jack Patterson
Mrs. James Leak
Mrs. Marshall Solomon
Mrs. Herbert Slotin
Mrs. Jane Scherago
Mrs. Philip Shulhafer

Perhaps the worst problem encountered was the nature and variety of the records and the limited data that are available. Also, most apparent were the attitudes of suspicion that had to be overcome.

We were interested in the types of misdemeanors committed; the age, sex and race of the defendant; geographic distribution; the use of bail, detention or release on own recognizance; sentences, and time between arrest and disposition, (A copy of the schedule that we used in collecting the data is attached).

We ran into a number of problems, and we made mistakes. However, we learned that such a study is possible, with group understanding and conviction to see it through.

PROBLEMS:

1. Often, the Police Department would not cooperate and open records to use despite the fact that in Georgia, by law, these records are open to inspection by the public. Thus, it appears that a group undertaking the survey would have to invest a lot of know-how, pressure and influence in gaining access to "public records."

2. Lack of time of volunteers. The work probably would be done by volunteers. The work can be tedious as it is mainly a job of copying from records. Moreover, because of the poor methods of record-keeping sometimes used, the work can be very time-consuming.

3. Orientation was also a problem. Before the project is initiated in any particular area, the volunteers should be fully orientated to the job. The volunteers should be given a clear definition of the types of crimes they are interested in (this will vary by state) plus a questionnaire should be provided which will correspond to the records available to the volunteers. The volunteers would need professional guidance from a judge, attorney, police official or other person who is familiar with a particular agency of department.

4. It was found that the records kept are often incomplete. However, the effort would be worthwhile if it were only able to expose such situations.

A study similar to this (The Westchester Misdemeanant Survey), was published by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency in 1966. The data were collected by women volunteers.

The Westchester Survey was a first step toward bringing light into the darkness that now obscures most of American crime. Misdemeanor, as a legal term, covers the vast catalogue of criminal violations punishable by a fine or imprisonment in a local

jail or other institution as against the more serious violations, felonies, punishable by death or confinement in a state prison. The latter are studied and debated, but very little data are available to show how misdemeanants are dealt with, although they account for at least 9 out of every 10 arrests.

To find out what happened to misdemeanant offenders in Westchester from arrest to final disposition and from this information to make recommendations for improvements in the system was the starting point of the survey. The project relied primarily upon public police and court records. Information gathered was supplemented by interviews with police chiefs, judges and other government officials. It is this pattern that we hope to follow in our own effort.

A survey of misdemeanant procedures in the Southern Region would constitute the foundation upon which many service-relevant programs could be developed. Additionally, it would help to validate the assumptions that are proposed relative to youth detention and treatment and to identify gaps in service and record-keeping procedures.

WORKSHOP ON COURTS

Prepared by Mrs. Wm. Wood, Vice President,
League of Women Voters of the United States

Observers Program

Some selective process should be used in recruiting observers. Personal appearance and demeanor are important. Those willing to participate should --

1) Conduct themselves in a polite, well-mannered way.

2) Be willing to sit through proceedings and refrain from making remarks or engaging in conversation with those nearby while the Court is in session.

3) Act like a fair-minded person.

It is wise for observers to work in teams of two. This makes it possible to check with one another when any report is written.

When observing in the Courts the following should be kept in mind:

1) Trials are open. However, any judge has power to exclude the public and to have part of the hearing in private.

2) Know the procedures in the Court to be visited. Attorneys can be helpful in briefings on this.

3) Know the Court schedule -- what cases are coming up, the time the Court opens, etc.

4) Many courtrooms have limited space. Get there in time to get a seat near the front so you can hear. Do not expect special favors in having a seat saved. If offered, do not accept a Judge's invitation to sit on the bench.

5) Areas of interest:
   a. Judge's demeanor toward the person before the Court
   b. Bail
   c. Legal Counsel
   d. Jury Selection
   e. Sentencing, fines, etc.

6) Observe several times with the same judge presiding.

7) Observe procedures under more than one judge.

From material furnished by --

Mr. Bruce Herrin, Assistant Director
Emory University-Vocational Rehabilitation Alcohol Project

Skid Row has long been recognized as the bilge of our communities. The derelict inebriates who reside there represent perhaps the lowest form of humanity--they have been virtually ignored, not only by the average citizen, but by the very public officials who are charged by statute with caring for them.

Early last year two test cases were tried in two U. S. Court of Appeals. The first was the DeWitt Easter case in the District of Columbia, and the second was the Joe Drive case in North Carolina. Favorable decisions were handed down. It was found that alcoholism is an illness and that it would constitute cruel and unusual punishment for a sick person to be convicted and punished for exhibiting a symptom of his illness in public, and it was further established that the essential common law element of criminal intent is lacking when an alcoholic becomes intoxicated.

Emory University-Vocational Alcohol Project

January, 1967

"The Alcohol Project and the Community Council of Atlanta Area Inc. completed their joint preparation of a comprehensive community treatment and rehabilitation program.

"A special unit for twenty-four patients of the Project was established in the Salvation Army Men's Lodge at 339 Luckie St., N.W. The Project staff give special treatment services for these patients and the unit will be expanded to care for up to 200 patients.

"Dr. Charles Conner, the leading authority on group therapy in the Emory University, Department of Psychiatry, is having regular weekly group therapy training sessions with seven clinical chaplains in St. Jude's Halfway House."

At the City Prison Farm a mobile rehabilitation team from the Project conducts a daily screening of each inmate entering the Prison Farm. Each one who volunteers and is selected is being treated and rehabilitated while still in prison. He may be given the drug, Antabuse, a stong deterrent to drinking, as well as other medications. He is assured of arrangements for meeting his physical needs following his release from prison.

Interagencies representation at the bi-monthly meetings of the Project are:

Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services
Alcoholic Rehabilitation Service, Georgia Clinic
Georgia State Employment Service
Mayor's Committee on Crime and Delinquency
An attorney
Director of Public Health Nursing, Fulton County Health Department
Public Welfare Social Service, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
Director of Nursing, DeKalb County Health Department
Department of Psychiatry, Emory University
Department of Housing and Urban Development,
Suicide Prevention Center,
Director, DeKalb County Health Department
Commissioner of Health of Fulton County.

It is easy to understand why these agencies are interested.

It will take a community of effort among all public officials and interested private groups to make a revolutionary program of this kind become meaningful.

The Project has received $304,968 from the U. S. Rehabilitation Administration for the first year and $33,885 from Fulton County.

THE PROJECT ON CRIME AND CORRECTIONS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, MR. JOHN BOONE, DIRECTOR, COOPERATED WITH THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED IN THE PROGRAM PRESENTATION

Mr. Ron Sievers, a VISTA Volunteer, presented and interpreted the results of a local survey on law enforcement and judicial procedures in misdemeanor cases. He pointed to the disproportionate number of Negroes that, the survey indicated, become involved in the processes of criminal justice at this level and suggested that a regional-wide survey might well reveal an even greater racial disparity, both in arrest and sentencing. However, there were some indications that these differences in handling were more a matter of class prejudice than social discrimination. In other words, the poor cannot afford to pay fines, and a higher percentage of Negroes than whites are poor. The project suggested to the Fellowship that a survey of this type all over the South would be a valuable contribution both to public education and to the encouragement of official interest in reform.

The two films, "The Scar Beneath" and"The Odds Against," shown together, would seem to be an excellent instrument for public education on the problems and prospects in the areas of prison reform and criminal rehabilitation.

The women were advised to familiarize their members with the results of the National Survey on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. This may be secured from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. Price $2.25.

Some local groups also seem determined to do something about procedures in relation to children in trouble.

Project staff members participated as resource persons in the discussion groups.

FROM MRS. CLIFFORD DURR, THE REPORTER

The two movies, "The Odds Against" and "The Scar Beneath" were extremely moving, one about a young boy who had no help and became a hardened criminal and whose life was ruined and another who through help, parole officers who were sympathetic and kind saved his life and he became a good member of society. The picture of prison life, the feeling of confinement, the horror of boredom, the long stretch of time that prisoners feel were both grippingly and beautifully presented. Mr. Boone spoke after the pictures and told something of his experiences working with prisoners. These two pictures were the most compelling and gripping and saddening aspects of the meeting.

Mrs. Betty Cantor, Community Consulatant, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith served as moderator of the Panel Discussion -

"PROCEDURES OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE SOUTHERN REGION: CORRECTION OR DEFECTION"

In introducing the panelists, Mrs. Cantor said she was dispensing with the usual amenities. A sense of urgency pervaded the meeting and the subject at hand required days not hours for exhaustive study that could lead to action.

In summary: Mr. Clifford Durr described the environing atmosphere of lackluster content, the moral vacuum that undergirds Southern justice...

Mrs. Ruby Hurley gave us an overview of Southern justice - or rather lack of justice wh which characterizes our Southern institutions...

Mr. Michael Horowitz asked - "Are our ideals about law really workable?" Our churches perpetuate the status quo and made the comfortable more comfortable...

Mrs. Henry J. Toombs has been the prophet of what can be done... "Never," she says, "underestimate what woman - what you can do."

Mr. Hershal Sausier and Mr. Stewart Werner described what the ideal penal institution can be and have outlined plans for better cooperation between the judiciary and the executive arm of government...

Each of us is aware that she is the <u>uncomfortable</u> one in a comfortable church, the uncomfortable one in a society that fails to love justice. In our workshops we will explore how to undermine comfort based on the status quo. We must search for the remedy to injustice in our local communities, we must reach outside of our own community until justice is a reality throughout the land. We must of a necessity right our wrongs by committing ourselves to specific programs of action.

FROM PANEL MEMBER, MR. CLIFFORD J. DURR, ATTORNEY,
Montgomery, Alabama

In general I think our criminal procedures are basically good, but the remark made by St. Paul 19 centuries ago is most applicable today:

"The Law is good if a man use it lawfully."

All too often today we see the techniques and the apparatus of the Law used as instruments of lawlessness.

I do not go along with the idea that morality cannot be legislated. On the contrary, it seems to me that the Law is an embodiment of the morality growing out of the experience of people through the generations and even centuries. Murder is immoral, it is also illegal. The Law has not stopped murder but it has certainly deterred it. However, Law cannot hold up indefinitely if its only basis is rigid enforcement. It will ultimately collapse unless it has an undergirding of accepted morality.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution have been a basic part of the "Supreme Law of the Land" for a century. If we should lay the Civil Rights acts of 1964 and 1965 beside the Civil Rights Act of 1875, we will see that legislatively, at least, we have made little headway in protecting the rights of all citizens against injustice and inequality of treatment. Had the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments been enforced and lived up to, there would have been no Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 for there would have been no need for them. Given the full protection of the guarantees of due process of law and the equal protection of the laws, set out in the 14th Amendment, and the equality in voting rights set out in the 15th Amendment, Negroes could by now have gined for themselves most, if not all, of the rights now so carefully spelled out in the current Civil Rights legislation.

There is a human tendency, when faced with a problem, to say "Let's pass a law" and once the law is passed to say "Now that is taken care of," and relax. This is exactly what happened following the Civil War. In the spirit of moral fervor immediately following that war good legislation was put on the books. Then the moral fervor died down and people went about their normal business of making a living, raising families, and looking after themselves. As a result of the Tilden-Hayes compromise Reconstruction was brought to an end and the newly freed men, from economic necessity, soon found themselves back in a state of economic bondage not too different from the chattel slavery from which they had been emancipated. Then came the "Black Codes' and then the disenfranchising provisions written into

the State Constitutions with little or no protest, notwithstanding the oaths of office taken by all governmental officials, state and federal to support and defend the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Justice Holmes, in his dissenting opinion, in the shocking Frank case which originated right here in Georgia, in the early part of this century, made the observation that "The verdicts of juries are very likely to be impregnated by the environing atmosphere." His observation is equally applicable to the judgements of courts and certainly to the behavior of our law enforcement officials. As important as the law is, it cannot escape the "environing atmosphere" in which it operates.

It is rather interesting to note that the moral leadership of this country for the past quarter of a century has come largely from the United States Supreme Court in its day to day struggles with the issues of individual rights, while little but silence has come from our white Southern colleges and universities and our churches have all too often served only as the glue that holds the status quo together. Through lack of moral leadership a moral vacuum was created and this, I believe, is the source of the violence, bitterness and turmoil which has been tearing the South to pieces during the past decade and a half. After a long period of strife we now have a surprising amount of compliance with the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. It is now reasonably safe for a Southern white person to say, "We must observe the Law because all of this turmoil and violence hurts business," or to say, "It impairs the 'image' of the South as a desirable location for industry," but we have not yet reached the point where we can safely say "We must observe the Law not only because it is the law but because it is morally right."

We are still all too timid about facing up to the old fashioned issues of right and wrong. We still have quite a way to go in creating the "environing atmosphere" in which justice can flourish. It is in this field that you members of the Fellowship of the Concerned have in the past and still continue to make your valuable contribution.

FROM THE NOTES OF MRS. CLIFFORD DURR, OUR REPORTER

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Director of the Southeastern Regional Office of N.A.A.C.P., a member of the panel, spoke out of years of experience, and with some bitterness, about the lack of justice for Negroes, how murder has been condoned time and time again when it only affected Negroes. She also spoke of the great gap in white people's knowledge about Negroes and the stereotypes they used instead.

Mr. Michael Horowitz, Associate Professor, University of Mississippi School of Law, panelist, asked the question, "Can America live up to its own Laws,?" he asked if our own smug notions of our own righteousness can be made to come true. He gave illustration after illustration of how we had not lived up to our professions of equal justice and he especially pointed out the fact that most Negroes, and most poor people, come to know the law at its lowest level--Justice of the Peace. He spoke of the fact that JPs often make their living out of fees instead of making a salary and they they need a large volume of arrests and victims to make a living. (President Johnson's Committee on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, suggests that the Justice of Peace--rural counterpart of the lower court--be abolished. Today the JPs operate in 35 states.) He said this was often true of Sheriffs and other officers of the Law and each woman should go home and see if this bad situation was true in her own city or county.

Mrs. Henry J. Toombs told in the most glowing way, full of indignation and outrage, what was done to juvenile delinquents. How the young people who run into trouble with the law are scarred and wounded for life and how each community must make it a part of their concern to see that these young people are not turned into permanent criminals.

Mr. Werner, Staff Consultant, Georgia Committee on Crime and Delinquency, then spoke and plead withe the group there, and with all interested citizens, to look behind the crime to the perpetrator and in judging him to consider the background and the disadvantages. He really plead for mercy for people convicted of crime and especially young people.

By Herschel Saucier, Assistant Dir.
Division for Children and Youth
State Department of Family and
Children Services

Largely through the efforts of the women of Georgia the state became disturbed about the some 6,000 children each year being detained in common jails and rallied support for the financing of a statewide juvenile detention system which is well on its way toward completion. The first regional detention center built and operated by the Division for Children and Youth will open in Albany and begin receiving children in May, 1967. The Waycross center will open sometime in June, followed by the Rome and Sandersville Centers in September. The Augusta center, where construction began later, should open sometime in November. The sixth and last regional center should be completed in Gainesville early in the Spring of 1968.

These regional centers will receive delinquent juveniles who need secure custody pending court disposition from counties and towns within a fifty mile radius of the center. In addition to providing a more appropriate facility to hold juvenile offenders that might otherwise be held in jail, the regional centers will provide short-time diagnostic and treatment services for these children in trouble, which in some instances will enable the child to return to his own home with probation or social services being provided. Without such detention facilities some of these same juveniles would be committed to the state institutions.

The last phase toward developing a statewide juvenile detention system was financed by the 1967 General Assembly, with a $500,000 appropriation to help finance the juvenile detention services by seven urban counties who have already built county detention facilities. To receive state financing the county detention facilities must agree to make a limited amount of their space available to provide detention care to juveniles from surrounding counties at no cost to the county. With the inclusion of the county detention facilities as a part of the statewide system through making some their space available to surrounding counties, any child needing detention care within the State of Georgia will be within approximately fifty miles of a facility and program especially designed for the care of juvenile offenders.

WORSHIP SERVICES

Without any announcement the workshop began when the wonderful, beautiful voice of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. sang her solo, "How Great Thou Art."

She also gave the challenge in song --

The voice of God is calling
It summons unto men; as once He spoke in Zion,
So now He speaks again.
Whom shall I send to succor my people in their need?
Whom shall I send to loosen the bonds of lust and greed?

Mrs. W. H. Clark with her strong sweet voice led the group in its answer.

We heed, O Lord, Thy summons, and answer here are we!
Send us upon Thine errand, let us Thy servants be.
Our strength is dust and ashes, our years a passing hour;
But Thou canst use our weakness to magnify Thy power.

Thus, we committed ourselves -- "A Charge To Keep We Have" -- in song.

On Thursday morning, Dr. Evelyn Green, Executive Secretary, Board of Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church in the U. S., led the worship, bringing the oracles of Amost to apply to our present day problems.

<u>From the notes of Mrs. Durr, our reporter</u>:

"She (Miss Green) talked on the need of churchmen to speak up and stand up. She begged us not to trample on the 'weak' and that we should not 'ignore the poor man's claim.'" We should 'set justice on her feet again' and temper justice with mercy."

Those of us who heard the worship service of Mrs. H. M. Russell, President of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, Southeastern Jurisdiction, The Methodist Church, will never forget her quotation from Bishop Welch, the 102 year old Bishop of The Methodist Church, when he was asked "what is the greatest Christian virtue?" His answer "Compassion! I don't mean pity! Pity looks down; compassion looks across - person to person. Pity is as cold as sea water. Compassion is as warm as fresh milk."

Again, from the notes of Mrs. Durr

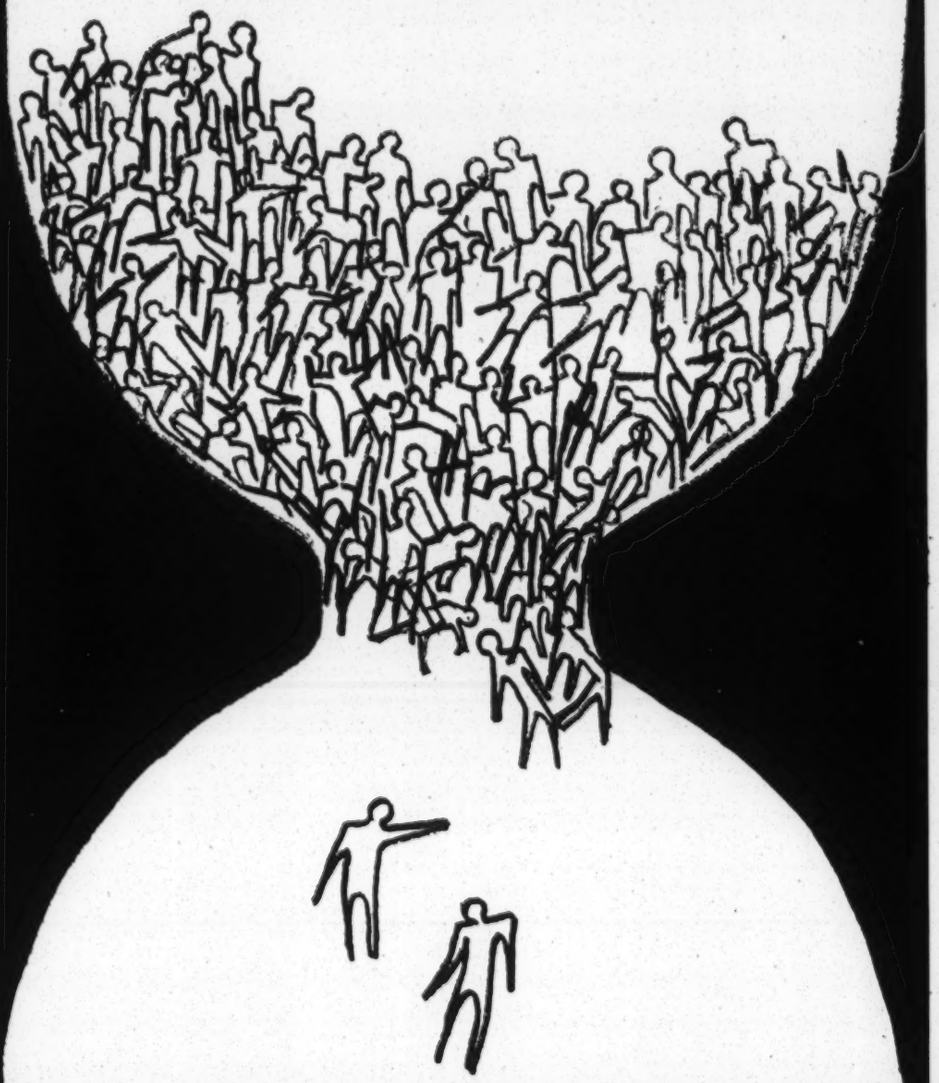
"The workshop ended with a short talk by Coretta King who had used her lovely voice time and time again to sing for us. This time she recited Langston Hugh's lovely poem, My Life Ain't Been No Crystal Stair.

"She told of the terrors whe had gone through, her home bombed, her husband stabbed. She told of the sleepless nights, the fears for her children and how finally she had come to realize that in her husband's fight for justice she had finally come to accept the fact that if this fight brought death to her or to her family, she would have to accept it, that there was no turning back. She spoke simply and with dignity and compassion but she spoke with firmness and total commitment, when once she had set her hand to the orr there was no turning back, and this was true for all of us.

"She also spoke of the moral support such groups as the Fellowship of the Concerned had been to her and of the personal support Mrs. Tilly had given to her.

"And it was on this note of personal commitment, personal determination to see that justice was done, that the meeting adjourned.

JUSTICE IN GRENADA MISSISSIPPI



EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAW

Prepared for the Fellowship of the Concerned in Mississippi
by the Southern Regional Council

TRAGEDY IN GRENADA

A Study in the Breakdown of Law Enforcement

Many scenes of tragedy in Southern communities faced with Negro protest have raised up single villains - "Bull" Connor, Jim Clark, Laurie Pritchett. Most have eventually faced up to the necessity for accommodation of Negro rights. Not so, Grenada, Mississippi.

Grenada, in the Summer of 1966, was not prepared to face the hard reality of unhappy local Negroes. Official Grenada responded to Negro demands with the familiar, "no, never." Law enforcement officers, faced with what they considered the "odious" job of protecting peaceful Negro demonstrators, simply abdicated their legal responsibilities; in confrontations between Negro protestors and white mobs, these officials resembled nothing so much as "bought" referees.

Each time such a confrontation occurred, there was a breakdown in law enforcement - a vacuum of power. Sometimes, other law enforcement agencies filled the vacuum. More often, it was filled by white mobs.

In the Spring of 1966, Grenada, a sleepy, North Central Mississippi town of some 8,000 inhabitants -- whites outnumbering Negroes by about 250 -- had no civil rights organization and had experienced not even the faintest manifestations of organized Negro unrest. Civil Rights Acts, Freedom Rides, sit-ins, protest, had not come to Grenada. The town remained segregated.

"Two sets of restrooms (numbered One and Two) had been built into the County Courthouse. Negroes had never been permitted library privileges. The police force, the city's swimming pool and the town's twelve white churches were all segregated. Even the U. S. Post Office in Grenada was entirely white-staffed." (1) Only 135 of the County's 4,300 eligible Negroes were registered to vote in June, 1962. Four years later, on June 14, 1966, only 700 Negroes were registered. (2)

June 14, 1966 is the day that divides Grenada's history into "before" and "after." For on that hot, sunny Tuesday, the Meredith March came to town. About 175 marchers arrived at the city line; but as the group passed through the town it picked up considerable local support, until one Highway Patrolman, ordered to be on good behavior by an image-conscious

state, estimated that he saw "about a mile of niggers."(1)

The town had made some preparations for the arrival of the marchers. One Grenada official recalled: "We had several meetings among ourselves before the marchers came. We wanted to avoid trouble."(2)

City Manager John McEachin told a reporter who preceded the march: "All we want is to get these people through town and out of here. Good niggers don't want anything to do with this march. And there are more good niggers (here) than sorry niggers."(3)

The streets along which the march proceeded were relatively empty. There were no shouted obscenities, no cat-calls, no missile throwing. The population had been prepared for the march and warned to remain calm.

Policeman Jack Shipp told a couple of would-be troublemakers: "If you want to boo, boo out in the woods."(4)

City Attorney Bradford Dye later described how word was spread to avoid incidents, with statements to this effect: "Roll with the punch." "The County itself is granting concessions to Negroes all over the place." "Let them demonstrate for a day and then the parade will be over - and things will return to normal."(5)

And so, the marchers swarmed into courthouse square, which was ringed by state and county lawmen. The surrounding crowds of whites remained silent, though sullen. Even when SCLC official, Robert Green, climbed up on the town statue of Jeff Davis, slapped the face of the Confederate hero, and referred to him as "this joker . . ." The whites made no public outcry, although that "desecration of our monument" became the Summer rallying cry of bitter, resentful whites.(6)

This demonstration of civic self-discipline didn't mean that the townspeople were reconciled.

From a chair in the barber shop that day, one customer intoned: "They can pass all the laws they want, but niggers'll still have black faces. Where's this gonna end? I'll tell you. It's gonna end when we mow'em down, mow'em down."(7)

A merchant said: "I saw two of my niggers in there, an' they won't have no jobs tomorrow . . . they get in that march an' that's it. They'll be on relief tomorrow." (8)

A Sheriff's Deputy remarked the next day: "After they leave, everything will be the same again. The nigger in this town depends on the white man for his living." (1)

However, in the face of Negro demands and in the presence of national television and newspaper correspondents, city officials yielded gracefully. Prosecutor Dye met with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other Negro leaders. He agreed to desegregate the Courthouse washrooms. Six Negro teachers were added to the complement of voting registrars. Registration hours were extended from 5:00 pm to 9:00 pm.(2)

As the conference continued, a night march was organized from a nearby church to the town square. "When Dr. King emerged smiling to report that the town had 'completely capitulated' to Negro demands, the crowd went home."(3) Again, the white community remained silent.

"As the group of 300 marchers filed past the darkened homes of the white section, the only sound that rose through the dark-boughed shade trees was the steady scuffle of marching feet. The restraint on the part of the whites was overwhelming. Not one heckler emerged. Not one epithet was hurled. Not one "Nigger" shouted. But the silence was a dark, brooding, seething silence . . ."(4)

But for all of the underlying resentment, the public behavior of local law enforcement officers could scarcely be criticized. They were displaying, for all to see, the image of a "New Mississippi."

"At 8:00 am Wednesday, the Courthouse opened as promised and by the time the march left Grenada Thursday afternoon, some one thousand Negroes had been added to the voting rolls. At a press conference in front of March headquarters, Dr. King declared: 'We will not allow window dressing compliance that will get us out of town. We can't guarantee there won't be some suffering and sacrifice. I've never worked anywhere where Negores haven't lost jobs. But I'm convinced Mississippi will never be the same."(5)

Prophetic words indeed when applied to Grenada.

Before the March was a day down the road, Grenada's true colors - the stars and bars - again fluttered from the War Memorial. Two days later, the Negro registrars disappeared - and the color line reappeared wherever Grenadans gathered.(6) And so, amid mounting tensions, the Movement returned to Grenada full force, "demanding impossibly much of a town

willing to yield impossibly little."(1) Hosea Williams of SCLC unfurled a 51 point bill of demands and pledged to make Grenada nothing less than an "open city," integrated everywhere from the Little League to the Old Folks' Home.(2)

Since the efforts of law enforcement officers were based on the assumption that their difficulties would disappear with the passing of the march, the news that SCLC was planning to conduct an ongoing campaign came as a severe blow. It was at this point that the quality of law enforcement began to deteriorate rapidly - not just from ill-will, but from a real inability to grasp the fundamental issues involved.

Said Sheriff Suggs Ingram: "They had it so easy during the March they thought they could come back and take over. We are not going to put up with what we have in the past, even if it takes force."(3)

In response to the initial demands of SCLC organizers, the city and county officials issued a joint manifesto, stating baldly: "There will be no concessions of any type or degree made to anyone whatsoever."(4)

Grenada wasn't budging. And the second act of the tragedy began.

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A detailing of the Summer's events might well begin with the Independence Day celebration held on the night of July 3 in an abandoned barn outside of town. In attendance, among a crowd of 150, were 8 SCLC staffers, 5 Negro and 3 white, who had been left behind by Dr. King after the March departed. About 10:00 pm, Sheriff Ingram and a deputy appeared. The 3 SCLC whites were arrested and the next day, most of the Negro staffers were rounded up on various charges of being tramps and disturbing the peace.(5)

On July 7, 41 Negroes and 2 whites planned a march on the jail to protest the earlier arrests. (According to some reports, they had just been denied entry to a theater.)(6) They were refused a march permit and then staged a sitdown strike. All 43 were arrested.(7)

Open police brutality on a large scale first occurred on July 10. A group of about 50 Negroes arrived at the Jail for the stated purpose of visiting those already arrested.(8) They were informed that the couldn't visit and were ordered to disperse. When they failed to do so immediately, they were told

that they were under arrest. The group crossed the street and mingled with a crowd of about 150 Negroes who had been watching the demonstration. At this point, approximately 25 State Highway Patrolmen, who had been kept out of sight around the corner, charged the crowd swinging billies and gun butts. The bystanders were still being beaten by the Highway Patrolmen when County policemen were ordered to disperse a nearby crowd of noisy whites. No whites were struck.(1)

From this point on, official hatred and violence were out in the open. There was no longer even a pretense of equal protection under the laws.

The situation grew increasingly tense. White fears and hatreds were further aroused by SCLC's call for a boycott or "black-out" of white-owned downtown stores and by continued concerted attempts to test desegregation in public facilities.(2)

On Wednesday, July 13, the second day of boycott picketing, 35 picketers were arrested after City Attorney Dye ordered police to "disperse these people any way you can."(3)

The next day, about 200 marchers approached the town square, planning to hold a demonstration in front of the War Memorial. But the Confederate statue was guarded by 8 Negroes - identifed by Constable Grady Carroll as prisoners serving life sentences.(4) They were ordered to shove back anyone who came near the statue. The marchers retreated rather than place the Negro prisoners in the position of having to attack other Negroes. Sheriff Suggs Ingram seemed amused by the confrontation of black vs. black.(5)

The struggle grew in intensity. As the boycott became increasingly effective, more picketers were arrested.(6) The Federal Court ordered County officials to provide adequate protection for the demonstrators.(7) The Justice Department sent in Federal Voting Registrars.(8) There were continuous marches and counter-marches, and only the presence of over 100 state Highway Patrolmen prevented massive violence.(9) Three Negroes leaving a theater were brutally beaten because one of them was so light-skinned he appeared to be white.(10) Mass arrests took place at a Negro dance in Tie Plant, a nearby community.(11)

The situation had become so serious, and complete loss of control by responsible community leaders so imminent, that "County officials requested a conference with Movement leaders. They asked for a temporary halt to demonstrations. Leon Hall,

a 19 year old SCLC Project Leader, answered with a list of 17 urgent demands, including the release of the 57 Tie Plant party-goers. Declared one outraged white official: "That settles it. We just wanted you to know that we can't protect you. You are on your own."(1)

Here was an official abdication of responsibility for law enforcement by the power structure. The lid was off. The pot was ready to boil over. And it did.

On August 8, the Police and Highway Patrolmen were issued tear gas and were quick to use it. That evening,"some 75 - 85 City, County and State officers"(2) broke up a Negro voter registration rally by firing about 20 cannisters of tear gas(3) into a crowd of 200 people. City Attorney Bradford Dye explained that the crowd had been ordered to clear the street, "which they did, partially. Then they were asked to open it more. They didn't. Tear gas was used to disperse them."(4) Officers then chased bystanders ten blocks into the heart of the Negro district, clubbing some down on their own front lawns.(5)

The next night, violence became general. As demonstrators neared the town square for a planned rally, Sheriff Suggs Ingram told a reporter: "Now you're going to see a show."(6)

A mob of 250 whites waited by the Confederate monument in the square. As the demonstrators approached, the mob "threw bottles, bricks, steel pipes and firecrackers at the 300 Negroes. The attack sent demonstrators fleeing from the town square with whites in pursuit. A one point, over 100 state and local officers stepped in between the whites and the demonstrators, turned their backs to the white crowd, and rested their guns on their hips with the gun barrels pointed over the heads of the Negroes. Whites continued hurling missiles over the heads of the officers." (7)

"Many of the officers, including Sheriff Ingram, laughed as the missiles struck the Negroes, then issued angry warnings after 2 Negroes hurled missiles back at the whites."(8)

One of the demonstrators was taken to the hospital and at least a dozen others were injured.(9)

When asked the next day why he hadn't stopped the mob, Ingram responded: "Police couldn't have stopped it without using violence." He told how, a few minutes before the attack, he had asked several members of the mob to back away from the demonstrators. "I asked'em to do me a favor. Told'em I'd 'preciate it."(10)

The events of that night made it clear that there was no effective law enforcement in Grenada. In response to the obvious power vacuum, Governor Johnson sent in his riot control expert, Giles Crisler.(1)

On Wednesday evening, August 10, another demonstration was held, this time with rather different results. The evening began with a mob of some 300 whites firing chiselled bolts from sling shots and throwing cherry bombs and other firecrackers at 40 demonstrators, mostly teenagers, who had gathered in the square. Then came the difference. Crisler, backed by 250 officers, mostly State Troopers and Game and Fish Commission Officers, cleared the mob from the square at gunpoint, after they refused to heed warnings about throwing rocks.(2)

Shouts of "nigger lovers" and "traitors" came from the mob as troopers pressed them down streets leading from the square. "I never thought I'd live to see the day,"(3) shouted one man.

Sheriff Ingram remained in the background as State officials took over.

Once it had been demonstrated that there was a force in Grenada bigger than the mob, a certain degree of peace, or at least truce, settled over the town. And that should have been the end of Grenada's chapter in the annals of violent resistance to civil rights activities, but it was not. There was yet a third act.

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On August 26, Federal Judge Claude Clayton, on petition of the Justice Department, ordered Grenada's schools desegregated.(4) School registration had been set for September 2, but because of the complexities involved in the processing of "freedom of choice" forms, it was postponed until September 12.(5)

During the more than three weeks which elapsed between the issuance of the court order and the opening of school, local law enforcement officials, despite their Summer experiences, made no plans for special precautions or protection for the Negro students.(6) According to testimony later given before Judge Clayton, they assumed that the State Highway Patrol would be available for special help, although State law forbids the Highway Patrol to operate in municipalities without the express request of local officials or a formal order from the Governor.(7)

As a result, when School Desegregation Day came, the only law enforcement agencies available to maintain order were the Sheriff and his deputies and the City Police Department, both of which agencies had long since demonstrated their unwillingness and inability to keep order in the community.(1)

Thus, the tragic events of September 12-13 were, in a way, inevitable.

300 of the 1,387 eligible Negro children registered for admission to the formerly all-white Lizzie Horne Elementary School and John Rundle High School.(2)

On the evening of September 11, separate columns of Negro and white demonstrators marched around the Courthouse Square, side by side.

About 275 Negroes shouted, "John Rundle, John Rundle High School," in answer to a shout of "Where are we going to school tomorrow?"(3)

While there was no large scale violence that evening, it was obvious that feelings among both communities were running very high. Still, city officials made no special arrangements.

On the first morning of school, small roving bands of whites, armed with axe handles, lead pipes and chains, attacked many of the 150 Negro children who appeared, lashing out at boys and girls alike. The gangs were directed to their victims by walkie-talkies or gun shot signals, from pick-up trucks which cruised the streets near the school complex.(4)

A few items will, perhaps, catch the flavor of the day.

A gang of whites trampled Richard Sigh, 12, in the dust, breaking a leg.(5)

One group of girls, including 14 year old Emerald Cunningham, were on their way to school when they saw a crowd of whites approaching. Most of the girls fled, but Emerald was caught by the mob. One man pointed a gun at her head and pushed her into a front yard. Then the mob began to beat her with fists, pipes and chains. When Emerald tried to leave, the man with the gun said, "Nigger, you move I shoot your brain out." Finally a white man pulled her up and said: "Get away and don't come back."

Why didn't she flee with the rest of the girls? Emerald explained: "I had polio and couldn't run."(6)

One twelve year old boy, attempting to escape, was forced to run a block-long gauntlet of whites who flailed him with chains. He emerged with a bleeding face and torn clothes.(1)

These, of course, are only a few of the incidents. In all, 33 Negroes and three white newsmen were assaulted that day.(2)

Perhaps the most significant fact is that almost all of these attacks and beatings took place within view of local law enforcement officials.(3)

"While Negro youngsters were thrown to the ground, kicked and beaten, Grenada Policemen stood by and grinned.

"These niggers', explained Constable Grady Carroll,'is keeping the law enforcement officers from doing their duty."(4)

NAACP Attorney Henry Aaronson said that he heard white men make threatening remarks when he arrived at the school grounds. Constable Carroll and Police Captain Turner were nearby, so he asked them for protection.

Aaronson testified: "Carroll looked at the toughs and nodded at me. It was a very distinct nod. Immediately on nodding, the group charged me. I ran to Carroll and said, "Grady, Grady, help me.' He said, 'You don't belong here.' Then the group got me. They hit me on the head and I don't know where else. They beat me to the ground. And I was screaming to Grady for help. I saw Grady's shoes the whole time, while Grady and Turner stood there."

When the ordeal was over, Aaronson reported that Carroll asked him: "What the hell are you doing here causing all this trouble." (5)

A Negro woman stated that she opened her car door to let broken glass fall out of her auto after a white crowd attacked, and Carroll, who had been standing by all the time, said: "Don't you get your . . . out of there. If you do, we'll kill you."(6)

Robert Gordon, a reporter for UPI, tried to escape from the mob by running across the school grounds, but was ordered off the premises by a County Policeman. Then the mob caught Gordon again and knocked him to the street. Finally, two policemen came up and rescued him. One of the policemen told the mob: "OK,boys, he's had enough."(7)

Charles Alexander, 17, was struck with a pistol outside the high school. The assailant then pointed the gun at him. When Alexander pointed the man out to a policeman who was patrolling the sidewalk, he was rebuffed. "I'm busy now," said the policeman.(1)

Instances of police indifference to, and apparent approval of, the brutalities of the day would fill many pages. The police attitude is best summed up by Constable Carroll's explanation concerning the attacks on reporters. "Some of the newsmen needed a cleaning. If they tell a lie, they need a whupping . . ." From whom? "From any body who wants to give it to them," Carroll said.(2)

This day's events did not mark the end of the violence. Although Governor Johnson ordered the State Highway Patrol into the area on Monday night, they did not move into the school area on Tuesday morning until asked to do so by local police.(3) By the time they went into action, many car windows had been smashed and at least four more children beaten.(4)

While the presence of the State law enforcement officers put an end to attacks on women and children, it did not have a beneficial effect on the mood of the white community.

Several hundred whites, shouting defiance of state and federal authority, held a furious session Monday night in the City Hall Auditorium to demand that the patrol be withdrawn. "If you get that State Highway Patrol out of here, there won't be a nigger left in Grenada," cried one man.(5)

On Tuesday night, a group of Negro demonstrators were attacked by a white mob in the town square. The large contingent of State officers stepped between the groups only after the white attack had taken place.(6)

This was the last serious incident of violence. Order was finally brought to Grenada by the presence of the State Highway Patrol, 13 FBI arrests,(7) and a Federal Court order to local officials, so sternly worded by Judge Clayton that one official reported: "When the judge got through, you thought you could crawl through the eye of a needle."(8)

None of these events seems to have brought any basic change to Grenada. Sheriff Suggs Ingram still occupies the throne. Constable Grady Carroll, who received a four month sentence for Contempt of Court, will probably soon be back at the old stand, if he is not already there. The City Council has issued yet

another statement in favor of "law and order."(1) A white minister reports that racial lines are so tightly drawn that: "If you so much as suggest talking to the colored leadership, you're labelled a 'nigger lover' and a 'race mixer."(2)

These last items serve to illustrate that the law enforcement process can fail again in Grenada. No changes have been made. No lessons have been learned. As late as the last week in October, over 275 young Negro demonstrators and picketers were arrested, some of them sent to the state prison at Parchman, because all of the jails in the area were full to overflowing.(3)

The only small ray of hope for the future came from the children themselves. One the afternoon of that terrible first day of school, many of the Negro children had gathered in the Auditorium waiting for the mob to disperse somewhat. Sheriff Ingram came and told the children that they could leave and would be given a police escort home. He advised them to leave by a rear door but the youngsters replied:

"No Sir, we're going out the front door like white folks."(4)

They did.

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FOOTNOTES

The footnotes listed below are intended to provide documentation for the facts stated in the article. While some passages are direct quotations from the sources given, this is not true in all cases.

PAGE 1

1. Andrew Jaffe, "Grenada," in New South, Fall, 1966.
2. Figures from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

PAGE 2

1. Paul Good, "The Meredith March," New South, Summer, 1966.
2. A. Jaffee, op.cit. (also in Newsweek (June 27,1966)
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4. Washington Post 6-16=66
5. Paul Good, op. cit.
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1. Jaffee, op. cit.
2. Time, June 23, 1966
3. Jaffee, op. cit.
4. Newsweek, June 27, 1966
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6. Newsweek, June 27, 1966

PAGE 4

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2. New Orleans Times-Picayune July 13, 1966
3. Associated Press Dispatch July 13, 1966
4. New York Times, July 12, 1966
5. Jaffee, op. cit.
6. New York Times, July 12, 1966
7. Times-Picayune, 7-9-66
8. UPI Dispatch in the Delta Democrat-Times, July 11, 1966

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1. Associated Press in the Times-Picayune, July 11, 1966
2. Jackson, Miss. Democrat-News, July 12, 1966
3. Los Angeles Times, July 14. (Also, UPI dispatch in the Atlanta Daily World, 7-17)
4. New York Times, 7-13-66
5. Jaffee, op. cit.
6. Atlanta,Journal, 7-20-66
7. New York Times, 8-11-66
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(Continued)

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10. ibid.
11. Jaffee, op. cit.

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1. Jaffee, op. cit.
2. N. Y. Times, 8-10-66
3. Jackson Democrat-News, 8-9-66
4. N. Y. Times, 8-10-66
5. Jaffee, op. cit.
6. Jack Nelson in the L.A. Times, 8-10-66
7. N.Y. Times, 8-11-66
8. ibid.
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PAGE 7

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2. L.A. Times, 8-11-66
3. ibid.
4. Washington Post, 9-14-66
5. Jackson Democrat-News, 9-12-66
6. Jaffee, op. cit.
7. AP dispatch, 9-13-66

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3. Jackson Democrat-News, 9-12
4. ibid. 9-13-66
5. Time Magazine, 9-23-66
6. Newsweek, 9-25-66

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2. Wash. Post, 9-14-66
3. ibid., & NY Times, 9-16-66
4. Time Magazine, 9-23-66
5. Raleigh News-Observer, 9-17
6. ibid.
7. NY Times, 9-16-66

PAGE 10

1. NY Times, 9-16-66
2. N.Y. Times, 9-19-66
3. Jaffee, op. cit.
4. LA Times, 9-14-66
5. Jackson Democrat-News, 9-13
6. Nicholas Chriss in LA Times, 9-14-66
7. Miami Herald, 9-19-66
8. NY Times, 9-20-66

FOOTNOTES
(Continued)

PAGE 11

1. NY Times, 9-15-66

2. Jaffee, op. cit.

3. NY Times, 10-28-66

4. NY Times, 9-17-66

DUAL JUSTICE IN THE COURTS--
UNCONCERNED COMMUNITY

Justice is turned back,
and righteousness stands afar off;
for truth has fallen in the public squares,
and uprightness cannot enter . . .
The Lord saw it, and it displeased Him
that there was no justice. Isaiah 59:15-15

"Dual justice takes many forms, some merely disgusting and others so quietly terrifying that they balk the scrutiny of rational men."

The answer — A concerned community
The ultimate responsibility is with the people.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

From the discussion groups of the 1965 workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, came an urgent request that the Fellowship of the Concerned launch a campaign of women visiting the courts -- showing their interest and concern in what is happening.

What has been done thus far:

1. The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council gave the program their hearty approval.

2. The State Councils on Human Relations will be partners with us in this program.

3. A call went out to the presidents of national women's organizations asking them to come to Atlanta for two day's of discussion. The response was most gratifying.

The morning session of the first day was spent listening to a group of lawyers discussing for us the problems we had to meet and answering their questions. The remainder of the time was in the hands of these national women who divided themselves into several committees.

Mrs. Stuart Sinclair, President, United Church Women, National Council of Churches

Miss Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women

Mrs. Max Goldstein, National Board, National Council of Jewish Women

Mrs. George Gunning, National Board, National Council of Catholic Women

Mrs. A. L. Cram, Jr., Vice President, National Board Y.W.C.A.

Mrs. Michael Shapiro, First Vice President, B'nai B'rith Women

Mrs. George E. Kimball, Vice President, Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation

Mrs. Benjamin Mays, Representing Woman's Missionary Council, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Mrs. O. Ivan Cole, President, International Christian Women's Fellowship, Disciples of Christ

Mrs. Rose Anna Nelson, First Vice President, Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

Miss Evelyn Green, Executive Secretary, Board of Woman's Work, The Presbyterian Church in the U. S.

Mrs. Niles C. Clark, Representing Woman's Society of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church

Mrs. Edward M. Brown, Representing Council of Lay Life and Work, United Church of Christ.

The following is their report:

A. Issued the following statement.

> "We, as members of national women's organizations, believe that the freedom, dignity, and security of the individual are basic to American democracy.
>
> "Since it is the nature of women to be a civilizing influence we are particularly concerned about the treatment of people in our democracy today.
>
> "As women citizens of this nation we feel a moral responsibility for the administration of justice in the courts.
>
> "This requires knowledge, personal commitment, and united action."

B. Directed the Southern Regional Council to prepare material on the discrimination in jury selection and the dual justice in the courts -- one for Negroes, one for whites.

C. Asked that workshops on the courts be held in each of our eleven Southern States -- and that visits to the courts be made beforehand in preparation for the state workshops. (One of the lawyers who spoke to the group said, "If women would visit the courts regularly it would revolutionize the courts.")

(Please study the attached "Observer Guidelines" prepared for us by Mrs. William Wood, First Vice President, League of Women Voters of the United States.)

WORKSHOP ON COURTS

Prepared by Mrs. Wm. Wood, Vice President,
League of Women Voters of the United States

Observers Program

Some selective process should be used in recruiting observers. Personal appearance and demeanor are important. Those willing to participate should --

1) Conduct themselves in a polite, well-mannered way.

2) Be willing to sit through proceedings and refrain from making remarks or engaging in conversation with those nearby while the Court is in session.

3) Act like a fair-minded person.

It is wise for observers to work in teams of two. This makes it possible to check with one another when any report is written.

When observing in the Courts the following should be kept in mind:

1) Trials are open. However, any judge has power to exclude the public and to have part of the hearing in private.

2) Know the procedures in the Court to be visited. Attorneys can be helpful in briefings on this.

3) Know the Court schedule -- what cases are coming up, the time the Court opens, etc.

4) Many Courtrooms have limited space. Get there in time to get a seat near the front so you can hear. Do not expect special favors in having a seat saved. If offered, do not accept a Judge's invitation to sit on the bench.

5) Areas of interest:
   a. Judge's demeanor toward the person before the Court.
   b. Bail.
   c. Legal Counsel.
   d. Jury selection.
   e. Sentencing, fines, etc.

6) Observe several times with the same judge presiding.

7) Observe procedures under more than one judge.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE:

THE PROBLEM

Much has been written on the South's dual system of justice -- one brand for the white man -- yet another for the Negro. Legislation is even now being debated which hopefully will bring about change. But it will take more than new laws to rectify the abuses of generations. The vigilance of dedicated citizens willing to spend time and patience sitting in courtrooms and observing, willing to inquire, to ask the hard questions about long established procedures can be quietly effective. A coalition of women's organizations acting on local levels can fill this need. When lynch law was prevalent in the South, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was formed and over the years contributed hugely toward eliminating mob rule in the South. The same spirit of that earlier organization is now needed as the South faces up to the new challenge of Jim Crow justice.

Let's look just briefly at the overall situation, for basic to any meaningful action is an understanding of the directions one is trying to move.

The double standard of justice in the South is most obvious in the record on civil rights cases.

From 1960 through mid-1965 at least twenty-six Negroes and white civil rights workers were slain. Only one assailant was sentenced -- to ten years in prison.

Toward the end of 1965, however, the three men accused of murdering Mrs. Viola Liuzzo were convicted of "conspiracy to violate her civil rights" and were sentenced. This was after one of them had been acquitted of the charge of murder. The next day Damon Strange was convicted of manslaughter in a night-rider slaying in Anniston, Alabama.

If the double standard of justice were limited to civil rights cases, one might find reason for optimism -- however slight -- in these recent convictions. But the problem goes much deeper.

The double standard of justice looms constantly over the daily life of every Negro in the South. In ordinary contacts with police, in traffic courts, in civil procedures, and in criminal cases the dual standard is a standing abuse to all Negroes.

Capital Cases

Despite the fact that more than half of all convicted rapists are white, 87 per cent of all the persons executed for rape between 1930 and 1963 were Negroes convicted and sentenced by southern courts.

Between 1930 and 1961, 34 people were executed for the capital offense of night-time burglary. Twenty-nine of them were Negroes and all but one were put to death in a southern or border state.

Studies have shown that a Negro murderer is likely to get the maximum penalty if his victim is a white person, while

southern courts are inclined to be lenient if the victim is another Negro. A white person is more likely to receive the maximum penalty for killing another white person than for killing a Negro.

Minor Offenses

Negroes suffer from what has been described as "cash register justice." Suppose a judge gives two men, one a Negro and one white, the same sentence for drunk driving: $150 fine or twelve months in jail. If the Negro is a laborer at $1.25 per hour (when he can find work) and the white man earns $250 a week, the sentence is not really the same because a fine of three days' pay for the white man is an impossible sum for the Negro.

To be sure, "cash register justice" victimizes the poor of both races, but the Negro, being poorest, suffers most frequently. In a 12-month period ending in June of 1962, 2,341 persons served terms in Georgia's state prison system for their inability to pay small fines. Seventy-five per cent of these were Negroes.

The same result is obtained in the setting of bail: the impoverished sometimes must await trial in jail because they cannot raise the amount which allows the well-off offender to be free.

Experts in criminal correction have long argued that an effort should be made to determine the offender's ability to

pay before imposing the penalty. So far the argument has had little effect in the South.

Legal Counsel

An indigent Negro accused of a major crime often must accept a court-appointed white attorney who has little enthusiasm for his case. But even if they have money, Negroes may find it difficult to get an attorney, and in the Deep South, white attorneys are reluctant to accept controversial cases. To do so can cost an attorney his practice and may even result in ostracism by his community. There have been several examples of this in recent years.

Jury Selection

A southern Negro charged with a crime has little chance of being tried by "a jury of his peers." Actually, methods of jury selection work against poor whites as much as against Negroes, and they are unjust in other parts of the United States as in the South. But the record of southern juries in racial cases is a striking and depressing result of the pre-judicial systems of jury selection which prevail.

All-White Justice

Exclusion from juries is not the only way in which Negroes are denied participation in the administration of justice. Only recently have southern cities and states hired a token number of Negro police officers; often their duties are almost entirely confined to Negro neighborhoods.

Very few officers of the southern courts are Negroes. This is as true of southern federal courts as of state and municipal courts. A recent report of the Southern Regional Council included the following statistics:

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL
IN SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
Circuit Court Judges	12*	12	0
District Court Judges	65	65	0
Referees in Bankruptcy	55	55	0
U. S. Commissioners	253	253	0
U. S. Clerks	28	28	0
Deputy U.S. Clerks	321	321	0
U. S. Attorneys	29	29	0
Assistant U.S. Attorneys	158	153	5
Jury Commissioners	109	109	0
U. S. Marshals	29	29	0
Deputy U. S. Marshals	165	156	9
Secretarial and Clerical	364	**	**

*This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuits. The numbers respectively are three, seven, one, and one.

**Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number from observation is quite small.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Jury Selection

In a suit attacking the jury system of Jefferson County, Alabama, Charles Morgan, attorney-at-law, noted that selection techniques "differ from state to state and within states from court to court. The federal system differs from state systems. Qualifications differ from state to state. Federal qualifications differ from state qualifications." Some jury commissioners, Morgan pointed out, compile jury lists from telephone books; others use city directories, voter registration lists, the rolls of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, church membership lists, lists of school teachers, automobile owners, American Legion members, property tax payers. The result of such methods is that no real balance of the population is achieved. Jury lists become heavily laden with middle and upper class citizens. The poor, both Negro and white, are automatically excluded and since residential segregation is a fact of life in the South, jury commissioners can even effectively screen out middle class Negroes by close scrunity of their addresses.

The first step in a program of reform should be for local groups to determine how jury panels are chosen in their particular localities. But it isn't enough simply to pressure for change. An alternative should be presented. How can a true cross-section of the population be achieved, as called for in the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966? Mr. Morgan advances a surer means than is

currently in practice. This is the so-called Kraft method and is, in effect, the methods of opinion research analysts. (John F. Kraft, from whom the name is taken, is president of an opinion and market research firm. He has worked for many years both in the Elmo Roper firm and in the Lou Harris firm.) To select jury panels under this system would be a simple matter of choosing at random a specified number of residential blocks in a given city and from every fifth household making a random selection of citizens eligible to serve on juries -- men and women over 21, upper income and lower income people, white and Negroes. The whole focus of the approach, Mr. Kraft explains, "would be to remove human discretion from scientific sampling, to remove the possibility of bias in selecting the sample."

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Courtroom Practice -- What Can Be Done

The county courthouse in the South is the last remaining stronghold of publicly sanctioned segregation. Not even the federal government has yet penetrated it. Beyond calling for elimination of discriminatory jury selection methods in state courts, the proposed Civil Rights Bill will not greatly affect accepted practices and procedures at the county courthouse. It will, apparently, be only through local citizen action that change can be brought about. This could be a long and frustrating process. The South has demonstrated its unwillingness to abandon segregation voluntarily and those who take upon themselves the task of reform should be prepared to face a good deal of resistance -- as well as local hostility directed against them. Yet the effort must be made. And it may well be that church women can here be more effective than the more direct action groups. Courts are peculiarly sensitive to any act that might remotely be interpreted as contemptuous. The authority of county judges in contempt cases is very broad. However, local women's organizations, sitting quietly in a courtroom, observing what goes on and later working for reform through community action could hardly be felonious.

Points that observers should be alert for are, of course, evidences of segregation. Such evidence probably won't be hard to find. Negroes may, as a matter of course, automatically sit

on the back row or in the gallery or they may be directed to sit in segregated seats by the court. Water fountains in some county courthouses may still be segregated as may restrooms.

Negroes in southern courts traditionally have been denied normal courtesy titles. Few southern judges or lawyers address Negro witnesses by any other than first names. Listings of witnesses in records of trial sometimes do not include "Mr." or "Mrs." titles for Negroes. Negro attorneys are frequently addressed as "Colonel," "Captain," "Preacher," by the court to avoid the use of "Mister."

Another project of the group could be analysis of cases where a Negro and a white man are accused of comparable crimes. The group could sit in on the entire proceedings first of one and then the other. Notes could be kept on how both proceedings were handled, with special attention to the court's attitude toward the defendant, the comparative energies of white defense attorneys on their client's behalf, interrogation of Negro and white witnesses -- and jury panel selection. If both defendants were convicted, a comparison could also be made of the sentences given; follow-through could be made of jail and prison conditions.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

The Various Courts

Normally one thinks of only two types of courts -- state and federal. While this is, of course, basically the case, state courts are broken down into many categories.

Descriptive names vary from state to state but basically a state court system works this way. Superior courts (or district courts, circuit courts -- depending on the title used within the states) normally will have original and concurrent jurisdiction in all civil and criminal causes -- with the exception of administration of estates which would be under the jurisdiction of probate or ordinary courts. In some states superior courts also have jurisdiction in equity cases (those where injunctive relief is sought) while other states have separate equity (or chancery) courts. Divorce cases and cases involving titles to real estate will also normally fall under the jurisdiction of superior courts -- though some states again have separate court divisions for handling such cases.

Subordinate to the superior courts are the various municipal and county courts which have been created to take the heavy burden of minor civil and criminal cases from the higher court. Some of these include: police or recorder's courts used primarily for the disposition of minor offenses -- such as traffic violations -- and the binding over of greater offenders to higher courts; criminal courts which will handle misdemeanors; county civil courts which will have jurisdiction over civil cases where the sum involved is comparatively small. This sum may vary from state to state, but rarely is over $500.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

The Rights of Individuals in the Hands of Police

Negro distrust of white policemen is widespread both in rural areas and in the cities; both North and South. Such suspicion is not unjustified. For too long the white policeman has been the secular arm of segregation and racial discrimination and his methods have been no credit to his community or to his profession. Despite efforts of progressive city and county administrations in recent years to eliminate not only police brutality but police violation of individual and human rights, a great deal more effort needs to be made. Citizens groups thus should familiarize themselves with the rights of individuals in the hands of police. The following is a summation of those rights: (Source: Criminal Law and Punishment, P. J. FitzGerald, Oxford University Press, 1962; pp. 175-180.)

1. Search and entry -- no one must submit to being searched unless he is a suspect who has been arrested.
2. Arrest -- police cannot detain a subject for questioning without a warrant;
   Police cannot make an arrest without a warrant unless he reasonably suspects a felony having been committed;
   Arresting officer must bring an accused person (if arrested without a warrant) before a judge as soon as possible. Superior officer in charge must inquire into case and may release the accused on bail if the case is not serious. He must release him if accused does not come before a judge within 24 hours;
   When brought before a judge, the prisoner has

the right to demand bail; if refused, he can appeal to higher court. Bail must not be excessive;

The remedy for a person wrongfully detained is to apply for a writ of Habeus Corpus to a judge, requiring accuser and accused to go before a judge where cause of arrest is to be stated. If court is not satisfied that a valid reason exists for detaining the accused, the prisoner is to be instantly released.

A decision of the U. S. Supreme Court handed down June 13, 1966, directly affects the rights of individuals in the hands of police. The ruling holds:

1) that an individual must be warned prior to questioning that he has the right to remain silent;
2) that he must be warned that any statement he makes may be used against him in court;
3) that officials must inform him of his right to have legal counsel present at the time he is questioned;
4) that he must be told by authorities that if he does not have money enough to employ an attorney, he has the right to have one appointed by the court to represent him; to consult with him before making any statement; and to have him present while he is making a statement;
5) that if an accused person requests legal representation no questions will be asked him until an attorney is present.

TITLE I - FEDERAL JURIES

From the proposed

"Civil Rights Act of 1966"

The present statutes reflect the will of Congress that federal juries be composed of a cross-section of the community. But these laws do not provide sufficient guidance to jury commissions across the nation as to how they shall carry out this Congressional purpose. The result has been the use of varying sources of names of prospective jurors, differing systems of selection and diverse tests of qualification. While this uncertain system appears not to have operated unconstitutionally, in some districts Negro representation on juries has been substantially less than the proportion of Negroes in the community, and other classes have sometimes been inadequately represented on juries. In any event, the system used in many districts is an imperfect means of insuring that the will of Congress is carried out, and carried out uniformly.

Title I of the "Civil Rights Act of 1966" is drawn to eliminate uncertainty and make clear beyond dispute that each judicial district or division is fulfilling its constitutional and statutory obligations in selection and assignment of jurors. It sets forth the sources from which potential jurors are to be drawn and the procedures to be followed in selecting jurors and testing their qualifications.

Title I declares it to be the policy of the United States that all qualified persons shall have the opportunity to serve on grand and petit juries in federal courts and shall have an obligation to serve when summoned. It prohibits discrimination in the selection of federal jurors on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

The bill requires that the names of prospective jurors be taken at random from the voter registration rolls, which are defined to include lists of eligible voters prepared by federal examiners under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The voter rolls are considered to be the best universally available source of names substantially reflecting a full and fair cross-section of the community. Where, however, the judicial council of the circuit determines that use of the voter rolls as the exclusive source of names would not be consistent with the prohibition of discriminatory selection, the council would be required to prescribe other sources of names in addition to the voter rolls. It is anticipated that it will be necessary to prescribe additional sources of names for use in some districts where Negroes are at present not fairly represented on the voting rolls.

The qualifications for jury service prescribed by existing law are retained, but it is provided that all persons found in accordance with objective criteria to possess such qualifications are to be

deemed qualified as jurors. Under the present law, the statutory qualifications may have been regarded as establishing the minimum to be required, leaving the courts and jury commissions free to impose more stringent qualifications. The bill makes clear that the qualifications set a ceiling, that requirments beyond those listed may not be imposed.

Title I also provides a ready means for challenging jury selection in criminal and civil cases on grounds that the procedures established by the bill have not been followed. This challenge procedure is made available prospectively, and should be a major guarantee of the equal rights which are the objective of the legislation.

TITLE II - STATE JURIES

Title II of the "Civil Rights Act of 1966" is based on the power of Congress to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment by "appropriate legislation" and is designed to eliminate unconstitutional discrimination in the selection of grand and petit juries in State courts. This title provides that no persons shall be denied the right to serve on State juries on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status. In areas in which such discrimination is not practiced, existing jury selection procedures would not be upset. Where discrimination still exists, this title provides the means to eliminate it.

Title II has two principal features. First, it authorizes the Attorney General to bring civil actions in the federal courts for injunctive relief against discriminatory practices in State court jury selection. Under existing law, the Attorney General has no authority to initiate jury discrimination suits but may only intervene (under Title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) in private suits. The authority vested in him by this title would be similar to the authority the Attorney General now has to seek injunctions against discrimination in voting, public accommodations and employment and, under Title III of this bill, against discrimination in public schools and facilities.

Upon a finding of discrimination, the court is expressly authorized to grant specified kinds of effective relief, including a decree which would, (1) prohibit the use of any qualification or ground of exclusion, exemption or excuse which has been administered in a discriminatory manner or which lends itself to such abuse; (2) require the use of objective criteria in determining qualifications, exclusion, exemptions, or excuses; (3) require maintenance of such records as may be necessary to show, in the future, whether discrimination is being practiced; and (4) appoint a master to perform the duties of the State jury officials. In addition, the court may grant other appropriate relief under general equitable principles.

The second principal feature of this title deals with the need for disclosure and development of information relevant to the question whether discrimination results from the system for selecting jurors. This objective is accomplished by a challenge procedure which may be used by the Attorney General in a suit under this title, private litigants residing in the area who seek to enforce the prohibition against discrimination by a civil action under 42 U.S.C. 1983, or a defendant in a criminal case or convicted person attacking collaterally a criminal conviction.

Upon the filing of an allegation of discrimination, appropriate State officials are required to furnish a "written statement of jury selection information." This statement is to describe in detail the procedures followed by the State jury officials in selecting jurors--including the sources of names of prospective jurors, the criteria used in determining qualifications for jury service, and the methods used for summoning jurors and assigning them to jury panels. The complaining party may cross-examine jury officials and introduce any other relevant evidence that may be available in support of the challenge. If, at that point, there is some evidence of discrimination, the complaining party is given access to any other relevant records of jury selection which are not otherwise publicly available and these may be introduced in support of the challenge. If the court then determines that there is probable cause to believe that discrimination has occurred, it is the responsibility of the State to produce additional evidence demonstrating that the alleged discrimination did not occur.

This provision meets twin considerations. It affords interested parties and the court access to the relevant records of jury selection needed to permit a fair determination whether discrimination has occurred or may occur. In addition, it assures that records may be kept confidential except as necessary to the court proceeding. Use of this challenge procedure in collateral attacks upon criminal convictions is available only with respect to judgments of conviction entered after the effective date of the title.

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"That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

—Lord Alfred Tennyson

"We would remind ourselves that the future of our nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principle of our people. Democracy, brotherhood, human rights—these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all."

—"To Secure These Rights"
The Report of the President's
Committee on Civil Rights

Loyalty Investigation

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES ON PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO CONTROL SUBVERSIVE COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Investigation of
Un-American Activities in the
United States

RECEIVED
R 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Eightieth Congress

April 10, 1948

Necessity for Legislation -

The need for congressional action to combat the subversive activities of the Communists and their followers in the United States cannot be questioned. On March 17 the President asked Congress to appropriate billions of dollars to build up American defenses against the potential threat of the world Communist conspiracy with headquarters in the Soviet Union. It has been clearly established that the Communist Party of the United States is not an American political party, but is actually a disciplined and organic part of the world Communist movement, which has sections in every nation in the world, all under the direction and control of the master conspirators in the Politburo in Moscow. To resist the spread of communism abroad and ignore it at home would be an utterly inconceivable pattern of procedure.

During the past 2 months the Subcommittee on Legislation heard testimony on this subject from some of the outstanding legal scholars and constitutional authorities in the United States. Almost all of them, including many who have long and distinguished records as defenders of civil rights, declared that legislation must be passed to meet the activities of Communists in the United States.

In years past the Communist Party of the United States was lightly brushed aside by some as an insignificant sect of crackpots. Today it is almost unanimously recognized to be a mass fifth column operating on behalf of the Soviet Union. We are confronted with a problem of far-reaching perplexity--one of which the framers of the Constitution could have had little conception--and one that we have never faced before in our history, in its present aggravated form. Acting alone, the Communist Party of the United States does not constitute a substantial threat to the Nation but, acting as it does as the American bridgehead of the Red Army, which has directly or indirectly crushed country after country under its iron heel, the Communist Party of the United States, without question, constitutes a clear and present danger to our national security, and it is the responsibility of the Congress to act now to defend the liberties which the Communists seek to destroy.

The Nature of the Problem -

In order to meet the problem of communism in the United States, it is necessary to analyze the nature and tactics of the Communists.

The Communist movement is, in fact, a world-wide revolutionary political movement, whose purpose is by treachery, deceit, infiltration, espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means, legal or illegal, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the United States, and all other countries of the world, which will be subservient to the master conspirators in Moscow.

Certain elements are necessary for the success of the party:

1. It must operate as a secret conspiratorial organization, and when the spotlight of publicity is turned on its actions it loses much of its effectiveness;

2. It must resort to any means, legal or illegal, to accomplish its purpose.

3. The party has found that in the United States it has greater success generally, operating through front organizations who disguise and hide the fact they are Communist dominated and controlled. These front organizations feed the treasury of the party through tax-exempt contributions from fellow travelers and innocent dupes who are led to believe they are serving some humanitarian cause, rather than the interest of the Communist Party.

4. Since the Communist Party of the United States is a part of the Soviet-dominated world organization, travel and communication between the Communist Party of the United States and affiliated parties throughout the world is essential to its success. Severing the threads that bind the world conspiracy together, and which enable it to coordinate its activities on an international scale, would constitute a serious blow to the Communist Party of the United States and to the entire Communist conspiracy.

5. Membership in the Communist Party of the United States should not be confused with membership in American political parties. The party leaders are knowing and willful conspirators to overthrow the Government of the United States by any means, in order to serve the interests of the international conspiracy and of the party dictatorship in Moscow. A great majority of the party members are knowing and willful participants in this conspiracy. Only a few may not be aware of the true subversive character of the party. Around the hard core of party leadership are concentric rings of individuals and organizations, including dupes and fellow-travelers, who knowingly and unknowingly do the party's work.

The Status of Present Legislation -

Congress has passed several laws which were directed specifically at controlling the activities of the Communist Party of the United States. The Smith Act made it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. The McCormack Act required registration of agents of foreign principals. The Voorhis Act required registration of organizations which are agents of foreign governments.

Witness after witness before the subcommittee in its hearings declared that the provisions of all three of these acts clearly apply to the activities of Communist Party members and organizations, and that proof could be obtained to sustain criminal convictions under these acts. The Justice Department, however, has failed to enforce these acts against the Communist Party of the United States. The Communist Party has, in fact, enjoyed a privileged status, insofar as prosecution under these laws is concerned.

During the war, while the Soviet Union was an ally, some justification for this failure might have existed, but now, when the Soviet Union and its Communist satellites are waging a cold war against the United States and the other free nations of the world, such failure to proceed under existing laws against Communists in the United States is utterly inexcusable.

The effective prosecution of Communists under existing laws has fallen generally into two categories. First there are cases in which Communists have been cited for contempt by the Committee on Un-American Activities. Although a number of contempt citations have been voted over the past 10 years, a commentary upon the effectiveness of the Justice Department's prosecution of such cases is that just 1 month ago Leon Josephson was the first Communist who began to serve a jail term as a result of sentence and conviction on a contempt charge. The record of convictions in contempt proceedings has been excellent in recent months.

The Justice Department has also begun to proceed recently against alien Communists who perjured themselves in many cases as to their allegiance to the Communist cause when they entered the United States. It is significant that in some of these cases violations occurred over 15 years ago, yet only now has the Justice Department seen fit to prosecute.

Had the law-enforcement authorities vigorously enforced existing laws against Communists in the United States, the growth of the movement would undoubtedly have been stultified, so that it would not constitute the serious threat to our national security that it does at the present time. This apathy to, and coddling of, the Communists in the United States by the Department of Justice is in great measure responsible for the magnitude of the problem with which we are faced today.

The committee therefore recommends that the Justice Department immediately institute vigorous prosecution against Communists in every case where they have been guilty of violating existing laws. The Congress cannot be expected to pass legislation directed at controlling subversive influences if such laws are to become dead letters due to the failure of the Justice Department to prosecute. The committee wishes to point out that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has done an excellent job in investigating the activities of Communists in the United States, but investigation without prosecution is not an answer to the problem.

Recommendations for New Legislation -

The Committee on Un-American Activities held public hearings last year on several bills which had been introduced to curb or outlaw the Communist Party. Commencing on February 5, this year, additional hearings were held by the Subcommittee on Legislation. Perhaps the most outstanding panel of legal talent ever to appear before a congressional committee testified concerning the bills before the subcommittee. The witnesses were in virtual agreement as to the necessity for new legislation. There was, of course, some disagreement as to the proper legislative approach to the problem. The subcommittee has carefully considered the testimony of the witnesses, having in mind the following factors:

1. We believe it is essential that any legislation we recommend be strictly within our constitutional framework. We do not want it to be so broad as to possibly penalize innocent people along with the guilty. We cannot run the risk of infringing upon the freedom of all our people in order to curb the Communists who seek to destroy our form of government.

2. We feel that it is essential that the legislation be effective. Too often a cursory study of this problem leads people to believe that the answer is very simple; that all we have to do is to outlaw the Communist Party, or pass a law requiring that its members register, and that the problem will solve itself. This is not the case. The Communist Party in its operations presents a problem which is something new under the sun. It changes its spots, its tactics, and strategy without conscience.

3. The subcommittee believes that a democracy has the right to protect its very life from those who would destroy it.

Consequently, your subcommittee makes the following unanimous recommendations to the full committee.

Rejected Proposals -

Several bills before the committee attempt to approach the problem by outlawing the Communist movement as a political party. The subcommittee has found it necessary to reject this approach on several grounds. Barring the Communist Party from the ballot by Federal law would, in the opinion of the subcommittee, be unconstitutional, in that the States have the power to declare what parties and individuals may qualify for appearance on the election ballots. This opinion was shared by a majority of the witnesses before the subcommittee.

The subcommittee also finds it advisable not to report the McDonough bill. The committee, however, believes that that portion of the McDonough bill which seeks to define communism presents a salutary recommendation, and the bill which the committee is recommending contains such a definition.

The Subcommittee Bill -

The bill which the subcommittee is reporting to the full committee attacks the Communist problem on four major fronts:

1. It expands the provisions of the Smith Act by making illegal the knowing and willful advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by any means, for the purpose of subverting the interest of the United States to that of a foreign Communist power. Under this provision the master conspirators of the Communist movement in the United States can, without question, be prosecuted. While force and violence is without question a basic principle to which all party members subscribe, the present line of the party, in order to evade existing legislation, is to avoid wherever possible the open advocacy of force and violence. Under the provision which the committee is recommending, it is not necessary to prove advocacy of force and violence. It will only be necessary to prove knowing and willful participation in the foreign-directed Communist conspiracy, plus advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by any means with intent to subvert the interest of the United States to that of a foreign Communist power.

Through this provision of the bill, the law enforcement agencies will have a new weapon with which they can strike at the hard core of master conspirators of the Communist movement.

2. A great majority of the witnesses before the committee emphasized the necessity for constant and relentless exposure of Communist-front organizations. If the cloak of secrecy is removed from the purposes and control of such organizations, they will, without question, wither and die, and the party will have suffered a substantial set-back. The committee has approved those provisions of the Mundt bill (H. R. 5852) which require the registration of Communist-front organizations. This bill places the responsibility for registration upon the officials of the organizations involved, which fulfills one of the recommendations which the Attorney General made concerning the Voorhis Act.

   The bill provides for administrative hearings in the Department of Justice in those cases where Communist Party front organizations refused to register voluntarily. During this hearing the organization will be given an opportunity to present witnesses in its own behalf, as well as being provided with other safeguards. Full judicial review of the findings of the Attorney General is provided. The subcommittee believes that this provision constitutes a landmark in that it provides for the establishment of proper legal procedures which will eventually replace the ex parte findings under the present loyalty order.

   Full publicity will be given to the findings of the Attorney General in such cases, and to the registration statements. Tax exemption will be denied to contributors to front organizations, and they will be required to identify their publications, radio broadcasts, and the like, as emanating from a front organization.

3. It is essential that all Communists be removed from the Government pay roll and the committee consequently has approved that provision of the Mundt bill which specifically denies Government jobs to persons who are members of the Communist Party. The bill also provides a penalty for Government officials who employ persons knowing or having reasonable ground to believe that they are members of the Communist Party.

4. The committee believes that an all-out attack must be made on the foreign connections of the Communist Party of the United States. Without assistance and direction from abroad, the Communist Party of the United States would be a relatively impotent organization. Consequently, the committee has approved that provision of the Mundt bill which denies passports to members of the Communist Party. Additional recommendations to strike at the foreign connections of the Communist Party of the United States are included in the next section of this report.

Additional Legislative Recommendations -

1. The subcommittee recommends that the Voorhis and McCormack Act be strengthened. In view of the clear and present danger of the Communist threat, it is essential that our law-enforcement agencies be provided with several alternative weapons with which they can attack the Communist conspiracy in its various forms.

2. The subcommittee recommends the immediate consideration, by the Judiciary Committee of the House, of proposals which would require all aliens to register annually with the Department of Justice, allow the Department of Justice to hold deportable aliens in custody until arrangements for their deportation can be concluded, and provide for strict reciprocity in the granting of visas and in the treatment of aliens from Communist-dominated countries. The latter recommendation was strongly urged on the subcommittee by Admiral Standley, our former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and by Congressman Fletcher, of California.

3. Several witnesses before the subcommittee emphasized that the Committee on Un-American Activities was one of the most effective opponents of communism in the United States. The subcommittee recommends that the McDowell bill now in the Judiciary Committee, which would raise the penalty for contempt of Congress, be acted upon as soon as possible, so that the hand of the Committee on Un-American Activities may be strengthened in conducting its investigation of subversive activities.

4. Strengthening of the espionage laws, so as to cope with the new techniques and strategy of the international Communist movement.

Other Recommendations -

1. The subcommittee suggest that the legislatures of the various States should seriously consider legislation which would specifically bar from State employment and employment in public schools all persons who are members of the Communist Party. A coordinated attack on the Communist problem by the States, as well as the Federal Government, is essential.

2. Legislation alone is not a complete answer to the Communist problem. An attack must be made upon it on all fronts, if we are to meet it successfully. The most important element is an understanding and constant vigilance of the American citizens as to the true character, aims, and techniques of the Communist conspiracy. The many civic, patriotic, and fraternal organizations in the United States can be of tremendous service in emphasizing a program of education which will inform the people of this threat. In the words of one of the outstanding witnesses before our committee:

> The people should be informed, accurately and fully and continuously, about the nature, activities, strategy, and tactics of communism. This educational task can be in part accomplished by qualified and concerned private citizens.

Conclusion -

The subcommittee has not attempted to recommend legislation which will deal with so-called theoretical Communists in the United States. We are seeking rather to strike a body blow at the American cadre of the Soviet-directed Communist conspiracy. We believe that if its criminal activities are prosecuted, its false fronts exposed, and its foreign assistance and direction cut away, the movement in the United States, standing alone for what it is, will be overwhelmingly defeated. We are willing to permit the theories of communism and democracy to clash in the open market place of political ideas in America, but we insist that communism not be allowed to have the unfair advantages in this conflict of the unrestricted use of illegal means, the cloak of secrecy and fraud, and the assistance and direction of a foreign Communist dictatorship.

Approved by the full committee April 9, 1948.

* * *

H. R. 5852 -- THE MUNDT BILL

DEFINITIONS:

...(2) the term "Communist Party" means the political party now known as the Communist Party of the United States of America, regardless of any change hereafter made in such name; and such term includes, irrespective of its name, any organization carrying out the policies of, or engaged in the same character of activities as, the Communist Party of the United States as it now exists and operates;

(3) the term "Communist-front organization" means--(A) the Communist Party; or (B) any organization which engages in any activity intended, or which it is reasonable to believe is intended, to further the objective of (i) bringing about replacement of the existing form of government of the United States with a Communist form of government of the United States with a Communist form of government, or (ii) bringing about replacement of free private enterprise in the United States with a Communist economic system, or (iii) bringing about acceptance, in the United States, of Communist ideology; or (C) any organization which is under the control or influence of the Communist Party....

37 - Un-American Activities

COMMITTEE OF ONE THOUSAND
37 Madison Ave., New York 10, N. Y.
Murray Hill 9-3686

MEMORANDUM

To: Sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand April 23, 1948

From: Jeanette M. Gillerman, Executive Secretary

Congress will soon be called upon by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to consider the Committee's bill to control "Subversive Activities" in the United States. To be known as the "Subversive Activities Control Act of 1948," the bill was originally expected to be introduced by April 23, but its introduction is being delayed, it is believed, until preparations are completed to insure immediate passage.

Although the bill has not been publicly announced, its character and provisions are indicated in the report of the Subcommittee on Legislation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The proposed bill has already been critically reviewed by the press. A copy of an editorial in the Washington Post and the report of the Subcommittee are enclosed.

Enclosed also is a statement to be used as the subject of a press release or newspaper advertisement by the Committee of One Thousand at the most propitious time. If we may use your name as a signatory to it please sign and return the enclosed card.

37-Un-American Activities

Committee of One Thousand
37 Madison Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

April 23, 1948

STATEMENT ON PROPOSED "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL ACT OF 1948."

We review with critical concern and apprehension the proposals for a "Subversive Activities Control Act of 1948," to be recommended to Congress by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, because of this Committee's history of almost complete disregard of the liberties which this legislation purports to defend.

The Committee has been in existence for about ten years. Its record was succinctly summarized on January 20, 1947, by the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union--an organization which the Dies Committee itself publicly absolved of any "Communist taint." Referring to the present Committee and its predecessors the Board said:

> ". . . .The principal effect of the committees' probes has been the unwarranted discrediting of genuine liberals who have been earnestly and sincerely seeking needed reforms, particularly in the field of labor, monopolies, and race relations. This has been accomplished by "smear" methods, innuendo, distortion and other propagandistic devices reminiscent of fascist techniques. Nothing in recent years has been as un-American as the conduct of the hearings of the Congressional Committee on un-Americanism."

That Congress is to be asked by a Committee whose conduct has been so described to safeguard the American way of life deserves serious thought.

The Committee has announced that it will propose legislation which purports to do the following:

1. Make illegal the knowing and wilful advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by any means for the purpose of subverting the interest of the United States to that of a foreign Communist power.

2. Require the registration of "Communist front" organizations as proposed in the Mundt Bill (H. R. 5852).

3. Deny government employment to Communists.

4. Deny passports to Communist Party members.

The Committee suggests additional legislation to -

1. Increase the penalty for contempt of Congress from one to five years and from $1000 to $5000 fine.

2. Strengthen the espionage laws.

3. Require aliens to register annually.

We cannot be unmindful of the fact that for ten years the House Committee on Un-American Activities not only has attacked Communists, but has stamped "subversive" all those whose opinions it found unpalatable. It has exhibited an unwilling-

(over)

ness, as Professor Walter Gellhorn said, "to tolerate those whose estimates of current problems do not match its own."

That this bill is primarily a request by the Committee for legislative sanction to accelerate its drive to squeeze all opinion and activity into the channels of conformity is obvious from the following definitions contained in the Mundt Bill and approved for incorporation:

> "SEC. 3....(2) the term "Communist Party" means the political party now known as the Communist Party of the United States of America, regardless of any change hereafter made in such name; and such term includes, irrespective of its name, any organization carrying out the policies of, or engaged in the same character of activities as, the Communist Party of the United States as it now exists and operates;
>
> (3) the term 'Communist-front organization' means --
>
> (A) the Communist Party; or
>
> (B) any organization which engages in any activity intended, or which it is reasonable to believe is intended, to further the objective of
> (i) bringing about replacement of the existing form of government of the United States with a Communist form of government, or
> (ii) bringing about replacement of free private enterprise in the United States with a Communist economic system, or
> (iii) bringing about acceptance, in the United States, of Communist ideology; or
>
> (C) any organization which is under the control or influence of the Communist Party."

We are aware of no legislative act that does greater violence to the principles which have guided our country to greatness--the encouragement of criticism and the toleration of dissent. If this bill is enacted, persons and organizations espousing such current controversial causes as the partition of Palestine, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, civilian control of atomic energy, anti-lynch laws, and national health insurance may be subject, if not to criminal action, to abusive investigation and disparaging publicity. They become open to the charge of engaging "in the same character of activities as the Communist Party of the United States," or being under its "control or influence." "America," Professor Henry Steele Commager said, "was born of revolt, flourished on dissent, became great through experimentation."

We condemn what seems to us to be an effort to utilize the unsettled state of international affairs and political discord both at home and abroad to impose upon Americans modern Alien and Sedition Acts, the wisdom of which our history has long since disproved. On the basis of the record of the Committee on Un-American Activities we believe we are justified in discounting this body's estimate of the dangers that face our country. We do not believe we can be charged with ingratitude for refusing their offer to protect our liberties. Instead we propose to Congress the alternative to a government by terror--the defeat of the "Subversive Activities Control Act of 1948" and the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. By so doing we reaffirm our confidence in the strength and virtue of the Constitution of the United States and our faith in the American people.

37 - Un-American Activities

The Washington Post

** Monday, April 19, 1948

Security By Proscription

There is a specious rationality about the legislation to curb communism approved the other day by the House Committee on Un-American Activities which makes it particularly perilous. Indubitably, Communists and some of their bedfellows are a menace to the body politic; indubitably, their devotion to a foreign country is such that they cannot be allowed to hold positions of trust within our own Government. The Committee on Un-American Activities proposes to deal with them, however, by proscription in the guise of exposure. It would require registration and disclosure of membership and of contributors on the part of the Communist Party itself and on the part of all "Communist front" organizations. The justification for this proscription is a legislative declaration that the Communist Party is a "political conspiracy" endeavoring to "subvert the interest of the United States to that of a foreign Communist power."

The Government of the United States is by no means defenseless against the agents of a foreign power or other persons seeking to overthrow it. There is in force at the present time the McCormack Act requiring registration of agents of foreign principals and the Voorhis Act requiring registration of organizations which are agents of foreign governments. There is also a Federal law, the Smith Act, forbidding anyone to advocate the violent overthrow of any government in the United States and another law forbidding the employment of any such person by the Federal Government. It would be a good idea, we think, to test in the courts whether Communists, by mere virtue of their membership in the Communist Party, fall afoul of these laws. The courts are the appropriate place to seek such a judgment.

But legislative designation of the Communist Party and "Communist front" organizations as guilty of violating these laws or any other laws having general application is at once a begging of the question and an infringement of the First Amendment to the Constitution. If Congress could, at its own unchecked discretion, declare it to be a fact that Communists and their fellow travelers are conspirators, it could do the same about Roman Catholics or trade unionists or organizers of a third party. Justice Prettyman of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia put this succinctly and incontrovertibly the other day in his dissenting opinion on the Taft-Hartley Act Communist oath case. Congress cannot, he said, "directly abridge a right protected by the First Amendment merely by making an affirmation of a fact. If it could, it could flout the amendment with impunity."

The House of Representatives had an unhappy experience not long ago when it tried to forbid the Federal employment of three named individuals, Messrs. Watson, Dodd and Lovett, only to discover that it had enacted what the Supreme Court ultimately called a bill of attainder. The present proposal has much the same taint. Congress could properly require the registration of all organizations guilty of endeavoring to "subvert the interest of the United States to that of a foreign Communist power." It could, if it wished, follow the suggestion of Morris Ernst and require disclosure as to the contributions and expenditures of all organizations seeking to influence public opinion. It could, as Adolph Berle recommended, strengthen the Foreign Agents Registration Act to encompass all agents of foreign powers. But to single out the Communists for special restrictions under the law is to legislate in one of the ways the Constitution specifically prohibits.

In empowering the Attorney General to designate organizations as "Communist fronts," the House Committee proposal would improve in important respects upon the power to do this given the Attorney General under the President's loyalty investigation order. It would provide for a hearing and for judicial review. But the invidious character of the designation, the failure to recognize that an organization in which Communists have the upper hand one day may be reclaimed by loyal Americans the next, the extreme vagueness of the language defining a Communist front, all serve to make this a most dangerously blunderbuss sort of legislation.

Perhaps the most serious defect of the proposed legislation is its drastic extension of the doctrine of guilt by association. It would forbid employment in the Federal Government or issuance of a passport to any member of any organization designated a "Communist front." This is a proscription on so broad and unselective a scale as to be wholly repugnant to the most settled tenets of American democracy. It would catch saint and sinner alike, punish the innocent as well as the guilty. There is not much to be said for medicine that kills the patient along with the germs from which he is suffering.

Loyalty Investigation

MEMO

COMMITTEE OF One Thousand

37 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 10
MUrray Hill 9-3686

TO: Sponsors of Committee of One Thousand

FROM: Paul Ziporkis, Executive Secretary

DATE: October 11, 1948

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Southern Regional Council

I wish that I might meet with all the sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand to discuss the plans and problems of the Committee. Realizing its impossibility, however, I am using this means to tell you what we believe our Committee ought to do, and to ask for your cooperation.

I am sure you will agree that at a time when the House Committee on Un-American Activities shows such a blatant disregard of civil rights that it earns the condemnation of the President and the Attorney General of the United States, it would be most unfortunate if the Committee of One Thousand were not able to continue to do its part in helping to rid the government of such an un-American agency.

The enclosed report outlining our proposed activities stresses the introduction of a resolution into Congress to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities as sine qua non of our objective. We want to organize a group of Congressmen to lead the fight for the passage of such a resolution which we expect will be introduced by Congressman Sabath. As a first step in this project we would plan on the opening day of Congress to have in the hands of every Congressman an open letter signed by the sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand urging the abolition of the Thomas Committee.

We have made many efforts to raise the money necessary to carry out the foregoing program. We are urgently in need of $5,000 to enable our Committee to continue. It is only the failure to raise sufficient funds by other means that compels us to appeal to you for assistance. We shall be most grateful for your help.

P.S. Enclosed is a current list of sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand.

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Committee of One Thousand
37 Madison Avenue, New York 1, N.Y. October, 1948

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Mann, Dr. Thomas
March, Florence Eldridge
March, Fredric
Marion, Rev. John H., Jr.
Marley, Rev. Harold P.
Marshak, Prof. Robert E.
Marsley, Rev. Harvey K.
Mason, Dr. Gregory
Mather, Prof. Kirtley
Mayer, Prof. Joseph E.
Mayhew, Rev. Robert
McCausland, Elizabeth
McDaniel, Walton Brooks
McElroy, Rev. Paul S.
McGeachy, Rev. D. P.
McGhee, Dean Paul A.
McWilliams, Carey
Meyerhof, Dr. Otto
Miller, Miss Dorothy C.
Mitchell, Dr. George S.
Mitchell, Marion K.
Mitchell, Dr. S. A.
Mitchell, Dr. Wesley C.
Moehlman, Prof. Arthur B.
Montagu, Prof. M. F. Ashley
Moore, Miss Marianne Craig
Moore, Sam
Morris, Mr. William
Morrison, Dr. Philip
Moulton, Rt. Rev. Arthur W.
Mudd, Dr. Stuart
Muller, Dr. H. J.
Mulliken, Dr. Robert S.
Mumford, Dr. Lewis
Murdock, Prof. Kenneth B.
Murlin, Dr. John R.
Myers, Rev. Skillman E.
Nichols, Prof. Robert Hastings
Nixon, Rev. Justin Wroe
Obenhaus, Prof. Victor
Ogburn, Prof. William E.
Ohrenstein, Rev. Edward W.
Olmsted, Frederick Law
Paine, Rev. George L.
Palmer, Rev. Clay E.
Panofsky, Prof. Erwin
Parker, Prof. George Howard
Patch, Rev. Don Ivan
Patterson, Prof. Ernest M.
Pauling, Prof. Linus
Payne, Will
Peet, Rev. Edward L.
Pennington, Rev. Leslie T.
Perry, Dr. Ralph Barton
Peters, John P., M. D
Phillips, Prof. Melba
Posin, Prof. Daniel Q.
Pringle, Rosa
Quimby, Rev. Karl K.
Rainey, Dr. Homer P.
Randall, Prof. H. M.
Rautenstrauch, Dr. Walter
Refregier, Anton
Revere, Anne
Rice, Elmer
Rice, Oscar K.

Richards, Dr. Alfred N.
Ricker, Rev. Frank
Ringsmuth, Rev. S. Nelson
Roberts, Dr. Walter Orr
Robeson, Rev. Benjamin C.
Rome, Harold
Rosebury, Prof. Theodor
Rosenthal, Morris S.
Rosten, Norman
St. John, Robert
Sanborne, Rev. Leon D.
Sandow, Prof. Alexander
Schenkman, Alfred S.
Schneirla, Prof. T. C.
Schlauch, Prof. Margaret
Schnabel, Artur
Schnatz, Rev. Arthur P.
Scholten, Rev. Walter A.
Searle, Rev. Robert W.
Sears, Prof. Paul Bigelow
Sergio, Lisa
Shapley, Dr. Harlow
Sharpe, Dr. D. R.
Shaw, Irwin
Shelley, Rev. Harold K.
Shotwell, Prof. James T.
Shull, Dr. George H.
Shultz, Rev. Paul T., Jr.
Simkhovitch, Mrs. Mary Kingsbury
Singley, The Rev. Dewees F.
Sloan, John
Smith, Rev. B. H.
Smith, Prof. Lloyd P.
Smith, The Rev. Robert D.
Sonen, Rev. Robert W.
Sonneborn, Prof. T. M.
Spaeth, Dr. Sigmund
Speiser, Dr. E. A.
Spofford, Rev. William B.
Sprague, Dr. O.M.W.
Stanley, Dr. W. M.
Stanton, Rev. Howard E.
Stefansson, Dr. Vilhjalmur
Steinberg, Dr. Arthur G.
Stern, Prof. Otto
Stevenson, Philip
Stimmel, Rev. Howard L.
Stout, Rex
Stowe, Lyman Beecher
Stuber, Dr. Stanley I.
Sturtevant, Prof. Edgar H.
Sutton, Prof. Richard M.
Swing, Raymond
Szyk, Arthur
Sweet, Very Rev. Sidney
Tatlock, Prof. J.S.P.
Taylor, Deems
Taylor, Prof. C. Fayette
Taylor, Prof. Lloyd W.
Thorndike, Dr. Lynn
Thornton, Rev. L. F.
Towart, Rev. W. G.
Townsend, Prof. Atwood H.
Tugwell, Dr. Rexford Guy
Untermeyer, Louis
Uphaus, Willard
Urey, Dr. Harold C.
Van Doren, Dr. Mark Van
Van Dyke, Willard
Veblen, Prof. Oswald
Visscher, Dr. Maurice B.
Wagner, Rev. O. Walter
Walker, Rt. Rev. John M.
Walsh, Dr. J. Raymond
Walsh, Richard J.
Walton, Prof. E. L.
Warburg, James P.
Watson, Prof. Goodwin
Weary, Rev. Gerald F.
Weber, Max
Webster, Margaret
Weinstein, Rabbi Jacob J.
Weisskopf, Victor F.
Went, Prof. F. W.
Werth, Rev. W. A.
Weston, Mrs. Christine
Weyl, Dr. Hermann
Weymouth, Prof. F. W.
White, Rev. Hugh Vernon
Wicks, Rev. Frank S. C.
Wieman, Prof. Henry N.
Wigner, Prof. Eugene P.
Wild, Dean Payson S.
Williams, Rev. Claude C.
Williams, Rev. David Rhys
Williams, Rev. John R.
Wilson, Prof. Robert R.
Wise, Mr. James Waterman
Wise, Rabbi Stephen S.
Wolfe, Prof. Rolland Emerson
Wright, Prof. Quincy
Wright, Bishop R. R., Jr.
Wright, Prof. Sewall
Wyker, Rev. James D.
Wyler, William
Yerkes, Dr. Robert
Young, Mahonri M.
Zilboorg, Dr. Gregory
Zorach, William
Zugsmith, Leane
Van Tassell, Rev. Morgan W.

committee of 1000

37 Madison Ave., New York 10, NY

Report of Activities to July 31, 1948
And
Proposals for Future Activity

From an initial group of thirty-two, the Committee of One Thousand has grown to over four hundred persons prominent in science, business, the arts, law, education and religion. Thirty-five states are represented.

Dr. Harlow Shapley has been acting chairman, assisted by a temporary steering committee which includes Messrs. Olin Downes, Van Wyck Brooks, Matthew Josephson, Dr. Bryn J. Hovde and Dr. W. Russell Bowie.

During the next six months period the plan is to complete the sponsors group to 1000, establish permanent officers, an enlarged policy committee, and a smaller administrative committee which should meet monthly.

The Committee should look forward to a national meeting of its sponsors in December or early January to plan the Committee's activity during the Eighty-first Congress.

Of primary importance is the introduction of a resolution into Congress to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, similar to the one introduced into the Eightieth Congress by Representative Sabath, and rallying sufficient Congressional support for its adoption.

PAST ACTIVITY The Committee of One Thousand got under way about the time that the appropriation for the House Committee on Un-American Activities was before Congress. About the same time Dr. Edward U. Condon, Director of the Bureau of Standards, was attacked by the House Committee, and was the cause celebre to justify the Committee's request for additional funds.

In addition to releasing a statement protesting the attack on Dr. Condon, signed by 140 sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand, the Committee took an active part in Washington attempting to secure as large a vote as possible against the appropriation for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Our Committee's activity was responsible for a number of votes against the appropriation. The Committee

of One Thousand received special comment by Representative Sabath, Dean of the House of Representatives, and the leader of the opposition to the appropriation.

Immediately after the House Committee on Un-American Activities announced that it would propose a Subversive Activities Control Act to Congress, the Committee of One Thousand assumed the initiative and continued to be one of the leading forces opposed to this legislation until Congress adjourned. A statement issued by the Committee of One Thousand was signed by over 200 sponsors, received good publicity in the press and was used by a number of other organizations as a basis for their own protests. A copy of the statement was sent to each Senator and Congressman.

On May 20 in New York City the Committee of One Thousand held a meeting for its sponsors and guests at which Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays, prominent civil rights attorney, presented his analysis and opinions of the Subversive Activities Control Act, which by that time had been introduced into Congress by Representatives Mundt and Nixon.

The Committee of One Thousand established an excellent relationship with Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, one of the leaders of the opposition to the Mundt bill in the Senate. The Committee provided him with a platform at a luncheon in New York City on June 3 for the first public statement by a Senator against the Mundt bill. Senator Chavez of New Mexico utilized this occasion also to announce publicly for the first time his opposition to the bill in a wire to the luncheon. Senator Claude Pepper also wired the luncheon confirming his opposition to this legislation.

Immediately after this function Senator Thomas took the initiative and called a luncheon meeting in the Capitol at which eleven Senators and an equal number of guests were present, including sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand. During the informal discussion that took place several Senators, particularly Senators Barkley and Lucas, assured those present that the bill would not reach the floor of the Senate.

For the three week period during which the bill was before the Senate Judiciary Committee the Committee of One Thousand contracted for the services of Mr. Heber Blankenhorn, a sponsor of the Committee, as Washington observer and advisor. Mr. Blankenhorn did a most creditable job, keeping the Committee continually apprised of developments in Washington. Through him we were able to get excellent publicity through the Washington press, helping to establish the Committee of One Thousand as one of the foremost opponents of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (The New York Times on June 7 described the Committee of One Thousand as "a leader of the fight against the Mundt bill.") Individual protests by sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand, as well as personal contact with a number of Senators, did much to stall the legislation in the Senate Judiciary Committee and prevent it from reaching the floor at the last session.

Efforts may be made to pass the Mundt bill or a version of it revised in content but not in principle when Congress reconvenes. Senator Wiley, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has already inserted into the Congressional Record (June 19, 1948) a revamped copy of

the bill. Yet, these results are clear -- after 10 years the Un-American Activities Committee ventured to produce something concrete. It was instantly rejected by a large section of American public opinion.

PLAN OF FUTURE ACTIVITY The Committee of One Thousand in working for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities must be prepared to thwart every move by the House Committee to stifle throught and expression with which it does not agree. Our Committee must continue to make the public aware of the threat to civil liberties that the continued existence of the Thomas Committee represents, and to stimulate protests by effective public opinion against its irresponsible conduct. Simultaneously, organizations and groups must be encouraged to take appropriate action against the very existence of the Un-American Activities Committee.

The views of eminent scholars of American civil liberties must be sought and circulated and the documented widespread opposition to the Thomas Committee collected and announced. The publications and statements of the Thomas Committee must be critically appraised and statements and background material supplied to strategic editors, columnists and radio commentators. An official journal of the Committee of One Thousand, published regularly, could perform a valuable function and be most helpful in promoting the above program. It is hoped that the means can be found to have the first issue appear in the fall.

Paralleling the latest Un-American Activities Committee hearings the Committee of One Thousand must be prepared to hold hearings for the examination of witnesses whom the Un-American Committee summons, then silences. This will require a small panel of sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand, including lawyers, with provision for examining counsel, etc. to prepare a public record of the facts which the Un-American Committee refuses to hear from its witnesses. Or in cases such as Dr. Condon's, where the House Committee publicly accuses, but gives no hearing, the panel could proceed to "hear the case." We will thus begin to "abolish" the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Committee of One Thousand is now preparing to circularize every candidate for Congress in most of the forty-eight states, asking them to declare themselves on the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The information gathered from this poll will be made available to the sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand and to interested citizens groups, and will be publicized in the candidates' localities. In addition, we will make available the roll call vote in Congress on several important measures affecting the House Committee on Un-American Activities -- the vote on appropriations for the Committee, on the Mundt bill, and contempt citations.

The need to secure commitments from Congressional candidates against the House Committee on Un-American Activities should not be underestimated. It is known that many members of Congress are intimidated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and though they have expressed both publicly and privately their disgust with the conduct of that committee, nevertheless, continue to support its requests. It is important to make known to future members of Congress (whatever their political complexion) that there is considerable effective public opinion against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in order

to create a more widespread opposition to the Committee within Congress itself.

What Professor Walter Gellhorn said in his article "In Defense of American Activities" (American Scholar, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Spring 1948) bears repeating. "More important than any procedural reform, however, is conscious opposition to the Committee's bullying. The dominant pressures in the country today are toward an uncritical conformity, and toward a fearful unwillingness to preserve the civil rights of unpopular groups. The Committee implies that those who oppose it are Communists or tools of the Communists. And thus it intimidates many who ought to be most eager in their defense of the realm of ideas. It is more comfortable, and certainly safer, to worry about attacks on democracy in foreign countries than to be sensitive about non-democratic trends in our own. But if American democracy is to continue in a state of health, dissident opinion must not be stifled here."

The estimated monthly organizational expense budget of the Committee of One Thousand including salaries, rent, telephone and telegraph, postage, stationery and supplies, is $850.00. To this must be added the cost of special meetings and functions, newspaper advertisements, publications, radio time, and specialized personnel as required. It is not possible to estimate the cost of these items because the extent to which they are utilized depends in no small measure upon the future activity of the House Committee.

The Committee of One Thousand receives its funds entirely from voluntary contributions solicited (1) in person and through the mails, and (2) at public functions held by the Committee. By establishing itself as a source of information about the Un-American Activities Committee, as well as a leading opponent of it, the Committee of One Thousand hopes to brouden its base of moral and financial supporters. Those evincing interest in the program and objective of the Committee of One Thousand should be referred to the Committee.

HARLOW SHAPLEY, Acting Chairman

PAUL ZIPORKIS, Executive Secretary

August 1948

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JACKIE ROBINSON STATEMENT
TO HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

Following is the text of a statement made July 18, 1949 by Jackie Robinson, Brooklyn Dodgers baseball player, before the House Un-American Activities Committee (as reported in NEW YORK TIMES, July 19, 1949):

When the House Committee on Un-American Activities invited me to appear here today and express myself on the subject of your present interest, I answered that I would be glad to do so, although it isn't exactly pleasant to get involved in a political dispute when my field of earning a living is as far removed from politics as anybody can possibly imagine.

I am sure you know that I am a professional baseball player. Baseball has been called the great American sport because all Americans get their kicks out of the game some way or other, no matter what their political or social connections may be. So it's customary, and I suppose pretty sensible for ball players to keep out of partisan politics or any other kind of arguements and contests that may split their supporting public.

Of course it will be said and it's certainly true, that the question of Communist activity in the United States isn't partisan politics. But it's also true that some of the policies of this Committee have become political issues. And so, naturally, I've had a great many messages come to me by wire, phone and letter, urging me not to show up at this hearing. And I ought to make it plain that not all of this urging came from Communist sympathizers. Of course, most of it did. But some came from people for whom I have a lot of respect and who are just as opposed to Communist methods as I am.

And so it isn't very pleasant for me to find myself in the middle of a public argument that has nothing to do with the standing of the Dodgers in the penant race--or even the pay raise I am going to ask Mr. Branch Rickey for next year.

"A Sense of Responsibility"

So you'll naturally ask, why did I stick my neck out by agreeing to be present, and why did I stand by my agreement in spite of advice to the contrary. It isn't easy to find an answer, but I guess it boils down to a sense of responsibility.

I don't pretend to be any expert on communism or any other kind of a political "ism." Going to college at UCLA (the University of California at Los Angeles), helping to fight a war, with about ten million other fellows, trying to make good with the Dodgers, and trying to save some money for the time when my legs lose their spring--all this, together with my family life, has been enough to keep me busy, without becoming an "expert"--except on base-stealing or something like that.

But you can put me down as an expert on being a colored American, with thirty years of experience at it. And just like any other colored person with sense enough to look around him and understand what he sees, I know that life in these United States can be mightly tough for people who are a little different from the majority--in their skin, color or the way they worship their God, or the way they spell their names.

Loyalty Investigation

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
FILE LRB:CFN:jad
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

November 16, 1950

Memorandum No. 57

To All Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Classification According to Section 3, Part III, of E. O. 9835 of Organizations Previously Designated by the Attorney General As Within the Purview of the Executive Order

There are attached a copy of the Attorney General's letter of October 30, 1950 and a copy of the consolidated list prepared by the Attorney General of all the organizations designated by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835 according to the classification of Section 3, Part III of the Executive Order.

Harry W. Blair
Vice Chairman
Loyalty Review Board

Enclosures

Department of Justice
Office of the Deputy Attorney General
Washington

October 30, 1950.

Mr. Seth W. Richardson
Chairman, Loyalty Review Board
Civil Service Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Richardson:

In accordance with the request contained in your letter of September 28, 1950, to the Attorney General, I am transmitting herewith a consolidated list of all the organizations which have been designated by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order No. 9835 according to the classifications of Section 3, Part III of the Executive Order.

Yours sincerely,

Peyton Ford
Deputy Attorney General

CONSOLIDATED LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS PREVIOUSLY DESIGNATED AS WITHIN EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 9835 BY LETTERS OF NOVEMBER 24, 1947, MAY 27, 1948, APRIL 21, 1949, JULY 20, 1949, SEPTEMBER 26, 1949, AUGUST 24, 1950 AND SEPTEMBER 5, 1950, ACCORDING TO THE CLASSIFICATIONS OF SECTION 3, PART III OF THE EXECUTIVE ORDER.

Totalitarian:

Black Dragon Society

Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai)

Central Japanese Association of Southern California

Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan or Military Art Society of Japan)

Heimuska Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaibei Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaibei Heimusha Kai (Japanese Residing in America Military Conscripts Association)

Hinode Kai (Imperial Japanese Reservists)

Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society - a group of Japanese War Veterans)

Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association)

Japanese Association of America

Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai)

Japanese Overseas Convention, Tokyo, Japan, 1940

Japanese Protective Association (Recruiting Organization)

Jikyoku lin Kai (Current Affairs Association)

Kibei Seinen Kai (Association of U. S. Citizens of Japanese Ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan)

Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans)

Nichibei Kogyo Kaisha (The Great Fujii Theatre)

Northwest Japanese Association

Peace Movement of Ethiopia

Sakura Kai (Patriotic Society, or Cherry Association - composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War)

Shinto Temples

Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society)

Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers Association Los Angeles)

Fascist:

American Nationalist Party

American National Labor Party

American National Socialist League

American National Socialist Party

American Patriots, Inc.

Ausland-Organization der NSDAP, Overseas Branch of Nazi Party

Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung)

Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance (Deutsche-Amerikanische Einheitsfront)

Citizens Protective League

Committee for Nationalist Action

Dante Alighieri Society

Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U.S.A., Inc. (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani, Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America)

Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands)

German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund)

German-American Republican League

German-American Vocational League (Deutsche-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft)

Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund), Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft)

Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kreigshilfswerk)

Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts)

Mario Morgantini Circle

National Blue Star Mothers of America

Nationalist Action League

Communist:

Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Illinois

Action Committee to Free Spain Now

American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.

American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions

American Committee for European Workers' Relief

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

American Committee for Spanish Freedom

American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.

American Council for a Democratic Greece, formerly known as the Greek American Council; Greek American Committee for National Unity

American Council on Soviet Relations

American Croatian Congress

American Jewish Labor Council

American League Against War and Fascism

American League for Peace and Democracy

American Peace Mobilization

American Polish Labor Council

American Rescue Ship Mission (a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee)

American Russian Institute, New York

American Russian Institute, Philadelphia

American Russian Institute (of San Francisco)

American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles

American Slav Congress

American Youth Congress

American Youth for Democracy

Armenian Progressive League of America

Boston School for Marxist Studies, Boston, Massachusetts

California Labor School, Inc., 216 Market Street, San Francisco, California

Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, aka Central Council of American Croatian Women, National Council of Croatian Women

Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder

Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges

Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including:

Civil Rights Congress for Texas

Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York

Comite Coordinador Pro Republica Espanola

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy

Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas

Communist Party, U.S.A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:

Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City)

Committee to Aid the Fighting South

Daily Worker Press Club

Dennis Defense Committee

Labor Research Association, Inc.

Southern Negro Youth Congress

United May Day Committee

United Negro and Allied Veterans of America

Yiddisher Kultur Farband

Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:

Florida Press and Educational League

Peoples Educational and Press Association of Texas

Virginia League for Peoples Education

Connecticut State Youth Conference

Congress of American Revolutionary Writers

Congress of American Women

Council on African Affairs

Council for Pan-American Democracy

Detroit Youth Assembly

Emergency Conference to Save Spanish Refugees (founding body of the North American Spanish Aid Committee)

Friends of the Soviet Union

George Washington Carver School, New York City

Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee

Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense

Hungarian-American Council for Democracy

Independent Socialist League

International Labor Defense

International Workers Order, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:

- American-Russian Fraternal Society
- Carpatho-Russian Peoples Society
- Cervantes Fraternal Society
- Croatian Benevolent Fraternity
- Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society
- Garibaldi American Fraternal Society
- Hellenic-American Brotherhood
- Hungarian Brotherhood
- Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order
- People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
- Polonia Society of the IWO
- Romanian-American Fraternal Society
- Serbian-American Fraternal Society
- Slovak Workers Society
- Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union

Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City

Jewish Peoples Committee

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee

Joseph Weydemeyer School of Social Science, St. Louis, Missouri

Labor Youth League

League of American Writers

Macedonian-American People's League

Michigan Civil Rights Federation

Michigan School of Social Science

National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners

National Committee to Win the Peace

National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a Conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy)

National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

National Negro Congress

Nature Friends of America (since 1935)

Negro Labor Victory Committee

New Committee for Publications

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

North American Spanish Aid Committee

Ohio School of Social Sciences

Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners

Pacific Northwest Labor School, Seattle, Washington

Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone)

Peoples Educational Association (Incorporated under name Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc.) aka Peoples Educational Center, Peoples University, People's School

People's Institute of Applied Religion

Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art

Photo League (New York City)

Progressive German-Americans, aka Progressive German-Americans of Chicago

Proletarian Party of America

Revolutionary Workers League

Samuel Adams School, Boston, Massachusetts

Schappes Defense Committee

Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee

School of Jewish Studies, New York City

Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Washington

Serbian Vidovdan Council

Slovenian-American National Council

Socialist Workers Party, including American Committee for European Workers' Relief

Socialist Youth League

Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Tom Paine School of Westchester, New York

Union of American Croatians

United American Spanish Aid Committee

United Committee of South Slavic Americans

United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, New Jersey

Washington Bookshop Association

Washington Committee for Democratic Action

Washington Commonwealth Federation

Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation

Workers Alliance

Workers Party, including Socialist Youth League

Young Communist League

Subversive:

Communist Party, U.S.A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates

Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:

Florida Press and Educational League

Peoples Educational and Press Association of Texas

Virginia League for Peoples Education

German-American Bund

Independent Socialist League

Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone)

Socialist Workers Party

Workers Party

Young Communist League

Organizations which have "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States:"

American Christian Nationalist Party

Associated Klans of America

Association of Georgia Klans

Columbians

Knights of the White Camellia

Ku Klux Klan

Original Southern Klans, Incorporated

Protestant War Veterans of the United States, Inc.

Silver Shirt Legion of America

Organizations which "seek to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means:"

Communist Party, U.S.A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates

Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:

Florida Press and Educational League

Peoples Educational and Press Association of Texas

Virginia League for Peoples Education

Independent Socialist League

Industrial Workers of the World

Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico

Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone)

Socialist Workers Party

Workers Party

Young Communist League

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
FILE LRB:mhm
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

January 29, 1951

Memorandum No. 57, Supplement 1

To All Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Corrections in the consolidated, classified list of organizations previously designated by the Attorney General under Executive Order No. 9835.

Attached is a copy of a letter dated January 25, 1951 in which the Department of Justice makes corrections in the citations of two organizations appearing in the consolidated list which the Loyalty Review Board received from the Attorney General and disseminated to all departments and agencies by Memorandum No. 57 of November 16, 1950. It will be noted that the corrected designations of the two organizations are: "Jikyoku Iinkai (The Committee for the Crisis)," and "Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940)."

The consolidated list of all the organizations designated by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order No. 9835 according to the classifications of Section 3, Part III of the Executive Order, appears in the Federal Register of November 29, 1950 (Volume 15, Number 231), beginning on page 8145. The information furnished herewith will, of course, be published in the Federal Register.

Hiram Bingham

Hiram Bingham
Chairman
Loyalty Review Board

Enclosure

Department of Justice
Office of the Deputy Attorney General
Washington

January 25, 1951.

Honorable Hiram Bingham
Chairman, Loyalty Review Board
Civil Service Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bingham:

The Department's attention has been called to an error in spelling which occurred in the consolidated list of organizations transmitted to the Loyalty Review Board by my letter of October 30, 1950. The organization which appears as "Jikyoku Lin Kai" should correctly be designated as "Jikyoku Iinkai (The Committee for the Crisis)".

It has been observed also that the designation of the "Dante Alighieri Society" as printed in the Code of Federal Regulations, 1949 Edition, Title V, Section 210.15 (Appendix A) appears as "Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940)". The same designation should have appeared after the citation of the "Dante Alighieri Society" in the consolidated list of organizations transmitted by my letter of October 30, 1950, and it will be appreciated if you will accordingly cite this organization as "Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940)".

Yours sincerely,

Peyton Ford
Deputy Attorney General

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
FILE LRB:KAF:mm
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

April 23, 1951

Memorandum No. 62

To All Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Subdivision of an organization previously designated and classified by the Attorney General under Section 3, Part III of Executive Order 9835

In performance of the requirements in Part III of Executive Order 9835, the Department of Justice has previously furnished, and this Board has duly disseminated, information regarding the Attorney General's designation and classification under Section 3, Part III of the Order of the Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates.

In a letter dated April 18, 1951, written for the Attorney General, this Board has been informed that the Alabama Peoples Educational Association is one such subdivision, and that it falls within the same three categories of Executive Order 9835 as the Communist Political Association. A copy of said letter is enclosed, and a copy is also being sent to each other Department and Agency of the Government. This information will be published, as usual, in the Federal Register.

Hiram Bingham

Hiram Bingham
Chairman
Loyalty Review Board

Enclosure

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JMM:WEF:am

146-1-51-196

April 18, 1951

Mr. Hiram Bingham
Chairman, Loyalty Review Board
Civil Service Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bingham:

Further reference is made to your letter of January 17, 1951, and to my reply of March 14, 1951, regarding the Alabama Peoples Educational Association which, as you have been advised, is one of the subdivisions of the Communist Political Association designated by the Attorney General as coming within the scope of Section 3, Part III of Executive Order No. 9835.

As you know, the Communist Political Association is designated as a Communist organization, a subversive organization, and an organization which "seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means". The Alabama Peoples Educational Association as a subdivision of the Communist Political Association falls within the same three categories of the Executive Order as does the parent organization.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General

James M. McInerney
JAMES M. McINERNEY
Assistant Attorney General

FOR DEFENSE
BUY
UNITED
STATES
SAVINGS
BONDS
AND STAMPS

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
FILE LRB:KAF:mm
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

April 26, 1951

Memorandum No. 63

To All Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Attorney General's Letter of April 25, 1951 clarifying the designation of one organization previously designated under and classified in accordance with Section 3, Part III of Executive Order 9835

Part III of Executive Order 9835 prescribing procedures for the administration of an employee loyalty program in the Executive Branch of the Government requires the Department of Justice to furnish this Board with --

> "the name of each foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons which the Attorney General, after appropriate investigation and determination, designates as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

In performance of said requirement, the Department of Justice has furnished to this Board a supplemental letter dated April 25, 1951. In this letter the Attorney General indicates the parenthetical phrase he has added to the designation of the National Blue Star Mothers of America so as to avoid confusion between this organization, previously designated as Fascist within the meaning of Executive Order 9835, and another organization not designated which bears a similar title.

Part III of said Executive Order also requires this Board "to disseminate such information to all Departments and Agencies." A copy of said letter dated April 25, 1951, from the Attorney General, is accordingly enclosed, and a copy is also being sent to each other Department and Agency of the Government.

Hiram Bingham
Chairman
Loyalty Review Board

Enclosure

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

April 25, 1951.

Mr. Hiram Bingham
Chairman, Loyalty Review Board
Civil Service Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bingham:

In his letter of April 21, 1949, to your predecessor, Mr. Richardson, Attorney General Clark designated the National Blue Star Mothers of America as a Fascist organization within the meaning of Executive Order No. 9835. As you may be aware, another organization not designated bears a similar title, namely, the Blue Star Mothers of America. In order to avoid any further confusion which may result in undue hardship for the Blue Star Mothers of America, it will be appreciated if in future releases containing the designation of organizations under Executive Order No. 9835 you follow the words "National Blue Star Mothers of America" with the following phrase in parentheses "Not to be confused with the Blue Star Mothers of America organized in February 1942".

Sincerely,

J. Howard McGrath

Attorney General

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
FILE LRB:KAF
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

September 6, 1951

Memorandum No. 68

To All Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Attorney General's letter of August 31, 1951 concerning designation of the Workers Alliance under Executive Order No. 9835

Attached is a copy of the Attorney General's letter of August 31, 1951, which indicates that the parenthetical phrase "(since April, 1936)" is to be added after the Workers Alliance in the list of organizations previously designated under and classified in accordance with Section 3, Part III, of Executive Order No. 9835.

A copy of said letter is being sent to each other Department and Agency of the Government. This information will also be published in the Federal Register.

Burton L. French

Burton L. French
Acting Chairman
Loyalty Review Board

Enclosure

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Hiram Bingham
Chairman, Loyalty Review Board
Civil Service Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bingham:

This will advise you that the designation of Workers Alliance as a Communist organization under Executive Order No. 9835 begins with April, 1936, and it is requested that future releases of lists of organizations designated under the Executive Order read:

WORKERS ALLIANCE (since April, 1936).

Sincerely,

J. Howard McGrath

Attorney General

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
FILE LRB:KAF:mrf
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

May 28, 1952

Memorandum No. 72

To All Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Subdivision of an organization previously designated and classified by the Attorney General under Section 3, Part III, of Executive Order 9835.

In performance of the requirements in Part III of Executive Order 9835, the Department of Justice has previously furnished, and the Loyalty Review Board has duly disseminated, information regarding the Attorney General's designation and classification of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and of the Communist Political Association under Section 3, Part III, of the Executive Order.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter dated May 22, 1952, written for the Attorney General, which relates to the designation and classification under Executive Order 9835 of the Oklahoma League for Political Education, a subdivision of the Communist Political Association. A copy of this letter is being sent to each other Department and Agency of the Government, and this information will be published, as usual, in the Federal Register.

The following changes should accordingly be made in Appendix A, "List of Organizations Designated by the Attorney General Pursuant to Executive Order No. 9835," of the Statement, Regulations and Directives of the Loyalty Review Board, 1951 edition, as amended:

Pages 49, 51, and 52: Under "Communist Political Association - 2, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including: - 15, 23" insert on a new line below "Florida Press and Educational League - 14" the following: "Oklahoma League for Political Education - 29."

Page 56: Add the following footnote: "29. In his letter of May 22, 1952, disseminated May 28, 1952, the Attorney General referred to previous statements (see Footnotes 25, 23, 14) that the designations of the Communist Party, U.S.A.,

and of the Communist Political Association include all subdivisions thereof; and stated that the Oklahoma League for Political Education which operated for a period of time as the subdivision in Oklahoma of the Communist Political Association was, therefore, designated within the same three categories as the parent organization. (17 F. R. .)"

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

In response to inquiries as to Footnote 27 in Appendix A, you are advised that, pursuant to our Memorandum No. 68 to All Executive Departments and Agencies, dated September 6, 1951, the following changes, which have been published in the Federal Register, should be shown in your copies of the 1951 edition of the Loyalty Review Board's Statement, Regulations and Directives:

Page 51: The listing of the Workers Alliance should read: "Workers Alliance - 1 (since April, 1936) - 27."

Page 56: Footnote 27 reads: "27. Parenthetical phrase showing that the designation of Workers Alliance begins with April, 1936, was added by the Attorney General's letter of August 31, 1951, disseminated September 6, 1951. (16 F. R. 12214.)"

Hiram Bingham

Hiram Bingham
Chairman
Loyalty Review Board

Enclosure

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

JMM:WEF:am
146-200-2
146-1-51-196

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 22, 1952

Mr. Hiram Bingham
Chairman, Loyalty Review Board
Civil Service Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bingham:

In response to your letter of May 7, 1952, regarding the Oklahoma League for Political Education, you are referred to my letter of April 18, 1951, and to previous letters of the Attorney General transmitting lists of organizations designated pursuant to Part III, Section 3 of Executive Order No. 9835, wherein you have been advised that the designations of the Communist Party, USA, and of the Communist Political Association as Communist organizations, subversive organizations, and organizations which "seek to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means", include all of the state, local, regional, and other subdivisions thereof. The Oklahoma League for Political Education which operated for a period of time as the subdivision in Oklahoma of the Communist Political Association was, therefore, designated within the same three categories of the Executive Order as the parent organization.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General

James M. McInerney

JAMES M. McINERNEY
Assistant Attorney General

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
FILE LRB:KAF:jel
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

April 30, 1952

Memorandum No. 71

To All Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Two names of an organization previously designated and classified by the Attorney General under Section 3, Part III of Executive Order 9835.

In performance of the requirements in Part III of Executive Order 9835, the Department of Justice has previously furnished, and this Board has duly disseminated, information regarding the Attorney General's designation and classification under Section 3, Part III of the Order of the American-Russian Institute, New York.

The following information regarding the American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union and the American-Russian Institute, New York, is given by the Department of Justice in a letter dated April 23, 1952, written for the Attorney General in reply to an inquiry which the Loyalty Review Board addressed to the Attorney General:

> "The American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union and the American-Russian Institute, New York, are one and the same organization: these two names have been used interchangeably by such an organization in its literature and activities. When, pursuant to Executive Order 9835, the Attorney General designated the American-Russian Institute, New York, such designation covered such organization under any name by which it was known or self-described, including that of the American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union."

This memorandum is sent you, and a copy is being sent to each other Department and Agency of the Government, in accordance with the requirement in Part III of Executive Order 9835 that "the Loyalty Review Board shall disseminate such information to all departments and agencies." This information will also be published in the Federal Register.

The following changes should accordingly be made in Appendix A "List of Organizations Designated by the Attorney General Pursuant to Executive Order No. 9835", of the Statement, Regulations and Directives of the Loyalty Review Board, 1951 edition as amended:

Page 48: After "American-Russian Institute, New York - 11" add a comma and the phrase: "also known as the American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union - 28."

Page 56: Add the following footnote: "28. On April 23, 1952, the Department of Justice stated this is another name for the organization, which has used the two names interchangeably, and that the Attorney General's designation of the American-Russian Institute, New York (see footnote 11), covered the organization under any name by which it was known or self-described. Information disseminated April 30, 1952."

Please add the alternative name of the organization to your copies of the Attorney General's current list of organizations.

Hiram Bingham

Hiram Bingham
Chairman
Loyalty Review Board

MEMORANDUM April 29, 1953

TO : Heads of Departments and Agencies

FROM : The Attorney General

SUBJECT: Designation of Organizations in connection with the Federal Employee Security Program

Executive Order No. 10450 establishing security requirements for government employees provides that the Department of Justice shall furnish to the heads of departments and agencies the information described in Paragraph 3 of Part III of Executive Order No. 9835. In accordance with this provision the organizations listed herein which were previously designated pursuant to Paragraph 3 of Part III of Executive Order No. 9835 are hereby redesignated, such redesignations to be operative upon the effective date of Executive Order No. 10450. In the interim the designations made pursuant to Executive Order No. 9835 continue in effect.

In promulgating Executive Order No. 10450 the President has reiterated the principle that all persons seeking the privilege of employment or privileged to be employed in the departments and agencies of the Government shall be adjudged by minimum standards and by procedures which are mutually consistent among the departments and agencies of the Federal Government. Membership in, affiliation with or sympathetic association with, any organization designated pursuant to this Executive Order is but one of the factors by which a department or agency shall reach its determination and, as provided in Section 8, is one of the matters concerning which information shall be developed as to whether the employment or retention in employment in the Federal service of the person being investigated is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security.

The organizations hereby redesignated are:

Communist Party, U.S.A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates

Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:
- Alabama People's Educational Association
- Florida Press and Educational League
- Oklahoma League for Political Education
- People's Educational and Press Association of Texas
- Virginia League for People's Education

Young Communist League

Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Illinois
Action Committee to Free Spain Now
American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.
American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions
American Christian Nationalist Party
American Committee for European Workers' Relief
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American Committee for Spanish Freedom
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.
American Council for a Democratic Greece, formerly known as the Greek American Council; Greek American Committee for National Unity
American Council on Soviet Relations
American Croatian Congress
American Jewish Labor Council
American League Against War and Fascism
American League for Peace and Democracy
American National Labor Party
American National Socialist League
American National Socialist Party
American Nationalist Party
American Patriots, Inc.
American Peace Mobilization
American Polish Labor Council
American Rescue Ship Mission (a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee)
American-Russian Fraternal Society
American Russian Institute, New York, also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union
American Russian Institute, Philadelphia
American Russian Institute of San Francisco
American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles
American Slav Congress
American Youth Congress
American Youth for Democracy
Armenian Progressive League of America
Associated Klans of America
Association of Georgia Klans
Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung)
Ausland-Organization der NSDAP, Overseas Branch of Nazi Party

Black Dragon Society
Boston School for Marxist Studies, Boston, Massachusetts

California Labor School, Inc., 216 Market Street, San Francisco, California
Carpatho-Russian People's Society
Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, also known as Central Council of American Croatian Women, National Council of Croatian Women
Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai)

Central Japanese Association of Southern California
Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance
(Deutsche-Amerikanische Einheitsfront)
Cervantes Fraternal Society
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder
Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges
Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City)
Citizens Protective League
Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including:
Civil Rights Congress for Texas
Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York
Columbians
Comite Coordinador Pro Republica Espanola
Committee to Aid the Fighting South
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
Committee for Nationalist Action
Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas
Connecticut State Youth Conference
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers
Congress of American Women
Council on African Affairs
Council for Pan-American Democracy
Croatian Benevolent Fraternity

Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan or
Military Art Society of Japan)
Daily Worker Press Club
Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940)
Dennis Defense Committee
Detroit Youth Assembly

Emergency Conference to Save Spanish Refugees (founding body of the
North American Spanish Aid Committee)

Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U.S.A., Inc.
(Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani,
Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America)
Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society
Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands)
Friends of the Soviet Union

Garibaldi American Fraternal Society
George Washington Carver School, New York City
German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund)
German-American Republican League
German-American Vocational League (Deutsche-Amerikanische
Berufsgemeinschaft)

Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee
Heimuska Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaibel Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaibei Heimusha Kai (Japanese Residing in America Military Conscripts Association)
Hellenic-American Brotherhood
Hinode Kai (Imperial Japanese Reservists)
Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society - a group of Japanese War Veterans)
Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association)
Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense
Hungarian-American Council for Democracy
Hungarian Brotherhood

Independent Socialist League
Industrial Workers of the World
International Labor Defense
International Workers Order, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates

Japanese Association of America
Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai)
Japanese Overseas Convention, Tokyo, Japan, 1940
Japanese Protective Association (Recruiting Organization)
Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City
Jewish People's Committee
Jewish People's Fraternal Order
Jikyoku Iinkai (The Committee for the Crisis)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
Joseph Weydemeyer School of Social Science, St. Louis, Missouri

Kibei Seinen Kai (Association of U. S. Citizens of Japanese Ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan)
Knights of the White Camellia
Ku Klux Klan
Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund), Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft)
Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kreighshilfswerk)

Labor Research Association, Inc.
Labor Youth League
League of American Writers
Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts)

Macedonian-American People's League
Mario Morgantini Circle
Michigan Civil Rights Federation
Michigan School of Social Science

Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans)
National Blue Star Mothers of America (not to be confused with the Blue Star Mothers of America organized in February 1942)
National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners
National Committee to Win the Peace

National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East
(a Conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy)
National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
National Negro Congress
Nationalist Action League
Nature Friends of America (since 1935)
Negro Labor Victory Committee
New Committee for Publications
Nichibei Kogyo Kaisha (The Great Fujii Theatre)
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
North American Spanish Aid Committee
Northwest Japanese Association

Ohio School of Social Sciences
Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners
Original Southern Klans, Incorporated

Pacific Northwest Labor School, Seattle, Washington
Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone)
Peace Movement of Ethiopia
People's Educational Association (Incorporated under name Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc.), also known as People's Educational Center, People's University, People's School
People's Institute of Applied Religion
People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
Photo League (New York City)
Polonia Society of the IWO
Progressive German-Americans, also known as Progressive German-Americans of Chicago
Proletarian Party of America
Protestant War Veterans of the United States, Inc.

Revolutionary Workers League
Romanian-American Fraternal Society

Sakura Kai (Patriotic Society, or Cherry Association - composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War)
Samuel Adams School, Boston, Massachusetts
Schappes Defense Committee
Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee
School of Jewish Studies, New York City
Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Washington
Serbian-American Fraternal Society
Serbian Vidovdan Council
Shinto Temples
Silver Shirt Legion of America
Slovak Workers Society

Slovenian-American National Council
Socialist Workers Party, including American Committee for European Workers' Relief
Socialist Youth League
Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society)
Southern Negro Youth Congress
Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers Association, Los Angeles)

Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Tom Paine School of Westchester, New York

Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union
Union of American Croatians
United American Spanish Aid Committee
United Committee of South Slavic Americans
United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization
United May Day Committee
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, New Jersey
Washington Bookshop Association
Washington Committee for Democratic Action
Washington Commonwealth Federation
Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation
Workers Alliance (since April 1936)
Workers Party, including Socialist Youth League

Yiddisher Kultur Farband

ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH NOTICE OF PROPOSED DESIGNATION WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF EXECUTIVE ORDERS NO. 9835 AND NO. 10450 IS BEING SENT AT THIS TIME BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES OF PROCEDURE PROMULGATED APRIL 29, 1953.

American Committee for Settlement of Jews in Biro-Bidjan

American Committee to Survey Labor Conditions in Europe

American Lithuanian Workers' Association

American Peace Crusade

American Poles for Peace

American Polish League

American Women for Peace

Association of Lithuanian Workers

Baltimore Forum

Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee

Bulgarian-American People's League

California Emergency Defense Committee

China Welfare Appeal, Inc.

Chopin Cultural Center

Citizens Emergency Defense Committee

Committee for Constitutional and Political Freedom

Committee for the Defense of the Pittsburgh Six

Committee for Freedom of the Press

Committee for Negro in the Arts

Committee for Peace and Brotherhood Festival in Philadelphia

Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights

Committee to Uphold the Bill of Rights

Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange

Connecticut Committee to Aid Victims of the Smith Act

Coordination Committee of Jewish Landsmanshaften and Fraternal Organizations

Council of Greek Americans

Council for Jobs, Relief and Housing

Daniels Defense Committee

Committee to Defend Marie Richardson

Families of the Baltimore Smith Act Victims

Families of the Smith Act Victims

Frederick Douglas Educational Center

Freedom Stage, Inc.

Harlem Trade Union Council

Jewish Cultural Society

Joint Council of Progressive Italian Americans, Inc.

Labor Council for Negro Rights

Maritime Labor Committee to Defend Al Lannon

Massachusetts Minute Women for Peace

Maurice Braverman Defense Committee

National Association of Mexican Americans

National Labor Conference for Peace

National Negro Labor Council

North Philadelphia Forum

Palo Alto Peace Club

Peace Information Center

People's Drama, Inc.

Philadelphia Labor Committee for Negro Rights

Political Prisoners Welfare Committee

Provisional Committee of Citizens for Peace, Southwest Area

Puertorriquenas Unidos (Puerto Ricans United)

Quad City Peace Committee

Russian American Society

Santa Barbara Peace Forum

Slavic Council of Southern California

Tri-State Negro Trade Union Council

Union of New York Veterans

Voice of Freedom Committee

Washington Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights

Washington Pension Union

Yugoslav American Cooperative Home, Inc.

Yugoslav Seamen's Club

California
FEDERATION for CIVIC UNITY
101 POST STREET EXbrook 2-1714 SAN FRANCISCO

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STAFF
Fred W. Ross
Executive Director
Hope Duveneck
Secretary

July 29, 1953

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In response to you letter of July 27, I have asked Mr. Trevor Thomas, of the Friends Committee on Legislation, to send you appropriate material immediately in connection with the California Senate Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, together with some background information on this Committee.

I have been unable to obtain a copy of the sheet which you refer to concerning national women's organizations. In my opinion, this sheet has probably been prepared by the Minute Women, or some group corresponding to it in California, and lists, not only organizations that have been stamped with the "subversive" label by the Senate Committee, but also any organization brought into the Committee's deliberations in or out of context.

Mr. Thomas is sending you two lengthy reports just published. One is the Seventh Report on Un-American Activities in California, by the Senate Fact Finding Committee. (296 pages) The other is "Opposition to Loyalty" by the Senate Investigating Committee on Education. (200 pages) While, as you will note, these reports are a hodgepodge of fact, heresay, "association", etc., I think they may prove valuable to you in refuting the charges made in the sheets prepared by the Minute Women.

I hope this information proves to be useful to you. If we can be of any further help, please let us know, because we are extremely interested in assisting the Southern Regional Council in every possible way, and because we have a profound admiration for you as an individual.

Sincerely yours,

Fred W Ross

Fred W. Ross
Executive Director

FWR:hd

AIR MAIL

I'm not fooled because I've had a chance open to very few Negro Americans. It's true that I've been a laboratory specimen in a great change in organized baseball. I'm proud that I've made good on my assignment to the point where other colored players will find it easier to enter the game and go to the top. But I'm well aware that even this limited job isn't finished yet. There are only three major league clubs with only seven colored players signed up, out of close to 400 major league players on sixteen clubs.

Says Progress Goes On

But a start has been made, and progress goes on, and Southern fans as well as Northern fans are showing that they like the way things are working. And as long as the fans approve, we're going to keep on making progress, until we go the rest of the way in wiping Jim Crow out of American sports.

We are doing this because the American fans are just beginning to understand that a sport, to be a real sport, has got to be contested on the basis of the best man or team winning--and that "best" has got nothing to do with how much brown or red or yellow tint is in a man's skin.

We're going to make progress in other American fields besides baseball if we can get rid of some of the misunderstanding and confusion that the public still suffers from. I know I have a great desire and I think that I have some responsibility for helping to clear up that confusion. As I see it there has been a terrific lot of misunderstanding on this subject of Communists among Negroes in this country, and it's bound to hurt my people's cause unless it's cleared up.

The white public should start toward real understanding by appreciating that every single Negro who is worth his salt is going to resent any kind of slurs and discrimination because of his race, and he's going to use every bit of intelligence, such as he has, to stop it. This has got absolutely nothing to do with what Communists may or may not be trying to do.

And white people must realize that the more a Negro hates Communism because it opposes democracy, the more he is going to hate any other influence that kills off democracy in this country--and that goes for race discrimination in the Army, and segregation on trains and buses, and job discrimination because of religious beliefs or color or place of birth.

"Not Fooling Anyone"

And one other thing the American public ought to understand, if we are to make progress in this matter, is the fact that because it is a Communist who denounces injustice in the courts, police brutality and lynching, when it happens, doesn't change the truth of his charges. Just because Communists kick up a big fuss over race discrimination when it suits their purposes, a lot of people try to pretend that the whole issue is a creation of Communist imagination.

But they are not fooling anyone with this kind of pretense, and talk about "Communists stirring up Negroes to protest" only makes present misunderstanding worse than ever. Negroes were stirred up long before there was a Communist party, and they'll stay stirred up long after the party has disappeared--unless Jim Crow has disappeared by then as well.

I've been asked to express my views on Paul Robeson's statement in Paris tothe effect that American Negroes would refuse to fight in any war against Russia because we love Russia so much. I haven't any comment to make, except that the statement, if Mr. Robeson actually made it, sounds very silly to me. But he has a right to his personal views, and if he wants to sound silly when he expresses them in public, that's his business and not mine. He's still a famous ex-athlete and a great singer and actor.

I understand that there are some few Negroes who are members of the Communist party and in event of war with Russia they would probably act just as any other Communists would. So would members of other minority and majority groups.

There are some colored pacifists, and they'd act just like pacifists of any other color. And most Negroes--and Italians and Irish and Jews and Swedes and Slavs and other Americans--would act just as all these groups did in the last war. They'd do their best to help their country stay out of war; if unsuccessful, they'd do their best to help their country win the war--against Russia or any other enemy that threatens us.

Not as "Any Defense"

This isn't said as any defense of the Negro's loyalty, because any loyalty that needs defense can't amount to much in the long run. And no one has ever questioned my race's loyalty except a few people who don't amount to very much.

What I'm trying to get across is that the American public is off on the wrong foot when it begins to think of radicalism in terms of any special minority group. It is thinking of this sort that gets people scared because one Negro, speaking to a Communist group in Paris, threatens an organized boycott by fifteen million members of his race.

I can't speak for any fifteen million people any more than any other one person can, but I know that I've got too much invested for my wife and child and myself in the future of this country, and I and other Americans of many races and faiths have too much invested in our country's welfare, for any of us to throw it away because of a siren song sung in bass.

I am a religious man. Therefore I cherish America where I am free to worship as I please, a privilege which some countries do not give. And I suspect that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of almost any thousand colored Americans you meet will tell you the same thing.

But that doesn't mean that we're going to stop fighting race discrimination in this country until we've got it licked. It means that we're going to fight it all the harder because our stake in the future is so big. We can win our fight without the Communists and we don't want their help.

STATE OF GEORGIA

STATE SECURITY QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS: Prepare in duplicate, using a typewriter. Fill in all items. Forward original to Special Services Agency, State Capitol, Atlanta, Georgia. Retain duplicate copy in employee's personnel file. If more space is needed for any item, or explanation, continue under Item 26.

1. Name _____
(Last Name) (First) (Middle)

Other Names Used: (Maiden name, names by former marriages, former names changed legally or otherwise: Aliases, nicknames, etc. Specify which, and show dates used.)

_____

_____

2. Address _____
(Street and No.) (City) (State) (County) (Phone No.)

3. Place of Birth _____ Date of Birth _____ ☐ U. S. Citizen ☐ By Birth

☐ Naturalized — Date, Place and Court _____

_____ Certificate No. _____ Petition No. _____

☐ Derived Parents Certificate No.(s) _____

☐ Alien Registration No. _____ Native Country _____

Date and Port of Entry _____

4. How many consecutive years and months have you been a legal resident of Georgia? Years _____ Months _____

5. ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐ Separated

6. If married, give spouse's full name, date and place of birth, and date and place of marriage, and name of employer, (include wife's maiden name. If widowed or divorced, give same information on former spouse.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. RACE	8. SEX	9. HEIGHT (Ft. Inches)	10. WEIGHT (Pounds)	11. AGE (Years)	12. COLOR HAIR	13. COLOR EYES

14. GIVE NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF ALL CHILDREN AND STEPCHILDREN: (Regardless of Age)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	AGE	PLACE OF BIRTH	OCCUPATION
A.				
B.				
C.				
D.				
E.				
F.				

15. GIVE NAME AND ADDRESSES OF IMMEDIATE RELATIVES:

FULL NAME AND RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS	AGE	PLACE OF BIRTH	OCCUPATION
A. (Father)				
B. (Mother)				
C. (Brother and Sisters)				

No. _____

15. CONTINUED: GIVE NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF IMMEDIATE RELATIVES:
*(F) Other (Step-parents, legal guardians or others who have helped raise you instead of your parents.)

FULL NAME AND RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS	AGE	PLACE OF BIRTH	OCCUPATION
D. (Father-in-Law)				
E. (Mother-in-Law)				
F. (* Other)				

16. (A) Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates, or any Communist Organizations? Yes_____ No_____

(B) Are you now or have you ever been a member of a Fascist Organization? Yes_____ No_____

(C) Are you now or have you ever been a member of any organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons, which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government, or any political sub-division thereof, or which has adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States or of seeking to alter the United States' form of government or subdivisions thereof by any means contrary to the Constitution and Laws of the United States and the State of Georgia? Yes_____ No_____

(D) Are you now or have you ever been a member of any organization listed on schedule "A" attached hereto, or attended any classes or meetings of such organizations? Yes_____ No_____

(E) If the answer to either of the above (16 A, B, C or D) is "yes," indicate the organization_____
_____ Place_____ Year_____ and position held_____
Explain_____

(F) Is any member of your immediate family (spouse, children, step-children, in-laws, parents and brothers or sisters) a present or past member of any of the organizations enumerated in 16 A, B, C, D or E? Yes_____ No_____
Explain_____

17. List all groups, societies, or organizations of which you are, or have been a member.
(A)_____ Location_____
(B)_____ Location_____
(C)_____ Location_____
(D)_____ Location_____
(E)_____ Location_____
(F)_____ Location_____
(G)_____ Location_____
(H)_____ Location_____

18. Have you ever visited or resided in any foreign country except while in the Armed Forces of the United States?
Yes_____ No_____. If so, give (A) date passport issued_____, (B) place issued_____
(C) Countries visited_____ (D) Dates from_____ To_____
(E) Purpose of travel_____

19. List any close relatives (including in-laws) now residing outside the United States, except those actively serving in the Armed Forces of this country.

NAME	RELATION	AGE	CITY	COUNTY	CITIZENSHIP

20. EDUCATION: (All schools above elementary). (If necessary, use item 26 for additional education record.)

NAME OF SCHOOL	ADDRESS	DATES		DEGREES
		From	To	

21. EMPLOYMENT RECORD: (Give most recent experience first). (If necessary use item 26 for additional employment record.)

FROM		TO		Occupation and Description of Duties Performed	SALARIES RECEIVED	EMPLOYERS	REASON FOR LEAVING
Month	Year	Month	Year				

22. LIST CHRONOLOGICALLY ALL OF YOUR RESIDENCE FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS:

DATES		STREET	CITY	STATE
From	To			

23. REFERENCE: Give three personal references, not relatives, former employers, fellow employees, or school teachers, who are responsible, reputable, adults, business, or professional men or women, who have known you well during the past five years. Include your family physician if you have one.

NAME	RESIDENCE	BUSINESS ADDRESS	No. Years Acquainted
(1)			
(2)			
(3)			

24. MILITARY SERVICE: (Past or Present)

SERIAL NUMBER	BRANCH (Army—Navy—Etc.)	YEARS	
		From	To

25. Have you ever been arrested, charged, or held by Federal, State, or other law-enforcement authorities, for any violation of any federal law, state law, county or municipal law, regulation, or ordinances? (Do not include anything that happened before your sixteen birthday. Do not include minor traffic violations for which a fine of $35.00 or less was imposed. All other charges must be included even if they were dismissed.) Yes_____ No_____

REASON CHARGED OR HELD	DATE	PLACE WHERE CHARGED OR HELD	DISPOSITION

26. SPACE FOR CONTINUING ANSWERS OR EXPLANATIONS: (Show item numbers to which answers or explanations apply. Attach a separate sheet if more space is needed.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

NOTE: Before signing this form, check all answers and explanations to see that you have answered all questions fully and correctly. This form is to be executed under oath subject to the penalities of false swearing in accordance with the provisions of the Georgia Laws 1953, November-December Session, pages 73 et seq.

AFFIDAVIT OF VERIFICATION

Georgia _____ County

Personally appeared before the undersigned attesting officer, duly authorized to administer oaths _____, who, after being duly sworn, deposes and says and declares under penalties of false swearing that he is the person who executed the foregoing instrument; that he has read and completed the same and knows and understands the contents thereof; that the matters stated therein and the answers and information furnished by him in the foregoing questionnaire, including any attachments thereto, are true and correct.

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED BEFORE ME

_____
(Signature of Affiant)

This _____ day of _____ 19____

_____
Notary Public

County of _____ My commission expires _____ day of _____ 19____

(Affix Seal)

INFORMATION TO BE FURNISHED BY EMPLOYING AGENCY

INSTRUCTIONS TO AGENCY: If this questionnaire is executed by applicant, insert "APPL" in this space for date of appointment, and show date of application. This questionnaire must be executed and notarized under the supervision of the security officer in your agency or department, and must be signed by him.

DATE OF APPOINTMENT	TITLE OF POSITION	DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY	DUTY STATION

This form has been executed under my supervision. I have personally examined it and found all questions to be answered completely.

_____
(Signature of Security Officer)

SCHEDULE "A"

Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Illinois
Action Committee to Free Span Now
American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.
American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions
American Christian Nationalist Party
American Committee for European Workers' Relief
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American Committee for Spanish Freedom
American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan, Inc.
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.
American Committee to Survey Labor Conditions in Europe
American Council for a Democratic Greece, formerly known as the Greek American Council; Greek American Committee for National Unity
American Council on Soviet Relations
American Croatian Congress
American Jewish Labor Council
American League Against War and Fascism
American League for Peace and Democracy
American Lithuanian Workers Literary Association (also known as Amerikos Lietuviu Darbininku Literaturos Draugija)
American National Labor Party
American National Socialist League
American National Socialist Party
American Nationalist Party
American Patriots, Inc.
American Peace Crusade
American Peace Mobilization
American Poles for Peace
American Polish Labor Council
American Rescue Ship Mission (a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee)
American-Russian Fraternal Society
American Russian Institute, New York, also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union
American Russian Institute, Philadelphia
American Russian Institute of San Francisco
American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles
American Slav Congress
American Women for Peace
American Youth Congress
American Youth for Democracy
Armenian Progressive League of America
Associated Klans of America
Association of Georgia Klans
Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung)
Association of Lithuanian Workers (also known as Lietuviu Darbininku Susivienijimas)
Atlanta Peace Council
Ausland-Organization der NSDAP, Overseas Branch of Nazi Party
Baltimore Forum
Black Dragon Society
Boston School for Marxist Studies, Boston, Massachusetts
Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee
Bulgarian American People's League of the United States of America
California Emergency Defense Committee
California Labor School, Inc., 216 Market Street, San Francisco, California
Carpatho-Russian People's Society
Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, also known as Central Council of American Croatian Women, National Council of Croatian Women
Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai)
Central Japanese Association of Southern California
Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance (Deutsche-Amerikanische Einheitsfront)
Cervantes Fraternal Society
China Welfare Appeal, Inc.
Chopin Cultural Center
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder
Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges
Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City)
Citizens Emergency Defense Conference
Citizens Protective League
Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including:
- Civil Rights Congress for Texas
- Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York

Columbians
Comite Coordinador Pro Republica Espanola
Committee for Constitutional and Political Freedom
Committee for the Defense of the Pittsburgh Six
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
Committee for Nationalist Action
Committee for the Negro in the Arts
Committee for Peace and Brotherhood Festival in Philadelphia
Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights
Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange
Committee to Aid the Fighting South
Committee to Uphold the Bill of Rights
Committee to Defend Marie Richardson
Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas
Communist Party, U.S.A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates
Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affilates, including:
- Alabama People's Educational Association
- Florida Press and Educational League
- Oklahoma League for Political Education
- People's Educational and Press Association of Texas
- Virginia League for People's Education

Connecticut State Youth Conference
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers
Congress of American Women
Council of Greek Americans
Council on African Affairs
Council for Jobs, Relief and Housing
Council for Pan-American Democracy
Croatian Benevolent Fraternity
Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan or Military Art Society of Japan)
Daily Worker Press Club
Daniels Defense Committee
Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940)
Dennis Defense Committee
Detroit Youth Assembly
Emergency Conference to Save Spanish Refugees (founding body of the North American Spanish Aid Committee)
Families of the Baltimore Smith Act Victims
Families of the Smith Act Victims
Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U.S.A., Inc. (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani, Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America)
Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society
Frederick Douglass Educational Center
Freedom Stage, Inc.
Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands)
Friends of the Soviet Union
Garibaldi American Fraternal Society
George Washington Carver School, New York City
German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund)
German-American Republican League
German-American Vocational League (Deutsche-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft)
Harlem Trade Union Council
Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee
Heimuska Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaibei Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaibei Heimusha Kai (Japanese Residing in America Military Conscripts Association)
Hellenic-American Brotherhood
Hinode Kai (Imperial Japanese Reservists)
Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society—a group of Japanese War Veterans)
Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association)
Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense
Hungarian-American Council for Democracy
Hungarian Brotherhood
Independent Socialist League
Industrial Workers of the World
International Labor Defense
International Workers Order, its subdivisions, subsidaries and affiliates
Japanese Association of America
Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai)
Japanese Overseas Convention, Toyko, Japan, 1940
Japanese Protective Association (Recruiting Organization)
Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City
Jewish Culture Society
Jewish People's Committee
Jewish People's Fraternal Order
Jikyoku Iinkai (The Committee for the Crisis)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
Joint Council of Progressive Italian-Americans, Inc.
Joseph Weydemeyer School of Social Science, St. Louis, Missouri
Kibei Seinen Kai (Association of U.S. Citizens of Japanese Ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan)
Knights of the White Camellia
Ku Klux Klan
Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund), Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft)
Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kreighshilfswerk)
Labor Council for Negro Rights
Labor Research Association, Inc.
Labor Youth League
League of American Writers
Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts)
Macedonian-American People's League
Mario Morgantini Circle
Maritime Labor Committee to Defend Al Lannon
Massachusetts Minute Women for Peace
Maurice Braverman Defense Committee
Michigan Civil Rights Federation
Michigan School of Social Science
Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans)
National Association of Mexican Americans (also known as Asociasion Nacional Mexico-Americana)
National Blue Stars Mothers of America (not to be confused with the Blue Star Mothers of America organized in February 1942)
National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners
National Committee for Freedom of the Press
National Committee to Win the Peace
National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy)
National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
National Labor Conference for Peace
National Negro Congress
National Negro Labor Council
Nationalist Action League
Nature Friends of America (since 1935)
Negro Labor Victory Committee
New Committee for Publications
Nichibei Kogyo Kaisha (The Great Fujii Theatre)
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
North American Spanish Aid Committee
North Philadelphia Forum
Northwest Japanese Association
Ohio School of Social Sciences
Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners
Original Southern Klans, Incorporated
Pacific Northwest Labor School, Seattle, Washington
Palo Alto Peace Club
Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone)
Peace Information Center
Peace Movement of Ethiopia
People's Drama, Inc.
People's Educational Association (Incorporated under name Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc.), also known as People's Educational Center, People's University, People's School
People's Institute of Applied Religion
People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
Philadelphia Labor Committee for Negro Rights
Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
Photo League (New York City)
Political Prisoners' Welfare Committee
Polonia Society of the IWO
Progressive German-Americans, also known as Progressive German-Americans of Chicago
Progressive Party
Proletarian Party of America
Protestant War Veterans of the United States, Inc.
Provisional Committee of Citizens for Peace, Southwest Area
Puertorriquenos Unidos (Puerto Ricans United)
Quad City Committee for Peace
Revolutionary Workers League
Romanian-American Fraternal Society
Russian American Society, Inc.
Sakura Kai (Patriotic Society, or Cherry Association—composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War)
Samuel Adams School, Boston, Massachusetts
Santa Barbara Peace Forum
Schappes Defense Committee
Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee
School of Jewish Studies, New York City
Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Washington
Serbian-American Fraternal Society
Serbian Vidovdan Council
Shinto Temples
Silver Shirt Legion of America
Slavic Council of Southern California
Slovak Workers Society
Slovenian-American National Council
Socialist Workers Party (including American Committee for European Workers' Relief
Socialist Youth League
Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society)
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
Southern Negro Youth Congress
Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers Association, Los Angeles)
Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Tom Paine School of Westchester, New York
Tri-State Negro Trade Union Council
Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union
Union of American Croatians
Union of New York Veterans
United American Spanish Aid Committee
United Committee of Jewish Societies and Landsmanschaft Federations, also known as Coordination Committee of Jewish Landsmanschaften and Fraternal Organizations
United Committee of South Slavic Americans
United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization
United May Day Committee
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Voice of Freedom Committee
Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, New Jersey
Washington Bookshop Association
Washington Committee for Democratic Action
Washington Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights
Washington Commonwealth Federation
Washington Pension Union
Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation
Workers Alliance (since April, 1936)
Workers Party, including Socialist Youth League
Yiddisher Kultur Farband
Young Communist League
Yugoslav-American Cooperative Home, Inc.
Yugoslav Seamen's Club, Inc.

The above schedule is not an allegation or an expression of opinion by the State of Georgia that the organizations listed thereon are in violation of State or Federal laws. The questionnaire is for the purpose of obtaining a complete personal history, as is required by law. This schedule is not all inclusive, and any organizations to which you belong, or have belonged, which are not covered by your answer to Item 16 (d) should be reported under Item 17. Answers to all items are required by law to be made under oath.

UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS

A Factual Study of America's Major Race Problem

By R. B. Eleazer

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

THE GREAT AMERICAN EPIC

The great American epic, if it is ever written, will be the story of "America's Tenth Man," the Negro. No other phase of our history embodies so much of dramatic interest. Every emotion is there, raised to its highest power; every experience in humanity's arduous climb upward from the clod. The extremes of tragedy and comedy, love and hate, cruelty and kindness, walk hand in hand through its pages. Faith shines star-like amid its gloom, and paeans born of pain sing through its darkest nights.

And what amazing progress! From the first century to the twentieth at a single step! Religion, language, literature, mechanical skill, commerce, citizenship—the slow gains of two thousand years—encompassed in a lifetime. Where else in all history is there anything like it? Well may James Weldon Johnson sing in the National Negro Anthem:

"Stony the road we trod, bitter the chastening rod
Felt in the days when hope had died,
Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,
We have come treading our path through the blood of the slaughtered,

Out from the gloomy past till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast."

Immortal the genius who shall compass that incomparable Odyssey and make it live again!

Not in itself alone is the Negro's story significant, but equally so in the history of the Nation. No other phase of American life has so profoundly affected all its other phases, economic, political, social, religious. Eliminate the Negro and the problems incident to his presence here, and our history, our politics, our social and economic patterns would be very different from what they are. So we could not ignore this subject if we would. The only question is whether we shall deal with it wisely and constructively.

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Foreword

Problems of Human Adjustment

It is hard enough for people to get along together when they are members of the same family. Those of different families find it a greater problem and when another nationality or race is involved it is more difficult still. This, it seems, is due to the fact that people do not so readily understand those who are different from them, that they tend to be suspicious or fearful of those whom they do not understand, and finally that they foolishly assume that those who differ from them must necessarily be inferior.

The United States has sometimes been called the "melting pot" of the world, which means that our population is made up of many nationalities and races. Among this conglomerate population there are many differences, much misunderstanding, more or less "looking down" upon one another by the various groups, and not a little suspicion and hostility. So, while this mixture is probably an element of strength, at the same time it creates numerous population problems.

In the East there is the problem of the "foreign born"—millions of people of foreign birth, speaking various languages, and largely unaccustomed to American institutions. Their assimilation into American life and citizenship constitutes a real problem. On the West Coast there is the problem of some 200,000 Orientals — Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. These are people of a different race and culture; they work hard and live more cheaply than Americans, hence they are keen competitors; they cannot readily be assimilated. While this group is relatively small, people have sometimes become excited about it and made it the center of heated political controversy. In the Southwest there is another population group that is not yet adjusted. This is composed of a million Mexicans, most of them laborers and agricultural workers. Because of various handicaps, they are often an exploited and neglected element in the population.

For two hundred years the South's most serious population problems have centered about the Negro. Many of these are still with us, unsolved and challenging — problems of justice in the courts, protection of life and property, education, health, economic status, agriculture, civil and political rights. The wise solution of these problems is not a matter of justice only, but equally one of self-interest and patriotism. Only an intelligent, right-minded citizenship can meet this challenge. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the most serious attention be given to this question, so that in the future it may be handled more wisely than in the past and with less loss and greater advantage to all concerned. It is with that in view that this brief factual study has been prepared.

I. THE DARK CONTINENT

Africa has been called the "Dark Continent":

1. Because it is a land of dark peoples.
2. Because its interior remained so long unexplored.

These facts open the way to the discussion of two important subjects:

1. The question of human origin and racial differentiation.
2. The effect of African environment upon culture and civilization.

Here we have a continent of dark (that is, heavily pigmented) people. How does this happen? Why are the Africans so different in color from Caucasians? Were they created that way, or did they later become dark; and if the latter, why?

No, the Africans were not created different from other people; nor is their color the result of some curse or ill fortune. It is only the natural response to nature's law of selection and survival.

Science and theology agree that all branches of the human race had a common origin (a "monogenetic" origin, the scientists would say). They all came from the same stock; they are members of one family, the human family. On this point there is general agreement, whatever differences there may be as to the process of creation.

The different branches of this human family have developed decided variations in skin color (pigmentation), hair, features, and stature. Their likenesses, however, are much more numerous and fundamental than their differences. The human framework, the vital organs, the life functions of all races follow one identical pattern. They are all "of one blood," according to the Bible. So also says the scientist, for by his most delicate tests he can find no difference between the blood of red men and yellow, black men and white.

This common likeness is intellectual and spiritual, no less than physical. Man, says the Bible, is "made in the image of God"; not physically, we suppose, but in the powers of reason, discrimination, (conscience, "knowing good and evil"), and freedom of choice. Science also recognizes in man, irrespective of race and culture, these same intellectual and spiritual qualities that set him completely apart from all other created things.

Here is the basis for serious thought regarding the essential worth of every human being, the obligation of mutual respect and consideration, and the right of each person to maximum opportunity to be and to do the best of which he is capable.

NATURAL SELECTION AND SURVIVAL

But if all branches of the human race had a common origin, how does it happen that they now differ so widely in appearance and culture? The answer is much simpler than one might suppose:

1. It is generally believed that the original home of the race was somewhere in Southwest Asia. From that center groups migrated from time to time in various directions and into widely different environments as to climate, soil, food supply, geographical conditions, etc. Each group inevitably was affected by the conditions into which it went. These effects would become more marked as time went on, and at last might become fixed as racial characteristics.

2. Another factor operating to the same end was the well-known "law of natural selection," or "the survival of the fit." This means simply that those individuals whose characteristics were best adapted to the environ-

ment would have the best chance to survive, while those least fitted to the environment would tend to drop out. Thus the law of natural selection, working steadily through the ages, would preserve certain characteristics and eliminate others. In this way it would finally develop distinct racial types.

Under the summer sun, for example, one either tans or sunburns. Which is better? To tan, of course, because a coat of tan means that nature has sent into the skin an extra amount of pigmentation as a protection against the heat. To sunburn, on the other hand, is unpleasant, dangerous, sometimes even fatal. It is easy to see, then, that in a tropical climate those born with most pigmentation (that is, those darkest in color) would have the best chance to live and reproduce, while those less pigmented would have a poorer chance. So, through the ages there would be a steady selection of the darker types for survival and a steady disappearance of the lighter types. This would lead at length to the development of a heavily pigmented or colored race. There can be little doubt that this is just what happened in Africa. We see, then, that the Negro's dark skin was not a curse, nor even a misfortune. On the contrary, it was a distinct advantage in the environment in which he found himself.[1]

A biology teacher suggests that the Negro's kinky hair may possibly be explained in the same way; it encloses more air pockets than straight hair and therefore is a better insulator against heat. If we knew enough about biology and about the past history of the various races, we might find in this law of selection the explanation of most racial differences.

3. A third factor which doubtless has played a part in race differentiation, though just how large a part we cannot know, is that of biological mutation. This means the appearance from time to time, without any known reason, of entirely new characteristics. Unlike acquired characteristics, which most biologists believe are not transmissible, mutated characteristics become fixed and are passed on from generation to generation.

CIVILIZATION RETARDED

But would the development of a dark-skinned race be the only result of tropical African environment? No indeed. Culture, civilization and progress also would be profoundly affected.

In a tropical climate one feels less disposed to enterprise and exertion. Indeed, it is necessary to go slow in order to survive. Again, little exertion is required in a climate where food is plentiful (fruit, fish and game), housing practically unnecessary, and clothing burdensome and unhealthful. For all these reasons the natives would go slow and civilization would be retarded.

Would the geography of Africa also be a retarding influence? Decidedly so, because unfavorable to the wide human contacts essential to the growth of civilization.[2]

The Sahara Desert is a "zone of fire" across the North; the smooth coastline affords few harbors; access through the rivers is blocked by

[1]This hypothesis, advanced by many scientists (See Jean Finot, "Race Prejudice," pages 97 ff; R. R. Marrett, "Anthropology," page 84; E. G. Conklin, "The Direction of Human Evolution," pages 11 and 12; A. C. Haddon, "The Races of Man," page 9; Jerome Dowd, "The Negro in American Life," page 3), assumes that the original color of the human species was light. Others think it was probably dark, and that branches of the race going to or remaining in tropical countries retained their pigmentation, while those migrating to colder regions gradually became lighter through the operation of the same law of selection and survival.

[2]There is opportunity here for a stimulating discussion: How do individuals and nations become civilized, anyway? Assume that a child of highly civilized parents is separated from them in babyhood and grows up without ever seeing a human being (marooned on a desert island, say), would it become civilized? Why not? Is the same true in large measure of national civilizations? How much of our American civilization have we developed here? How much have we inherited from earlier civilizations—Greek, Roman, Jewish — and from other lands? Take away these contributions, and what do we have left?

cataracts and falls; the jungle, infested with fever and hostile wild life, is discouraging to travel. So for ages the Africans were isolated, segregated, cut off from the currents of civilization flowing strong in more accessible parts of the world. Thus the development of the race was inevitably retarded.

Closely parallel was the case of the Britons when Caesar invaded England in 55 B.C. The conqueror, representing the rich civilization of Rome, thought the benighted Britons an inherently inferior people. Was he right? No; 2000 years of opportunity have shown that he was wrong. What was the trouble? The Britons, living far out at the edge of the world, were merely the victims of unfavorable environment, needing only a chance to prove their ability. Now that the African at last is beginning to have his chance, will he also prove his ability, as the Britons did? Time alone can tell. Already the race is making notable progress, and many individuals are emerging whose attainments give ground for encouragement.

NATIVE AFRICAN CULTURE

Though greatly retarded, the culture of the native African reveals much that is interesting and encouraging. Note their iron work (some believe the Africans were the first to smelt iron and fashion implements of usefulness and beauty); their pottery, carving, and weaving; their music and dancing;[1] their organized family and community life; their orderly tribal governments; their folklore (the famous tales of Uncle Remus are largely paraphrases of African folk stories); their universal belief in God; their sharing with one another.

Early travelers to Africa wrote of great kingdoms and well-kept cities (Ghana, Mell, Songhay, Dahomey, Ashanti). These were later wiped out by invasion from the North. Missionaries and explorers speak in high terms of the African's innate courtesy, hospitality and faithfulness to friends. The story of Livingstone's bearers, who, undirected, carried his dead body on their shoulders 1400 miles to the sea that it might be sent home for burial, ranks high among the world's golden deeds. (See page 7).

The American anthropologist, Dr. Franz Boas, credits present-day Africans with "cultural achievements of no mean order," including "the power of organization, homely practical philosophy, sound feeling and judgment."

"They have rules of conduct, including regulations regarding marriage and divorce, inheritance of property, division of labor, the waging of war, educational procedure, and religious observance," says a Southern writer, Ina C. Brown.[2] Miss Brown is a Texas girl who traversed the heart of Africa from coast to coast. She testifies that everywhere, though practically without protection, she was treated with unfailing respect and consideration, and was deeply impressed with the innate courtesy and kindliness of the natives.

RELIGION UNIVERSAL

Among the natives of Africa, says Wilson, "the belief in one Supreme Being is universal. Any system of atheism strikes them as too absurd and preposterous to require a denial."[3]

After forty years' observation as a missionary in Africa, Dr. Nassau bears the same witness. "Among all the degraded ones whom I have met," he says, "I have seen or heard none whose religious thought was only a superstition. . . . I have yet to be asked, 'Who is God?' "[4]

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[1] Africa has been called "the continent of music." The beat of jazz that dominates the radio around the world is the obvious echo of the drums of Africa.

[2] Brown: "The story of the American Negro," page 25.

[3] Wilson: "Western Africa," page 209.

[4] Nassau: "Fetishism in West Africa," page 36.

STRANGE CUSTOMS

To be sure, the Africans have many strange, primitive customs, some of them savage and cruel. Before we judge them, however, we might remember the human sacrifices of the Britons of Caesar's day; the middle-age torture and slaughter of heretics by Catholics and Protestants; the burning of thousands of "witches" in comparatively modern Europe; the hanging of twenty such in Salem, Massachusetts, a few generations ago. What African custom could be more savage than some present-day lynchings; what tribal conflict half so destructive as modern war?

Besides, many African customs which seem strange to us are logical responses to African environment — scant clothing for example. Others are no more illogical than some of our own. Why, for example, are nose rings savage, and earrings civilized?

NO GROUND FOR PESSIMISM

Many of those who know the African best in his own country are wholly optimistic as to his native ability. Sir Gordon Guggisberg, for years the British Governor of the Gold Coast, says on this point:

"If we provide the natives with the means of getting a really first-class education, would they be capable of taking their place alongside Europeans? I emphatically reply, 'Yes, certainly.' The reason of my affirmation is that many Africans have already attained to this, and that by their own efforts."[1]

To the same effect Sir Thomas Graham, a South African judge of many years' experience, is quoted as saying that "he had formed the definite conviction that there was no substantial difference in natural ability between the white and the black."[2]

Similar testimony is given by Joyce Cary, after fifteen years spent in the British Colonial Service in Nigeria. In his recent book, "The Case for African Freedom," Mr. Cary says:

"That the African is capable of equal education and responsibility with Europeans is beyond argument to anyone who has known real Africans."

Dr. Mabel Carney, of Teachers College, Columbia University, wrote after a visit to East Africa (Rural America, April 1927):

"The amazing possibilities, educability and progress of African peoples! Let no one who wishes to find proof of the permanent inferiority of colored races go to Africa, for he will not find what he seeks!"

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[1] Speer: "Of One Blood," page 48.
[2] Smith: "The Golden Stool," page 87.

FROM CHITAMBO'S VILLAGE TO THE SEA

A Saga of Darkest Africa

"Brought by faithful hands
over land and sea,
here rests
David Livingstone,
Missionary, Traveler, Philanthropist."

This inscription on a black marble slab in Westminster Abbey suggests but faintly a story of heroic devotion that deserves to be recorded among the world's golden deeds. In May, 1873, after years of missionary exploration in Central and South Africa, David Livinstone's worn body was able to go no further. So his native attendants hurriedly built for him a hut in the village of Chief Chitambo, near the shores of Lake Bangweolo, in Central Africa. There, at dawn, a few days later, they found him kneeling in death.

One might have expected that these simple children of nature, left without direction or hope of further employment, would speedily inter the body and hurry away to their distant homes. Instead they held a council. They decided that every effort should be made to carry their master's body to the coast, that it might be sent back to England.

They collected all Livingstone's personal belongings, his instruments and his notes, and carefully packed them for transit. They removed the internal organs and buried them, erecting a marker over the spot. For fourteen days they dried the body in the sun. Then it was carefully wrapped in cloth and inclosed in a large piece of bark. Over the whole a sheet of sailcloth was sewed and the package was lashed to a pole.

When all was ready, two men shouldered the burden and the little band set out on the long, perilous journey. Soon they were stricken with jungle fever and had to put down their load. When the disease abated they went on again. They crossed a river four miles wide. They fought their way through a hostile village. They came to a tribe that refused to permit the passage of a dead body, but by a ruse they were able to proceed.

At last, in February, 1874, the little procession reached the East coast and the sacred burden, which for nine months they had borne on their shoulders and guarded with their lives, was put on board a ship bound for England. Then back into the jungle the brave band went, without other reward than the memory of their great and good friend, and the knowledge that they had been faithful to the last.

II. THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

Negroes first came to the New World not in 1619, as commonly supposed, but with the first explorers more than a hundred years earlier. Ancient manuscripts mention Alonzo Pietro, "il Negro," as the pilot of the Nina, one of Columbus' ships. There were Negroes with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific in 1513; with Cortez in Mexico; with DeSoto when he explored the Mississippi Valley in 1539; with Menendez when he founded St. Augustine in 1565. It is said that the second Old World settler of what is now Alabama was a Negro member of DeSoto's party who liked the country and settled among the Indians. The first explorer of what is now New Mexico and Arizona was Estavanico, a Negro who came from Spain with Narvaez in 1527.

SLAVERY INTRODUCED

The first permanent planting of slavery on the North American continent took place at Jamestown in 1619, when a Dutch ship landed twenty Negroes. These were sold as slaves, or perhaps as "indentured servants," according to the custom of the times. We know that some of the twenty became free after serving a time, while others were permanently enslaved. Negro slavery was legally recognized in Virginia in 1661, and grew rapidly after the further importation of white indentured servants was prohibited in 1688.* By 1715 there were 58,850 slaves in the colonies; in 1775 a half million; in 1800 a million.

Did space permit, a study of many aspects of the slave trade would be interesting: The "three-cornered traffic" in molasses, rum, and slaves; slave raids in Africa; the "middle passage" in the crowded holds of slave ships; the American auction block; separation of families, etc.

Helpful also would be a discussion of the conditions and effects of slavery. Its best aspects: paternal personal interest on the part of owners, loyalty and faithful service in response. Its worst: absentee ownership and overseer control. Its advantages and disadvantages to master and to slave.

ALL SECTIONS RESPONSIBLE

In contemplating the evils of slavery it is well to remember that all sections of the country, North as well as South, must share the responsibility. If slaveholding centered largely in the South (because it was more profitable there), the slave trade centered in New England. Rhode Island, for example, built 103 slave ships in ten years; in 1770 that state alone had 150 ships engaged in the slave trade. When slavery became a divisive issue, leading at last to war, the extremists on one side were just as unreasonable as those on the other and equally responsible for the resulting tragedy. However, it is not necessary at this distance to "blame" anybody for what happened. It is just as well, and much kinder, to assume that most people meant well, on whichever side they were, and that the wrongs they did were mistakes of judgment rather than of intent.

VAST ECONOMIC ASSET

Slave labor was particularly profitable in the production of tobacco, cotton, rice, and sugar. From early times these crops have been pouring into the South millions of dollars annually. Exports of tobacco: 1618, twenty pounds; 1639, 1,500,000 pounds; 1773, 53,000,000 pounds. Cotton

*It is interesting to remember that slavery has been a common human phenomenon, by no means limited to Negroes. Some of ancient Rome's most brilliant scholars were slaves; Britons taken captive by the Romans were sold into slavery; many of Virginia's early settlers were indentured white servants; the colony of Georgia was founded as a refuge for debt slaves.

production: 1810, 85,000,000 pounds; doubled every ten years during the next three decades. By 1840 the South was producing two-thirds of the world's cotton supply. In 1850 slave labor produced agricultural products valued at $136,000,000, a tremendous sum for those days. In 1929, Negro farmers produced crops valued at 646 millions. Mississippi Negroes alone that year grew 1,234,000 bales of cotton, which brought into the state more than $100,000,000. These figures indicate something of the vast economic contribution which Negroes have made to the development and prosperity of the South.

Negro slaves furnished also a large part of the South's skilled labor, doing most of the blacksmithing, wagon making, and iron work; building its colonial mansions; manning its factories, machine shops, and mills; in some cases running its railroads. Many slaves bought their time from their masters, hired themselves out, and thus made enough money to buy their freedom.

Further importation of slaves was prohibited by Congress in 1807. Smuggling continued for several decades, however, and the number of Negroes in the country increased to 2,300,000 in 1830, and to 4,441,000 by 1860.

SOUTHERN SENTIMENT FOR EMANCIPATION

Many Southern leaders early saw the danger involved in slavery. Jefferson said: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just"; George Washington: "I can already foresee that nothing but the rooting out of slavery can perpetuate the existence of our Union."

In 1832 the Virginia Legislature came within one vote of abolishing slavery. Many kindly masters freed their slaves and emancipation societies sprang up in all parts of the South.

The African Colonization Society was organized in the hope of freeing slaves and sending them back to Africa. This Society was endorsed by several legislatures and received the moral and financial support of great numbers of Southern people. Out of this movement came the colony of Liberia, which still exists as the only independent Negro republic in the world.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING SLAVERY

From 1820 to 1860 the history of the nation was dominated by the long and bitter controversy concerning slavery and its extension. Highlights in the political aspects of this struggle were: Missouri Compromise, 1820; Annexation of Texas, 1845; Fugitive Slave Law, 1850; Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854; Dred Scott Decision, 1857.

All this time the abolition movement in the North was gaining in numbers and intensity. Intemperance and heat characterized both sides, as in the political struggle. The whole issue was thrown into the realm of emotion, making rational solution impossible.

Civil War was the result; a vast and needless sacrifice of life, treasure, and national unity. Four million men were engaged; 600,000 were killed. A great national debt was piled up, and there was vast property loss. The South was left prostrate, bankrupt and desolate. A political cleavage was created that still continues.

Might patience and reason on either side have found a better way? Emancipation of slavery in England was achieved by purchase in 1833. Would not this method have been fairer to the South? Would it have been more or less expensive? What of the after effects?*

*An excellent opportunity to discuss the effectiveness or futility of war as a means of adjusting human differences. An interesting sidelight: Only twenty per cent of the Southern people were slave holders; slavery contrary to the interests of the other eighty per cent, who largely made up the Confederate armies. Another: The Confederate Conscription Act of October 11, 1862, specifically exempted from military service owners and overseers of as many as twenty slaves.

A RECORD OF RARE DEVOTION

In connection with the Civil War one cannot overlook the remarkable loyalty to trust manifested by the Negroes in the South during that tragic period. Says the noted Virginia author, Thomas Nelson Page: "No race ever behaved better than the Negroes behaved during the war. Not only were there no massacres and no outbreaks, but even the amount of defection was not large. Not only did they remain loyal, but they were nearly always faithful to every trust that had been confided to them." To the same effect spoke the eloquent Georgian, Henry W. Grady, in a tribute that deserves to be immortalized. Said he:

"When the master, going to a war in which slavery was involved, said to his slave, 'I leave my home and loved ones in your charge,' the tenderness between man and master stood disclosed. And when the slave held that charge sacred through storm and temptation, he gave new meaning to faith and loyalty."*

EMANCIPATION

The Emancipation Proclamation, a war measure, was issued on January 1, 1863, setting free all slaves within territories loyal to the Confederacy.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution became effective December 18, 1865, and made emancipation universal.

Here was an exceedingly dangerous situation: More than four million slaves, most of them illiterate, suddenly set free without resources, experience, or training in self-direction; suddenly deprived of the economic security of slavery and thrust out on their own responsibility.

Yet there were no outbreaks, no serious disorders, no efforts to get revenge, no "reign of terror" such as often accompany revolution. Said Confederate General John B. Gordon, "No other race relieved from servitude under such circumstances would have behaved so well." It is to the great credit of both races that, with surprising facility and a minimum of disorder, former masters and slaves made new adjustments and set out together to rebuild the South.

RECONSTRUCTION

Reconstruction, everybody admits, was a period of tragic blunders and grave injustice. Says a noted Federal officer, General Samuel Armstrong, "The Reconstruction measures were a bridge of wood over a river of fire." It is only fair to recognize, however, that primary responsibility for the wrongs of Reconstruction rests not upon the newly-freed Negroes, but upon their white leaders. Strictly speaking there was no period when the South was "controlled by Negroes," or "under Negro rule."

Though Negro voters outnumbered the whites in five Southern states, in every state these Negro voters elected white governors; in every state but one the legislatures they chose were predominantly white, three to one, five to one, even ten to one. Graft there doubtless was, in abundance, but we can well believe with Merriam ("The Negro and the Nation") that "most of the plunder seems to have gone into the pockets of knaves of the superior race."

It is interesting to note that of the sixteen Negroes sent to Congress during the Reconstruction period a number were college graduates, educated in the North and abroad. In his history of the United States, Rhodes says of a Negro member of the Mississippi Legislature: "John R. Lynch was a credit to his race and in 1872 made an impartial and dignified speaker of the House." In 1873 Lynch was given a public testimonial by Republicans and Democrats, and the leading white newspaper, the *Jackson Clarion,*

*For complete quotation of Grady's tribute see "America's Tenth Man," pages 8 and 9.

said of him: "His bearing in office had been so proper, and his rulings in such marked contrast to the partisan conduct of the ignoble whites of his party who have aspired to be leaders of the blacks, that the conservatives cheerfully joined in the testimonial."

The Reconstruction governments, bad as they were, rendered at least one great service: They established in each state a genuine public school system, providing for "separate but equal" opportunities for the children of the two races. This is perhaps the most important single step ever taken in the South.

PROGRESS SINCE EMANCIPATION

Of the Negro since emancipation many authorities have said that no other race in history ever made so great progress in the same length of time. Following are some highlights of this story:

Property owned by Negroes:	1865	1930
Homes owned	12,000	700,000
Farms owned	———	181,016
Farms operated	20,000	882,850
Aggregate wealth, estimated	$20,000,000	$2,000,000,000

In 1934 the Negroes of Georgia paid taxes on 1,331,418 acres of land, assessed at $9,543,452, and on city property assessed at $20,184,142. In 1935 those of Virginia paid taxes on 1,864,030 acres of land assessed at $30,847,-370 and on city property assessed at $26,683,639. Negro land ownership in 1936 was estimated at twenty million acres, an area about equal to that of fifive New England states.[1]

In 1865 Negroes owned few business enterprises. Today they conduct 70,000 businesses in 200 lines. These include 25,000 retail stores; 1,500 factories making fifty-five different products; 23 banks capitalized at $2,000,000; 44 insurance companies with 1,600,000 policies and $300,000,-000 of insurance in force; 300 newspapers and magazines.

The census of 1930 lists 1200 Negro lawyers, 3800 physicians, 1700 dentists, 5000 trained nurses; 4000 actors; 10,000 musicians; 56,000 teachers. "Who's Who in America" in 1937 contained the biographies of a hundred Negroes who have attained distinction in education, the professions, and business.[1]

The 1930 census lists 5,500,000 Negroes as gainfully employed in the United States, or 59 per cent of all those ten years of age and over.[2] These were in almost every type of industry, skilled and unskilled. Agriculture employed 1,987,000; domestic service 1,576,000; manufacturing and mechanical industries 1,024,000; transportation 397,000.[1]

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Before emancipation the education of Negroes was prohibited in many states and little attention was paid to it anywhere. So, when set free in 1865, ninety per cent of the Negroes were illiterate. Schools were immediately begun under government auspices and Negroes, old and young, showed great eagerness to learn. Within five years 200,000 former slaves were enrolled in these schools.

Then came the state public school systems, feeble at first but steadily improving. In 1936 there were 24,000 public schools for Negroes, enrolling 2,400,000 colored children, or 82 per cent of all between the ages of five

[1]1940 Census figures not yet available.
[2]The corresponding figure for native whites was 47 per cent.

and seventeen. Of this number 188,000 were in high school grades. This was nine times as many as there were in high school in 1917. What does this increase indicate as to public policy; as to Negro ambition? Meantime illiteracy has declined, decade by decade, from 90 per cent in 1860 to 80 per cent, 70, 57, 44, and on down to 16.3 per cent in 1930. The figure for 1940, not yet announced, will doubtless be considerably lower still.

FORTY-FIVE THOUSAND IN COLLEGE

The first college for Negroes was established by the Presbyterians in Pennsylvania in 1854. In the next two decades a score of similar institutions were established in the South by the Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists. Later all the Southern states established state colleges for Negroes. There are now 109 Negro colleges with 45,000 students. In addition, 2,500 Negro students are enrolled in other colleges. About 5,000 a year are awarded college degrees. Two hundred Negroes have won the Ph.D. degree and about the same number have been elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Tuskegee Institute, established by Booker T. Washington, is known around the world for its unique contribution to educational theory and practice.

Negroes have made many important inventions and have been granted thousands of patents. Norbert Rilleaux invented the vacuum pan for refining sugar; J. E. Matzeliger, the shoe lasting machine now in general use; Elijah McCoy, the lubricating cup so often seen on machinery; Granville Woods, numerous electrical devices which have been sold to the great telephone and electric companies.

Many other notable achievements might be cited to the credit of the race. Matthew Henson, who accompanied Peary on all his Arctic expeditions, is the only living American who ever set foot on the North Pole. Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, of Chicago, was the first American surgeon to operate successfully on the human heart. George Carver's fame as an agricultural chemist is nation-wide. Jesse Owens was the outstanding winner in the last Olympic Games. These and others too numerous for mention come readily to mind.

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Though greatly handicapped by slavery and its aftermath, Negroes have made notable contributions to the culture of America. Perhaps chief of these is their distinctive music, the Spirituals or folk songs, and the various forms of syncopation now so popular. Marion Anderson, Roland Hayes, and Paul Robeson are ranked internationally among the greatest living singers; Dett, Dawson, Still, and others are recognized as talented composers; Negro conductors and orchestras are widely popular.

To the stage the race has given Bert Williams, Charles Gilpin, Paul Robeson, Richard Harrison, and other popular actors. In painting it is well represented by Henry O. Tanner and Aaron Douglas, and in sculpture by Meta Warrick, Richard Barthe, and Edmonia Lewis. A brief account of the literary contributions of the race will be found in the pages following.

FIVE MILLION CHURCH MEMBERS

When set free Negroes had few churches. They now have more than 42,000 churches with 5,200,000 members, 36,000 Sunday schools enrolling 2,144,000 pupils. Their church property is valued at $205,000,000. They carry on mission work in this country, Africa, South America and the West Indies, and contribute to this work a half million dollars a year.

THE NEGRO AND THE FLAG

Surprising, even spectacular, has been the Negro's record of patriotic service in all the nation's wars.

Crispus Attucks, a Negro, was the first American to fall in the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770.[1] Peter Salem and Solomon Poor won distinction at the Battle of Bunker Hill; the former is credited with the death of Major Pitcairn, the British commander.[2] Negro troops in the battle of Long Island repelled three desperate assaults and thus saved the American army from capture. In 1771 when Colonel Green was attacked at Point Bridge, Negro troops sacrificed themselves to the last man in his defense.

Writing of the Battle of Monmouth, Bancroft says (Vol. VI, page 142): "Of the revolutionary patriots who on that day periled life for their country, more than 700 black Americans fought side by side with the white." General Lafayette praised the Negro troops who served under General Green. Austin Dabney, a Georgia Negro who served with distinction under Elijah Clarke, received a pension from the government and a grant from the state legislature. A South Carolina slave rendered such service that the legislature liberated his wife and children. Altogether about three thousand Negroes saw service in the Revolution.

In the War of 1812 Negroes fought gallantly. Commodore Peary spoke highly of "their bravery and conduct in the battle of the lakes." Commander Chauncey mentioned the fifty Negroes aboard his ship as "among his best men." General Jackson publicly praised the conduct of the two Negro regiments which took part in the Battle of New Orleans.

Nearly 200,000 Negro soldiers took part in the Civil War. While most of these were on the Union side, a few regiments were enlisted under the Confederate flag, and many others went to war with their Southern masters. Their greatest service to the Confederacy, however, was the labor of the millions back at home who produced the food necessary to support the armies in the field.

During the Spanish-American War, four regiments of Negro troops in the regular army distinguished themselves at the battles of Guasimas, El Caney, and San Juan Hill.[3]

Three hundred and eighty thousand Negroes were enrolled for service in the World War, of whom 200,000 were sent to France. Two Negroes were the first American soldiers to receive the Croix de Guerre. This decoration was awarded also to four entire Negro regiments, one of which was commanded entirely by Negroes, with the exception of the colonel. Altogether sixty Negro officers were decorated. The conduct of the Negro troops was highly commended by Pershing and other officers.

Though hundreds of American citizens during the World War were accused of disloyalty, and some were convicted and imprisoned, not a single Negro was among the number.

It is interesting to observe that American Negroes have probably had a longer background of residence in this country than have white Americans. This is because a large percentage of the whites are descended from people who came to this country in the last hundred years, while nearly all the Negroes have an American ancestry going back at least 150 years.

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[1] Bancroft, "History of the United States," Vol. IV, pages 188-190.
[2] Hitchcock, "Decisive Battles of America," Page 116.
[3] Theodore Roosevelt, "The Rough Riders," Page 148.

III. LITERATURE AND MUSIC

The study of American literature without some consideration of the Negro's contribution is not complete. Furthermore, it is not nearly so interesting as it might be, for the Negro's literary offering, like his music, has unique qualities and values. Possibly because closer to the primitive, it has the imaginative vividness that rarely survives sophistication. From the tragedy and heartbreak of slavery and its aftermath it derives peculiar poignancy and power. It has also unusual human interest, as reflecting the Negro's mental and emotional reaction to his environment.

Unfortunately, the subject can be treated here only in barest outline, with brief life sketches of a few Negro authors and meager quotations from their work.*

PHILLIS WHEATLEY

At eight years of age an African-born slave girl on the auction block in Boston; at twenty acclaimed on two continents as among America's most talented poets — such, in brief, is the story of Phillis Wheatley, in point of time the second American Negro poet, and the first of major consequence.

Brought over with a cargo of slaves in 1761, the little African girl attracted the attention of the wealthy John Wheatley, of Boston, who bought her as a present for his wife. Mrs. Wheatley, a benevolent woman, noted the girl's quick mind and determined to give her a chance. Twelve years later, Phillis published a 124-page volume containing thirty-nine "Poems on Various Subjects," with an introduction by the governor and other prominent people of Massachusetts. About the same time she paid a visit to England, where she was entertained by Lady Huntington and read her verses before members of the nobility.

In response to her poem in his honor, General Washington wrote her a letter commending her "poetic talents" and "elegant lines" and inviting her to call at his headquarters, where, it is said, she was received "with marked courtesy" by Washington and his officers.

Phillis Wheatley's work was in the traditional style of the eighteenth century, and is ranked as among the "best American echoes of the English classicists."

A HUNDRED NEGRO POETS SINCE WHEATLEY

Phillis Wheatley's work begins an interesting story of Africa's contribution to American literature. Handicapped as the race has been — and is — by slavery and its consequences, nevertheless more than a hundred American Negroes have published volumes of verse, most of it pleasing, some of it of high order. After Phillis Wheatley, the next well-known name in the list is that of Paul Laurence Dunbar, who came on the scene a hundred years later. In the intervening century, however, there appeared a number of minor Negro poets. Of these we mention only one:

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*Most of the material appearing here is quoted from "Singers in the Dawn," an attractive 24-page anthology of Negro poetry, published and for sale at 10 cents per copy by Conference on Education and Race Relations, Atlanta. For further study of this subject the following are recommended: "The Book of American Negro Poetry," James Weldon Johnson; "Negro Poets and Their Poems," R. T. Kerlin; "Caroling Dusk," Countee Cullen; "Anthology of Verse by American Negroes," White and Jackson; "Anthology of American Negro Literature," V. F. Calverton; "Early Negro American Writers," Benjamin Brawley; "Readings from Negro Authors," Cromwell, Turner and Dykes; "Negro Poetry and Drama," Sterling Brown.

A RHYMING JANITOR

George Moses Horton, a slave employed as janitor at the University of North Carolina in the eighteen-hundred-twenties, used to write love letters and verses for the students to send to their sweethearts. For these he received twenty-five or fifty cents each. In 1829, his white friends published a little volume of his poems called "The Hope of Liberty," which they vainly tried to sell for enough to buy his freedom. Horton's memory has become one of the traditions of the University.

PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR

Born June 27, 1872, in Dayton, Ohio, of poor parents formerly slaves, Paul Dunbar began writing verse in his grammar school days, edited his school paper, graduated from high school in 1891, and published his first volume of poems, "Oak and Ivy," two years later at the age of twenty-one. His second book, "Majors and Minors," published in 1895, attracted the attention of William Dean Howells, who gave it a favorable review. This introduced Dunbar to the literary world. His third volume, "Lyrics of Lowly Life," with an introduction by Howells, won the author national recognition. This was followed by four other volumes from 1896 to 1905. His collected poems, four hundred of them, were brought out by Dodd, Mead and Company in 1918.

Though Dunbar was never robust and died of tuberculosis at the age of thirty-four, he still takes first rank among American Negro poets. While best known for his poems in Negro dialect (a medium which he often employed because of its popular appeal), much of his work, perhaps the best of it, is in conventional English. Following is one of his best-known selections:

LIFE

A crust of bread and a corner to sleep in,
A minute to smile and an hour to weep in,
A pint of joy to a peck of trouble,
And never a laugh but the moans come double:
  And that is life!

A crust and a corner that love makes precious
With the smile to warm and the tears to refresh us;
And joy seems sweeter when cares come after,
And a moan is the finest of foils for laughter:
  And that is life!

A KENTUCKY SCHOOL TEACHER

Joseph S. Cotter, born at Bardstown, Ky., Feb. 2, 1861, quit school after the third grade; was laborer, factory hand and teamster until twenty-two; ambitious night school student for two terms; then school teacher, and finally high school principal in Louisville. Writer of verse and folk stories and author of several books. Father of the brilliant but short-lived young poet, Joseph Cotter, Jr.

GEORGE M. McCLELLAN

George M. McClellan, born at Belfast, Tenn., 1860, was educated at Fisk University and Hartford Theological Seminary. "A gentle poet of nature, of the seasons, of birds and flowers and woodland scenes." A collection of his verse, "The Path of Dreams," was published in 1916. His poem "The Feet of Judas" evidences a great soul and a sound philosophy. Two of the five stanzas are quoted:

Christ washed the feet of Judas!
And thus a girded servant, self-abased,
Taught that no wrong this side the gate of heaven
Was ever too great to wholly be effaced,
And though unasked, in spirit be forgiven.

And so if we have ever felt the wrong
Of trampled rights, of caste, it matters not,
Whate'er the soul has felt or suffered long,
Oh, heart! this one thing should not be forgot:
Christ washed the feet of Judas.

W. E. B. DUBOIS

William E. Burghardt DuBois, born at Great Barrington, Mass., 1868, was educated in the public schools, Fisk University (A.B.), Harvard (A.M. and Ph.D.), and University of Berlin. Teacher at Wilberforce and Atlanta Universities. His famous book, "The Souls of Black Folk," ranks with the best American literature. Much of DuBois' prose is essentially poetic. His one great prose poem, "A Litany of Atlanta, Done at Atlanta in the Day of Death, 1906," was wrung from his soul by the horrors of a race riot in which nearly a score of people, most of them innocent, were killed and wounded. There is hardly a more powerful piece of writing in American literature.

WILLIAM STANLEY BRAITHWAITE

William Stanley Braithwaite, born in Boston, 1878, was largely self-educated. For years he has been nationally recognized, without regard to race, as anthologist, critic and literary authority. Beginning in 1913, he brought out yearly a collection of magazine verse, admittedly the best series of anthologies published in America. Every major library has them. Braithwaite is himself the author of three volumes of poetry.

UP FROM GEORGIA

John Wesley Holloway was born in Meriwether County, Ga., in 1865. His father, a former slave, was one of the first school teachers in Georgia. Young Holloway was educated at Clark University, Atlanta, and at Fisk; became a teacher and then a preacher. Is the author of a volume of verse entitled, "From the Desert," in which he has sought to catch and preserve certain picturesque, but passing, phrases of life in the "Old South."

A HITCH-HIKER AT HARVARD

Edgar Smyth Jones, eager for an education, in 1910 walked hundreds of miles from the South to Harvard University. Camped the first night on Harvard Square in Cambridge and was jailed for vagrancy. The case attracted wide attention. Jones was quickly released and the resulting interest enabled him to bring out a volume of verse.

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL

Leslie Pinckney Hill was born in Lynchburg, Va., 1880; was educated in the public schools and at Harvard; taught at Tuskegee Institute; is now principal of Cheney (Pa.) Training School for Teachers. His poetic work, says James Weldon Johnson, is "quiet, restrained, scholarly; philosophical, rather than lyrical." He has published two volumes of poems, "The Wings of Oppression" (1921), and "Toussaint L'Ouverture" (1928). His poem "The Teacher" has been widely quoted; two stanzas must suffice here:

Lord, who am I to teach the way
To little children day by day,
So prone myself to go astray? . . .

Lord, if their guide I still must be,
Oh, let the little children see
The teacher leaning hard on Thee.

Alice Dunbar Nelson, widow of Paul Laurence Dunbar, born in New Orleans, was educated in the public schools, Straight College, Cornell, Columbia, and the University of Pennsylvania. Teacher, lecturer, and journalist. Is the author of three volumes of prose and of many uncollected poems.

A VOICE OF PROTEST

Claude McKay was born in Jamaica, British West Indies, 1890, and published a volume of verse before coming to America. Entered Tuskegee Institute at twenty-two. Spent two years at Kansas State College, then went to Harlem, New York, where he made his living as waiter, porter, houseman, and dock-worker, writing all the while. Became a contributor to a number of magazines. Brought out a volume of poems in London in 1920, and published "Harlem Shadows" in this country in 1922. Has spent most of his later years in Europe. McKay is a "poet of rebellion," the spokesman of the protesting post-war group. The following lines were his reaction to a series of race riots in the summer of 1919:

If we must die—let it not be like hogs
  Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While 'round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
  Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die—oh, let us nobly die,
  So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
  Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!

SONGS OF THE HEART

Georgia Douglas Johnson, a native of Atlanta, a product of its public schools and of Atlanta University, "was the first colored woman after Frances Harper to gain general recognition as a poet. . . . Her poems are songs of the heart written to appeal to the heart." An enthusiastic critic credits her first volume, "The Heart of a Woman" (1918), with "exquisite artistry and infallible poetic content," "perfect lyrical notes and poignant pathos." Two other volumes, "Bronze" (1922), and "An Autumn Love Cycle" (1928), have since appeared. The following quotation is typical of the note of pathos that runs through her work:

I'm folding up my little dreams
  Within my heart tonight,
And praying I may soon forget
  The torture of their sight.

For Time's deft fingers scroll my brow
  With fell relentless art—
I'm folding up my little dreams
  Tonight, within my heart!

"SWIFT TO ITS CLOSE"

Joseph S. Cotter, Jr., born in Louisville, 1895; was a precocious child and had the advantage of his father's library. Entered Fisk University, but soon developed tuberculosis and had to leave. Most of his work was done during the six years of illness which ended fatally in 1919, in his twenty-third year. His one little volume, "The Band of Gideon," is a contribution of genuine poetry. Here is his gentle challenge to his brothers of another race:

Brother, come!
And let us go unto our God.
And when we stand before Him
I shall say—
"Lord, I do not hate,
I am hated.
I scourge no one,
I am scourged.
I covet no lands,
My lands are coveted.
I mock no peoples,
My people are mocked."
And, brother, what shall you say?

ANNE SPENCER

Anne Spencer, born Bramwell, W. Va., 1882; educated at Virginia Seminary, Lynchburg. Now a resident of the latter city. Her writings, though not voluminous, manifest real poetic ability. This is her apostrophe to Paul Laurence Dunbar:

Ah, how poets sing and die!
Make one song and Heaven takes it;
Have one heart and Beauty breaks it;
Chatterton, Shelley, Keats and I—
Ah, how poets sing and die!

STERLING A. BROWN

Sterling A. Brown, born in Washington, D. C., May 1, 1901; educated in city schools, Williams College (A.B. and Phi Beta Kappa), Harvard University (A.M.) Has taught literature in various colleges; now professor in Howard University. His most distinctive poetry is in the picturesque lore and language of the Negro roustabout of the open road.

JONATHAN H. BROOKS

Jonathan H. Brooks, the son of a poor tenant farmer, was born near Lexington, Miss., in 1904. At fourteen his mother sent him to a high school in Jackson, having saved money enough to keep him there four months. There his literary promise was recognized by a prize in a story contest. Then the money failed and it was three years before he could go on with his high school education, which he completed at the age of twenty-one. Following this he graduated from Tougaloo College at Jackson, Miss., and is now a minister. His poems have appeared in many papers, but no collection has been published.

A SINGER OF "THE BLUES"

Langston Hughes, born in Joplin, Mo., February, 1902; Cleveland public schools and Columbia University; extensive travel in Europe and Africa. Is known chiefly for his book "The Weary Blues" and for the unconventionality of his work in thought and style. These few lines are typical:

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes;
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

COUNTEE CULLEN

Countee Cullen, one of the last and best known Negro poets, was born in New York City, May 30, 1903, the son of a Methodist preacher. He was educated in the public schools, in New York University (A.B. and Phi Beta Kappa, 1925), and in Harvard (A.M., 1926). In 1923 and again in 1924 he won second prize, and in 1925, first prize, in the Witter Bynner undergraduate poetry contest open to all the colleges of America and participated in by 700 students representing 300 colleges. At twenty-two he published "Color," a volume of verse that brought him wide recognition. This was followed shortly by a second volume entitled, "Copper Sun." Cullen is essentially a lyric poet, following the classic models. His technique is faultless and his work witty, epigrammatic, intellectual, and richly imaginative. Here is his "Epitaph for a Lady I Know":

She even thinks that up in heaven
  Her class lies late and snores,
While poor black cherubs rise at seven
  To do celestial chores.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

James Weldon Johnson was a native of Jacksonville, Fla., graduated from Atlanta University with the degree of A.M.; did three years' graduate work at Columbia University; received honorary degree of Doctor of Literature from Talladega College and Howard University. Was several years principal of a high school in Jacksonville; then was admitted to the bar and practiced law there. Went to New York to collaborate with his brother J. Rosamond Johnson in writing for the light opera stage. Served consulates in Venezuela and Nicaragua. Fourteen years secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Then professor of literature in Fisk University. Met his death in an auto accident in 1938.

A prolific writer, he was the author of "Fifty Years and Other Poems"; "God's Trombones," a remarkable poetic transcription of typical Negro sermons; "The Book of American Negro Spirituals" (two volumes); "The Book of American Negro Poetry," the most complete anthology in this field; and "Along This Way," an autobiography that attracted wide and favorable attention. His poetic work is unusually mature and some of it ranks with the best in contemporary literature. His "Creation," from "God's Trombones," is a truly great poem that will live, noble in concept and nobly expressed.

In the following challenge to his native country Johnson voices the question which 12,000,000 Negroes are asking:

TO AMERICA

How would you have us—as we are,
  Or sinking 'neath the load we bear?
Our eyes fixed forward on a star?
  Or gazing empty at despair?

Rising or falling? Men or things?
  With dragging pace, or footsteps fleet?
Strong willing sinews in your wings?
  Or tightening chains about your feet?

WRITERS OF NOTABLE PROSE

It is probably fair to rate Booker T. Washington's "Up From Slavery" as the best known Negro contribution to American prose. This simply-told story of the author's remarkable life and work is ranked along with Franklin's autobiography as one of the great American classics. It interests equally the child and the philosopher and has been published around the world in a score of translations. Every library should have a copy.

Next perhaps should be mentioned Dr. DuBois' "Souls of Black Folk" as outstanding in both literary and sociological value. Several important historical volumes have been produced by Benjamin Brawley and Carter G. Woodson. Other books that should not be overlooked are James Weldon Johnson's "Along This Way" and "Negro Americans, What Now?", Charles S. Johnson's "Negro in American Civilization," and R. R. Moton's "What the Negro Thinks."

Negro writers of fiction have yet to achieve a secure place in American literature, but a few have done creditable work in this field. Among these may be mentioned Charles W. Chestnut, Jessie Fauset, Claude McKay, Walter White, and Zora Neal Hurston. Last to achieve distinction in this field is Richard Wright, author of "Native Son." This novel, published in 1940, was selected as a "Book-of-the-Month" and immediately became a best seller. It has since been dramatized.

THE NEGRO SPIRITUAL

The Negro's distinctive music — the Spirituals or folk songs, and the various forms of syncopation now so popular — has probably been his chief contribution to American culture. It represents, too, the only distinct musical contribution that America has made to the world. Some may question the artistry and value of ragtime, jazz, and swing; the fact remains, however, that this type of music dominates today the popular musical taste of the world. It is, of course, distinctly Negroid in origin and goes back in some of its characteristics to the primitive music of Africa.

At the other extreme are the deeply religious Spirituals or folk songs, full of peculiar beauty, pathos, and power. Following is an interpretation of the Spirituals by Dr. Frederick H. Hall of Dillard University, New Orleans, a highly trained and noted director of Negro choirs:

"The Spiritual had its beginning in the heart of the Negro as he labored in the fields of the South. These songs are outbursts of religious fervor and in many cases are influenced by conditions which surrounded the people in whose minds they were born.

"They are called Spirituals, Jubilees, Melodies, Folk Songs. Either name is correct. They are called Jubilees because of the ray of hope that is expressed in each. Regardless of how sad the song may be, or how miserable the conditions surrounding its birth, there is always found in it the hope of a great day of Jubilee when all sadness will be turned into joy. They are called Spirituals because of the deep religious feeling they express. They are called Melodies because of the striking melody built upon a scale that was originated by the slaves. When a new song was born it usually began with a new melody hummed by one person. After the tune was caught, the whole group or congregation would join in, increasing the strength of the melody and adding harmony. These songs are called Folk Songs because they satisfy the well-known scientific definition of that term.

"The Negro Spirituals express a sympathy of feeling between words and music not always found even in the compositions of learned musicians. For instance, the originators of these songs would never have taken words such as 'Nobody Knows De Trouble I See' and set them to a happy tune like 'Every Time I Feel the Spirit.' In every instance words and music harmonize; and herein lies real artistry.

"Some of these songs are sad and some are happier. This is true because of the difference in living conditions of the people who originated them. In different sections there are different interpretations, different words and slightly varying melodies of songs that originally were the same. This is true because at first the songs were not written down, but were carried from place to place in the minds of the Negroes, and very frequently a new condition caused a slight change of the song.

"These songs are deeply religious and should not be sung in such a way as to cause laughter or ridicule. Instrumental accompaniment always spoils the effect of the songs, and sometimes robs them of their identity."

The Spirituals show the character of the people in whose hearts they originated. Though composed in the days of slavery as expressions of the heartache of servitude and the longing for freedom, they reveal no trace of bitterness or revenge, but only the virtues of faith, hope, and love. Perhaps it is this fact that gives the Spirituals the soul-stirring power that has made them popular around the world.

IV. CIVIC PROBLEMS

Of 122,775,046 people in the United States in 1930, Negroes numbered 11,891,143, or a little less than one in ten. These were distributed as follows: In thirteen Southern states, 8,805,636; in other sections, 3,085,508.

Net increase of Negro population 1920 to 1930: In thirteen Southern states, 364,529 — or 5 per cent; in other sections, 1,063,483 — or 63 per cent. The reason: Nearly one million Negroes went North during the prosperous '20s.

The 1940 census showed a total population of 131,669,275, of whom 12,865,518 were Negroes. Of the latter 9,261,792 were in thirteen Southern states (the coast states from Virginia to Texas, plus Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Oklahoma), and 3,603,726 were in other sections. During the decade 1930 to 1940 the net increase of Negro population in the South was 456,157, or five per cent, while in the rest of the country the increase was 518,218, or sixteen per cent. The greater increase North was doubtless due to continued migration, though at a diminishing rate.

One interesting result: The six cities having the largest Negro population are all north of the Potomac River.[1]

Most people think Negroes are increasing faster than white people. Instead, they are not even keeping up. The proportion of Negroes in the total population has been growing steadily less for 150 years. In 1790 (the first census) Negroes made up 19.3 per cent of the population, or practically one in five. In 1940 they comprised only 9.7 per cent of the population, not quite one in ten. The proportion of Negroes in the South also has been decreasing rapidly. In 1880 it was 36 per cent, in 1940 only 23.7 per cent. The same trend is found in the various Southern states, as shown by the following table:

PER CENT NEGRO POPULATION

	1900	1930	1940		1900	1930	1940
Mississippi	58.5	50.2	49.2	North Carolina	33	29	27.4
South Carolina	58.3	45.6	42.8	Arkansas	28	25.8	24.7
Louisiana	47.1	36.9	35.9	Tennessee	23.8	18.3	17.4
Georgia	46.7	36.8	34.7	Texas	20.4	14.7	14.4
Alabama	45.2	35.7	34.7	Maryland	19.8	16.9	16.5
Florida	43.7	29.4	27	Delaware	16.6	13.7	13.4
Virginia	35.6	26.8	24.7	Kentucky	13.3	8.6	7.5

Subjects for thought and discussion:

Effects of decreasing proportion of Negroes: Will it make the South's racial problems more serious or less so, as the years go by?

Effects of heavy migration to other sections: Economic, political; on the South, on the Nation.

PROBLEMS OF HEALTH

The birth rate of Negroes is higher than that of white people. Why, then, are they increasing less rapidly? The answer is found in the Negro's high rates of morbidity and mortality (sickness and death). In 1938 the Negro death rate was about 15 per thousand, that of white people 10.8 per thousand. This means that Negroes are dying at a rate nearly 50 per cent higher than white people.[2]

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[1]These are New York, 457,444 Negroes; Chicago, 277,731; Philadelphia, 250,880; Washington, 187,266; Baltimore, 165,843; Detroit, 149,119.

[2]Though the conditions are still deplorable it is encouraging to note that in recent years Negroes have made great gains in health. Between 1910 and 1930 their death rate per thousand decreased from 24.2 to 16.5, and in ten years their average life span increased from 41 to 46 years. These gains were due to education, increasing emphasis on hygiene and sanitation, and better public health services.

Tuberculosis is one of the commonest diseases among Negroes. Their mortality from this cause is two to five times as high as that of white people. Since this disease is largely preventable and curable, it appears that public health agencies have not given proper attention to its prevalence among colored people.

In 1938 Negro infant mortality (the death of babies under one year of age) was 77 per thousand as compared with 47 for white infants. This was due to unsanitary surroundings; poor medical attention at birth and later (a great number of Negro mothers have no physician at the birth of their children); improper food because of ignorance and poverty; lack of maternal care, since so many Negro mothers have to go out to work.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

Effects upon the community of unfavorable Negro health conditions; loss of time involved; reduced efficiency and producing power; expense of caring for the sick and burying the dead. This loss runs to hundreds of millions a year; much of it, due to preventable illness, could be saved by better public health services. Does the loss fall upon the whole community or upon the Negro only?

Other questions, dealing with the principle of social solidarity and interdependence: Disease germs do not respect the color line. Every day more than a million Negro cooks, laundresses, and maids go into the homes of white people to prepare their food, wash their clothes, and care for their children. If these domestic helpers live in unsanitary, disease-breeding slums, what will be the inevitable effect upon the people for whom they work? What does all this suggest to the white community (1) from the standpoint of justice to the Negro, (2) from the standpoint of the welfare of all? What steps might be taken to improve these conditions? (Public health services, clinics, hospitalization, slum clearance, decent homes, sewerage, water, sanitary surroundings, etc.)

SUGGESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

What are the health conditions of Negroes in your state, your county, your community? What public health facilities are available to them — medical and nursing service, clinics, hospitals, etc? What services are available in the Negro schools? How do all these compare with those provided for white people?

Sources of information: Reports of state, county and community departments of health; addresses by nurses, physicians, and health officers. Visits to health offices, clinics, and hospitals. Personal observation of Negro housing and community conditions, the worst and the best.

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY

Though the aggregate wealth of the Negro group is large, the great majority are still poor and dependent. Many own practically nothing. Earnings are uncertain and meager, standards of living low. Low wage scales are largely responsible. What do low wages mean in standards of living? In health? In ambition and efficiency? How do low wages affect purchasing power? What effect does this have upon the business of manufacturers and merchants? What effect upon the demand for farm products? How do the low wages of this group affect the general wage scale? What did Booker T. Washington mean when he said, "You can't hold another man down in the ditch without staying down there with him"? Should equal wages be paid for equal work, irrespective of race? Would this be of advantage to the white worker as well as to the Negro?

THE PROBLEM OF FARM TENANCY

Of the 882,850 Negro farm operators reported by the 1930 census, 700,911 were landless renters and tenants. Average income per tenant family was less than $225 a year. Only one in two hundred of these families had a telephone and but one in three hundred had water and lights in the home. More than three-fourths of their houses were valued at less than $500 each. Yet in 1929 these Negro farmers produced crops and foodstuffs valued at 646 millions of dollars. Had their condition been such as to favor ambition and efficiency, would they have produced more or less?

What are some of the worst features of tenancy? (Short tenure, frequent moves, irregular school attendance, misuse of the land, lack of interest in the community, uncertain contracts, careless settlements, hopeless debt, etc.) How might these conditions be improved? (Much can be learned from the successful efforts of Ireland, Denmark, Finland, and other European countries to promote farm ownership.) What is the United States now doing to the same end? (For information write to the Farm Security Administration, Washington, D. C.)

THE PROBLEM OF RECREATION

Why do cities provide parks and playgrounds? By what group of children are these facilities most needed, those of the poor or those of the well-to-do? In what sections are they most needed, in crowded slums or select residential areas? As between Negro and white children, which group is worse off in the matter of housing, streets, and opportunities for recreation? Which group needs parks and playgrounds most?

Where, as a matter of fact, are most parks and playgrounds found, in the poorer districts or the wealthier ones? For white children, or for Negroes? One example: A Southern city with 100,000 Negroes, making up one-third of its population; for white people 1,300 acres of parks valued at $3,000,000; for Negroes, one park of 14 acres valued at $41,000.

Does this concern Negroes alone, or does it concern the whole community? Is it a matter of justice only, or one of self-interest as well? To what extent does the community pay for its failure to provide these facilities? (In poor citizenship, disease, inefficiency, indigence, crime.)

Similar problems are found in relation to almost all other public services: Libraries (often inaccessible to Negroes); water mains; sewers (which frequently end where the Negro section begins); street paving and lights; public education. Inquiry at the city hall will be helpful; first-hand observation even more so.

THE PROBLEM OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Consideration of this vital subject will help the reader to visualize some of the fundamental principles of Americanism and democracy.

Why do democracy and public education belong together? (Democracy is based on the value of the individual; assumes general participation in the process of government — every man a sovereign citizen; undertakes to provide an equal chance for all; depends upon intelligent citizenship for its effectiveness; hence feels the need to provide universal education.)

Were public schools started in the first place for the children of the well-to-do or the children of the poor? What were the early public schools called in Virginia?

What do the laws of the Southern states say with regard to public school facilities for Negroes? (They shall be "separate but equal.") To what extent are these laws carried out? How do the Negro schools of your state and community compare with the white schools: In buildings and grounds? Equipment? Length of school term? Salaries of teachers? Consolidation? Transportation of pupils? Expenditures per child?

The following table is compiled from official reports:

CURRENT PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPENDITURES
PER CHILD ENROLLED, 1939-40

State	*White*	*Negro*
Alabama	$38.77	$11.67
Arkansas	26.84	10.63
Florida	56.57	22.43
Georgia	43.38	12.47
Louisiana	65.96	15.46
Maryland	72.49	55.28
Mississippi (Instruction only)[1]	25.33	5.14
North Carolina	41.19	24.05
Oklahoma	49.75	51.52
South Carolina	47.34	11.39
Texas	61.00	29.00
Virginia (Instruction only)[1]	30.87	17.27

Kentucky and Tennessee, no separate figures.

As will be seen from the above table, in most of these states the Negro child is at a great disadvantage in the matter of schools. In many counties less is spent on the Negro schools than the amounts the state has sent down to those counties on account of their Negro school children. In such cases, the white schools get all the school funds raised within the county, their full share of state funds, and also a considerable part of the state funds sent down for the Negro child. One state superintendent reported recently that more than four-fifths of the counties in that state were thus diverting to white schools $1,200,000 of state funds allotted them on account of Negro children. In another state the amount thus diverted in a recent year was more than $600,000. Thus it comes about that in counties with many Negro children their schools are often neglected and the white schools are generously provided for, largely from funds the county received because of its Negro children.[2]

Buildings and equipment for Negro schools are usually inferior; salaries of Negro teachers are usually much lower than those of white teachers of equal grade; shorter school terms for Negro schools are not uncommon; consolidated schools for Negroes are practically unknown in several states. Some counties expend solely on bus transportation of white children more than they expend for all purposes on their Negro schools.

Individuals and study groups will find it interesting to secure and examine the reports of their state, county, and city school boards on the above points. Visits to local schools will be especially enlightening.

If wide differences are found, somebody will offer the explanation that Negroes do not pay as much taxes as white people. This will raise interesting questions, civic and economic: Which is the American way, to distribute tax benefits chiefly to those who pay the most taxes, or equally to all, irrespective of their ability to pay? Many white people pay no taxes. Should the state for that reason discriminate against their children in favor of the well-to-do? If not, why discriminate against Negro children because their parents are poor?

[1]The figures for Mississippi and Virginia are not fairly comparable to those from the other States, for the reason that they exhibit only the per pupil expenditures for "instruction." If all the other items entering into "current expenditures" could be shown by race, (such as administration, transportation of pupils, fixed charges, and plant operation and maintenance), the ratio would be considerably more unfavorable to the Negro child, running in Mississippi to about eight to one.

[2]For example, in 1939-40 Russell County, Alabama, spent on its white schools $67.62 per child enrolled and on its Negro schools $3.66; Lowndes County $89.03 and $5.12; Dallas County $84.72 and $5.64; St. John Parish, Louisiana, $67.37 and $7.33; De Soto Parish, Louisiana, $87.31 and $8.53.

Another civic question, that of indirect taxes: Everybody pays indirect taxes who buys anything at all. Example: Gasoline taxes in Georgia, $20,000,000 a year. Every citizen has rights also in the taxes paid by railroads, public utilities, and other great corporations.

An interesting economic principle: In the last analysis, who pays the taxes on a rented house, the man who owns it or the man who pays the rent? Who pays the taxes on a plantation, the man who owns the plantation or the man whose labor makes it productive?

Finally, the question of the general welfare. Can people with little or no education be as efficient, as productive, and as law-abiding as if they had received greater advantages? Does not the whole community suffer when those advantages are denied or limited in relation to any group?[1]

OFFICERS OF THE LAW

In some communities a serious race problem is found in the attitude of officers of the law. Negroes, being largely without influence and political power, are sometimes arrested and thrown into jail for insignificant offenses and on the barest suspicion. They may be threatened and tortured to extort confessions or testimony. Then they may be convicted and sentenced to prison or to death solely on evidence thus secured.[2] Usually people are assumed to be innocent till they are proved guilty, but with Negroes it often works the other way.

In the process of arrest Negroes are sometimes beaten, and occasionally shot and killed. In many places they look upon white policemen as their natural enemies and expect no justice at their hands. To improve this condition, many Southern cities have Negro detectives and police to serve in Negro sections. This plan has been found helpful in keeping order and retaining the confidence of the Negro community.[3]

MURDER AT THE HANDS OF THE MOB

A problem peculiar to America ("peculiar" in the sense that it is found in no other part of the world) is that of lynching, the murder of people by mobs. Though nearly everybody condemns lynching, there are still a few who excuse it. These should know such facts as the following revealed by careful investigation of the 118 lynchings for the eleven years 1931 to 1941, inclusive:

1. Thirteen of the persons lynched, or eleven per cent, were not accused of any crime whatever. Two of these were lynched "as examples"; others because of personal grudges.
2. Thirty-eight of the victims were charged with only minor offenses, some of them quite trivial. Among the latter were "speaking disrespectfully," "altercation with bootlegger," "stealing liquor," "drunkenness and disorderly conduct," "striking white man," "drawing a knife." One Negro was lynched because he tried to vote.
3. Twenty-six of the victims were accused of homicide. In the case of four of these there was no evidence of guilt whatever; one had killed by accident, another in self-defense, and a third was admittedly crazy.

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[1] Apparently there is a close connection between ignorance and crime. Some time ago the University of North Carolina made a study of 1036 Negro convicts in 33 prison camps. More than a third of these convicts were found to be totally illiterate and eighty-three per cent were unable to read newspapers. Not one of them had gone to high school.

[2] In 1936 a former governor of Mississippi saved the lives of three Negroes sentenced to death on evidence secured in this way. In setting aside this verdict the United States Supreme Court said: "The rack and torture chamber may not be substituted for the witness chair."

[3] Among Southern or border cities using Negro police are Baltimore, Washington, Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, Tampa, St. Louis, Kansas City, Austin, Beaumont, Houston, Galveston, Muskogee, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, and a number of smaller places. Several larger Southern cities have Negro probation officers to work with the juvenile courts, and a few have colored policewomen.

4. Only one-third of those lynched were accused or suspected of actual or attempted attacks on women. In a number of these cases there was grave doubt of guilt and at least two of the victims were clearly innocent of the charge.

But even if all mob victims were worthy of death, lynching would still be wrong. It exalts anarchy above law, and thus strikes at the foundations of ordered society. "Every lyncher," said the great Mississippian, Bishop Charles B. Galloway, "becomes a law-despiser, and every law-despiser is a betrayer of his country."

It is gratifying to note that distinct progress is being made toward the elimination of this crime. In the five years ending with 1941 there were only 26 lynchings, against 79 for the previous five years. By years the record for that period is as follows: 1937, eight; 1938, six; 1939, three; 1940, five; 1941, four. Compared with the average of 78 lynchings a year beginning in 1882, the figure for 1941 marks a decrease of 95 per cent.

PEONAGE

Another occasional practice for which there can be no defense is that of "peonage," or debt slavery. This means that Negroes who get in debt to landlords and employers are sometimes held in servitude by force and intimidation, on the pretext of working out their debt. Some years ago a prominent Georgia planter, under suspicion of holding Negroes in peonage, was convicted of killing or causing the death of eleven Negro farm hands to keep them from testifying against him. In November, 1936, a city marshal in Arkansas was fined $3,500 for holding eight Negroes in enforced slavery.* About the same time four men were arrested in Florida, charged with holding Negroes in peonage in a turpentine camp. A Louisiana planter convicted recently on a similar charge defended himself by saying that he was only doing what everybody else did. This, of course, was not true, but it indicates that in some sections the practice is not uncommon. It is very difficult for the courts to break it up, because the victims of peonage are usually afraid to testify. In other cases public opinion is such that convictions cannot be secured.

THE BALLOT

No study of this kind would be complete without a consideration of the problem of Negro suffrage. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified March 30, 1870, provides that "the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment does not mean that every person must be allowed to vote, irrespective of his fitness to do so; it leaves each state free to decide what qualifications for suffrage shall be required. It does mean, however, that these qualifications should apply equally to all citizens, and that no one who can meet them should be denied the ballot merely because of his race.

Nevertheless, in many sections Negroes, even when intelligent and well educated, are kept from voting by one means or another. Most of the Southern states, for example, provide that voters must be able to read and "interpret" the constitution of state or nation to the satisfaction of the election officers. If they see fit to do so, these officers can refuse to accept the most intelligent interpretation. Thus the best educated Negro in the community may be denied the ballot.

In many sections it is sufficient merely to let Negroes understand that they are not supposed to vote and that it may make trouble for them if they try to do so. Actual intimidation and violence are sometimes resorted to. The one-party system, based on the primary in which only white persons may vote, is another means by which Negroes are excluded, par-

*The Arkansas Gazette, leading daily paper, said of this case: "It was as grave an offense as could be committed in America against fundamental human rights."

ticularly in state and local elections. Thus, in some states and in certain sections of others, it comes about that few Negroes have any part whatever in the governments under which they live. Consequently, they have little or no political influence and no power to protect their interests.

A great many people are beginning to wonder whether a wiser way may not be found. Not everybody is competent to exercise the ballot, to be sure. It should probably be protected, by suffrage limitations. But should not such limitations be applied equally to both races? Would good government be endangered by such a course, or would it be made stronger and more secure through increased loyalty on the part of the Negro group?

Dr. R. R. Moton, former president of Tuskegee Institute, expressed the Negro's view of this matter in the following words:

"Negroes would like to share in the government only in proportion to their merit, their ability, and their fitness. They have no desire for dominance. There are many Negroes who own property. They have something at stake in every state and county and town in the South. They are as anxious as any other citizen that their property be protected, and they are concerned for the best interests of the community. Therefore, they want to get the best man available to govern the community or the state or the nation. Here in Tennessee you might pick out the best colored man in the state as a candidate for governor and you could not get the Negroes of Tennessee to vote for him. They wouldn't want a Negro as governor. That is not lack of respect for their race, either. They would want as governor the man with the most experience and the best background, the man who is most representative of all the people. So you see after all, there is really nothing to fear from the Negro in politics."*

This problem of the suffrage is not simple, of course. In some sections it is much more difficult than in others. It cannot be solved overnight. However, it is one of the most important problems of our section, and those who are coming into citizenship must work it out in harmony with the public interest and the best traditions of our democracy.

JURIES AND COURTS

Similar to the question of the ballot is that of jury service for Negroes. In a case that was carried up from the Alabama courts in 1935 the Supreme Court of the United States set aside a verdict against a Negro on the ground that Negroes were systematiclly excluded from jury service on account of race. Governor Bibb Graves, of Alabama, immediately issued a statement in which he said: "Holdings of the United States Supreme Court are the supreme laws of the land. . . . This decision means that we must put the names of Negroes in jury boxes in every county in the State. Alabama is going to observe the supreme law of America." He then advised the officials of every county to include in the jury rolls the names of Negroes who were qualified for jury service by intelligence and character. In cases involving Negroes, courts in many sections of the South are beginning to call one or more qualified Negroes for jury service. No unfavorable results have been observed. Negroes naturally feel that in this way their interests in the courts are better protected, and the white people concerned seem to recognize the fairness of this procedure.

As a matter of fact Negroes are often at a disadvantage in the courts. Their guilt is more likely to be taken for granted, and they are sometimes convicted on insufficient evidence, merely because of this presumption of guilt. They are likely to get heavier sentences than white men convicted of similar offenses, and far more likely to be sent to the electric chair.

*The part taken by Negro voters in recent presidential elections tends to confirm Dr. Moton's statement. Though the Communists nominated a Negro for vice president, very few Negroes voted for him. Some stuck by their traditional loyalty to the Republican party, but the great majority voted for Roosevelt. In the last three elections the populous Negro district of Chicago has elected to Congress a Negro Democrat, Arthur Mitchell, defeating the Republican candidate who was also a Negro.

A white man who steals a hundred thousand dollars has a much better chance of escaping punishment than a Negro who steals a hog. This is a well-known weakness of American courts that ought certainly to be corrected.

THE REAL QUESTION

In essence, all these civic problems reduce down to just two: (1) That of doing justice to a minority group, and (2) that of serving the best interests of all. The American people would like to do both, of course. Is it possible to do both at the same time, or must they sacrifice one to accomplish the other? That is the real question that future citizens must face.

There are some who think it necessary to deny the rights of the minority, to limit their opportunities, and "keep them down" in order to advance the welfare of the majority.

There are others who feel sure that no good can come from injustice, that in keeping others down people degrade themselves, and that the best interests of all will be served by the highest welfare of each.

The former view is the theory of autocracy against which our Revolutionary forefathers revolted.

The latter is the theory of the democracy which they established.

Which shall America follow in reference to its 12,000,000 Negro citizens?

CONSTRUCTIVE SOUTHERN OPINION

How intelligent Southern opinion answers that question is not a matter of doubt. The expressions quoted below are typical of hundreds:

Said the great Georgian, Henry W. Grady:

"Let us give the Negro his uttermost rights, and measure out justice to him in that fullness the strong should always give to the weak. . . . And let us remember this — that whatever wrong we put on him shall return to punish us. Whatever we take from him in violence, that is unworthy and shall not endure. . . . But what we win from him in sympathy and affection, what we gain in his confiding allegiance and confirm in his awakening judgment, that is precious and shall endure — and out of it shall come healing and peace."

To the same effect spoke the late Henry L. Whitfield, while Governor of Mississippi:

"We must see to it that at all times the less favored black man shall get a square deal in business relations and in the courts. . . . Wise leaders among Negroes must be encouraged, points of agreement between the races must be emphasized and points of friction minimized. Every man and woman in this State must see to it that the laws protecting Negroes in their lives and property are religiously enforced . . . and that there be the fullest cooperation between the white man and the black to the end that peace and prosperity come to white and black alike."

This from the late Bishop F. F. Reese of Savannah represents fairly the attitude of religious leaders:

"The Negro is entitled to the opportunity to make the best of himself of which he is capable, and no prejudice, contempt, or injustice on the part of the white man should hinder or handicap him. He should have every opportunity and every assistance from his stronger brother to work out his salvation individually and racially."

In this joint statement speak the editors of a hundred daily newspapers:

"In the harmonious cooperation of the thoughtful and exemplary men and women of both races lies the prospect of larger understanding and better interracial relations."

With the above sentiments Southern educators are in agreement. Says Dr. John Stewart Bryan, President of William and Mary College:

"Education, sympathy, wise counsel and friendly help will as nearly solve the racial problem of the whites and blacks as can be done by human nature."

V. COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS

Many common interracial attitudes and practices are based on assumptions that are largely or wholly without foundation. Among these, the following are almost certain to emerge in any discussion of this subject:

(1) That Negroes were divinely ordained to be the servants of white people; that God cursed one of Noah's sons, turned him black, and condemned him to perpetual servitude. The best answer is to have inquirers read carefully the Bible story on which this belief is based (Genesis 9, 20 to 27). Thus they will see that God is not mentioned in connection with the so-called curse, that nobody was turned black, that not a word is said about perpetual servitude, and not a word to connect the colored races with Canaan, who was the innocent object of Noah's unreasoning resentment.

(2) That the Negro is a political menace who may some day take over the government. This fear is based on two things: (a) The memory of Reconstruction; (b) the belief that Negroes are increasing faster than white people, and so constitute a growing political threat. Many believe that Negroes already outnumber white people in several states. Facts sufficient to set at rest these false assumptions and groundless fears are found under "Reconstruction," "Population Trends," and "The Ballot." (Pages 11, 22 and 27).

(3) That the Negro is a potential economic threat as a competitor of the white man; hence he must be "kept down." This is a very superficial and shortsighted view. It is to the obvious advantage of society that every man attain his highest efficiency and productiveness, since to increase the total of goods produced increases the sum of goods available for consumption, and hence lifts the general level of living. It is desirable that every man live in a good house and have enough of the necessities of life. This tends to make him a better citizen, more productive, more loyal and contented, less liable to be resentful, troublesome, and criminal. Furthermore, is it not true, as suggested before, that to keep any man down somebody must stay down with him?

(4) That Negroes should have very little education. This is a survival of three slave-time assumptions: (a) Negroes cannot take much education. (b) They do not need much education. (c) It would not be safe to give them much education.

Abundant experience has shown that all these assumptions are false: (a) Thousands of Negroes graduate annually from college, many of them with advanced degrees. (b) Twelve million Negroes need great numbers of educated leaders, teachers, preachers, lawyers, doctors, and business men. (c) The education of Negroes, as of anybody else, makes for better citizenship, better morals, greater efficiency, greater usefulness. Many striking illustrations may be found in the stories of Negroes who have achieved.

(5) That Negroes are inherently (that is, permanently and hopelessly) inferior to white people. Science offers no proof on this point. The race certainly has been retarded; and it is easy to see why. (See section on Africa.) Other races, including the Anglo-Saxon, were greatly retarded in the past, but have largely outgrown their handicaps since opportunity

came to them. It is reasonable to assume that the same will be true of Negroes.

But do not Negroes commonly rate lower than white people in intelligence tests? That in general is true, though there is much overlapping. Some white people rate higher than most Negroes, but in turn some Negroes rate higher than most white people. Besides, it is well known that there is no final test for pure intelligence apart from acquired knowledge. Psychologists have never been able to frame one. Hence it is to be expected that most Negro children, having had poorer advantages than most white children, would rank lower.

In the extensive tests of American soldiers in the World War (100,000 white and 19,000 Negro), white soldiers on the average tested higher than Negro soldiers. But it was found also that white soldiers from the North tested higher than white soldiers from the South. Did this mean that the former were inherently more intelligent than the latter, or only that they had had better advantages? Furthermore, to our surprise, we find that the median scores of Negro soldiers from Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Ohio were actually higher than those of white soldiers from several Southern states.[1] Was that a measure of relative intelligence, or a measure rather of relative opportunities? If we make allowance for the latter factor on one side, must we not in fairness make it also on the other?

(6) That no genuine Negro ever showed real intelligence or ability. What about George Carver, the South's foremost agricultural chemist and Fellow of the London Royal Society of Arts? What about Phillis Wheatley, African-born slave, who wrote such good poetry that she was complimented by President Washington and entertained by the nobility of England? What of Robert R. Moton, former head of Tuskegee Institute, a school with 1,500 students and an annual budget of half a million dollars? What of Roland Hayes, world-famous tenor, who sings perfectly in four languages and has been honored by the crowned heads of Europe? What of Mary McLeod Bethune, who has built up a great school at Daytona Beach, Florida, with a plant worth $500,000? These are all black people, with no visible evidences of white blood. What about hundreds of other pure-blooded Negroes who have achieved notably in spite of great handicaps?

(7) That Negroes are more criminal than white people. It is true that Negroes do furnish an undue proportion of the prison population; however, there are a number of reasons why this is so, quite apart from inherent criminality: Negroes are more likely to be arrested on suspicion and for slight offenses; they have less money and less influence and so are more likely to be convicted; for a given offense they commonly receive longer sentences; finally they are less likely to be pardoned or paroled.

Besides, Negroes live largely in the worst sections of the cities; they are provided with few parks, playgrounds, and other facilities for normal recreation; their school advantages are almost always inferior, consequently many are ignorant and illiterate. Were Negroes given equal opportunity and complete fairness at the hands of the law, there is no reason to believe that their crime rate would be any higher than that of white people.

(8) That Negroes want social equality[2]—that they wish to invade the social life of white people. This is purely an assumption, with no evidence whatever to support it. Negro leaders deny it emphatically. Negroes want justice, not social intermingling. Education, protection, decent

[1] "Race Differences," Otto Klineberg, Chapter IX, page 182.

[2] "Social intermingling," of course, is a much more exact term and should be substituted for the term "social equality," which is so generally used.

living conditions, the normal rights of citizenship, a chance to develop their best — these are the things they ask. Speaking of intermarriage, Dr. R. R. Moton, former principal of Tuskegee Institute, said at a conference of educators at Peabody College: "Not one Negro in a thousand believes in intermarriage. You don't want it and we don't want it; so let's drop the subject and forget it."

"Social equality," said former Governor Northern of Georgia, "is a delusion set up by the demagogues." "If we could just rout that old bogey out of our imaginations!" wrote a great Georgia woman, Mrs. John D. Hammond. "Nobody," she continues, "can force on anybody associations undesired . . . The higher they (the Negroes) rise, the more the tides of their own race life will fill and satisfy and lift them along their own path."

In any case it seems perfectly clear that the integrity of the two races can best be preserved by giving the Negro every opportunity for self-improvement, full protection of his rights, normal respect and consideration, and a chance to develop wholesome self-respect and pride of race.

(9) The "lumping fallacy" is another that should be guarded against. This is the common habit of forming our opinions concerning the people of any other group on the basis of the most unpleasant experiences we have with any of them. For example: Every week in any Southern community we meet hundreds of Negroes. Most of them are wholly inoffensive in their conduct toward us; many of them are extravagantly respectful. That makes little impression upon us, for that is what we are accustomed to, what we normally expect. But should one of the hundreds for any reason make himself obnoxious, we tend to remember him above the rest and to brand them all with his offense. This of course is wholly unfair. Sometimes it results in the gravest injustice, as in riots and mob violence in which many innocent people are punished because one or a few are suspected of wrong doing.

WE RECOMMEND

"America's Tenth Man," history, 16 pages, sample free, 30 cents per dozen.

"Singers in the Dawn," anthology of Negro poetry, 24 pages and cover, 10 cents.

"Songs of the South," favorite spirituals, words and music, 16 pages and cover, 10 cents.

"Southland Spirituals," 64 favorites, words and music, 64 pages and cover, 25 cents.

Ten assorted pamphlets on the racial situation, 86 pages, ten cents.

"The Southern Frontier," official organ of Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Interracial news, special articles, editorial comment, 4-page monthly, per year 25 cents.

Order above from Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

HISTORY

"Negro Makers of History," Woodson, Associated Publishers, Washington.

"Short History of American Negro," Brawley, Macmillan.

"Story of American Negro," Brown, Friendship Press, New York.

"The Negro, too, in American History," Eppse, National Educational Publishing Company, Nashville.

BIOGRAPHY

"Up From Slavery," autobiography, Booker T. Washington, Doubleday, Page & Co.

"Negro Builders and Heroes," Brawley, University of North Carolina Press.

"Boy's Life of Booker T. Washington," W. C. Jackson, Macmillan.

"The Upward Climb," Haskin, Cokesbury Press, Nashville.

"Portraits in Color," Ovington, Viking Press.

"In Spite of Handicaps," Bullock, Association Press, New York.

"For Freedom," Fauset, Franklin Publishing Co., Philadelphia.

LITERATURE

"Book of American Negro Poetry," anthology, James Weldon Johnson, Harcourt, Brace & Co.

"Caroling Dusk," anthology, Countee Cullen, Harper & Brothers.

"Early Negro American Writers," Brawley, University of North Carolina Press.

"Readings from Negro Authors," Cromwell, Turner and Dykes, Harcourt, Brace & Co.

"Anthology of American Negro Literature," Calverton, Modern Library, New York.

Bronze Booklets, Associates in Negro Folk Education, Box 636, Washington.

No. 2—"The Negro and His Music"
No. 3—"Negro Art: Past and Present"
No. 6—"The Negro in American Fiction"
No. 7—"Negro Poetry and Drama"
No. 8—"Negro History in Outline"

GENERAL

"What the Negro Thinks," R. R. Moton, Doubleday, Doran & Co.

"American Negroes," Edwin R. Embree, John Day Company.

"The Negro Year Book," Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

STUDY GUIDE

FOR

UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS

For Use of
School Teachers
and
Leaders of Study Groups

Published by
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Unanimously Adopted by
Conference on Education for Southern Citizenship*
Blue Ridge, N. C., August 25-30, 1941

It is the sense of this body that our colleges and public schools have the opportunity, and a corresponding obligation, to render the South and the nation an inestimable service by training up a citizenship intelligent and fair-minded enough to handle wisely and justly the racial problems that are so serious a factor in our regional, national and international life.

To that end we believe it desirable:

1. That every important college in the South carry a special course of study of race problems;
2. That this subject be dealt with objectively also in college courses in sociology, social problems and the like;
3. That it be treated constructively in the college and public school teaching of geography, history, civics, literature, music, and other subjects where such treatment can be given logically and normally;
4. That programs and materials of adult education be expanded to include a broader understanding of positive racial relations;
5. That school libraries provide the books and supplementary materials necessary for such study;
6. That teachers' colleges especially seek to prepare teachers for wise and effective work along these lines.

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* Thirteen Southern States were represented in this conference by forty delegates from State Departments of Education, Universities, Colleges and Public Schools.

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WHY A UNIT OF STUDY ABOUT THE RACE PROBLEM?

"It is a difficult subject," says the teacher. "Why not ignore it?" Because:

1. We could not ignore it, even if we would. No other question has more profoundly influenced American life. No other looms so large in our history. If we study American history at all, we cannot escape the race question.

2. Again, if we study history intelligently, we must see that many mistakes have been made in dealing with this question. Slavery itself, the political heat and passion which slavery engendered, the nightmare of Civil War, the wrongs of Reconstruction—all these were tragic mistakes, for which our country has paid dearly. How important, then, that the rising generation be prepared to deal with this situation more wisely than those who have gone before!

3. Many serious problems still center about this question—problems of justice in the courts, protection of life and property, education, health, economic efficiency, wages, agriculture, public and private morals. The wise solution of these problems is not a matter of justice only, but equally one of self-interest and patriotism. Only an intelligent, right-minded citizenship can meet this challenge; and the building of such a citizenship is a major objective of education.

4. Southern educators agree that the schools should take account of the race question as one of the major issues with which future citizens will have to deal. Hence nearly all the Southern State Departments of Education are recommending and outlining units of study on this subject.

These recommendations do not contemplate a process of propaganda, but rather a sound educational approach to the practical problems involved in the biracial situation. By an objective study of the facts, they seek to focus on these problems the light of reason, rather than the heat of emotion. From such an approach much is to be gained and nothing lost.

5. Hundreds of schools have introduced such studies and proved their effectiveness. They tie in naturally with the work in history, geography, literature, civics, sociology, biology, and other public school subjects. Invariably, so far as can be learned, the reactions have been favorable and the results satisfactory.

6. If it be admitted that here is a great need, and if experience has demonstrated an effective means of meeting this need, it follows that here also is a great opportunity and a corresponding obligation.

7. The whole future of world peace and the effectiveness of our democracy here at home is tied up with the degree to which the people of all races are given opportunities to contribute to modern culture and to share the fruits of modern civilization.

As the basis of a sound educational approach to this problem, "Understanding Our Neighbors" has been prepared under the auspices of a number of educators composing the Conference on Education and Race Relations. It is factual, non-controversial, interesting and stimulating; it is in effective use in hundreds of schools. A copy will be sent free to any teacher interested.

"WHAT SHALL WE TEACH?"

Assuming agreement that sound teaching on the race problem is desirable, the question arises:

"What then shall we teach?"

The answer is simple:

Merely teach THE FACTS, just as you would in relation to any other subject.

Not Theories;
Not Opinions;
Not Propaganda.

Just the plain, everyday, unquestioned facts of science, of history, of present-day conditions and problems, as they relate to this subject.

Not extraneous matters, dragged in to support this view or that, but such facts as belong logically to the several subjects in which they are introduced and are necessary to a thorough, well-rounded knowledge of these subjects. Sources from which such facts may be drawn are almost limitless. Among these are books, (history, biography, literature, sociology, civics), magazines, newspapers, official reports, community surveys, interviews, personal observations.

The pamphlet "Understanding Our Neighbors" is recommended as a practical study outline and source book. Its pages present in convenient form a large body of essential material. It points out other sources of information, and suggests lines of constructive discussion, helpful in forming intelligent opinion.

TWO PLANS OF STUDY

Using "Understanding Our Neighbors" as a text, the study of the race problem may be conducted naturally in either of two ways:

(1) Obviously it fits perfectly *as a unit* into such courses as "Problems of Democracy," "Social Problems," "Sociology," "Community Problems," "Social Science," and the like. Its inclusion in such courses is not only logical, but essential, if one is to do a thorough job. So this unit may be set naturally into the frame of any such course as a normal part of the day's work. That is usually the best way of doing it.

(2) There is, however, another practical method—that of dividing the subject and *integrating its various aspects* with the several social science courses in which they naturally belong. Thus, one section of the study might be integrated with a course in geography (Part I); another with the study of United States history (Part II); a third with the study of English, or literature, or poetry (Part III); yet a fourth into the study of civics under whatever name. (Parts IV, V and VI.)

In this second method, again, there need be no apology for the various inclusions. They belong in these courses logically, naturally, inevitably. Their inclusion, indeed, is essential if a good, honest job of education is to be done.

In utilizing this method careful coordination is needed. For example, instead of giving the various sections of the unit simultaneously, thus perhaps overloading the pupil and overemphasizing the subject, better results may be expected if they are given successively and in order. Thus each section prepares the pupil for the next; the work proceeds more smoothly, and the results are cumulative. It is important, too, that the same group of students be carried through the whole series.

While the first method—that of a single unit in social science—seems likely to be simplest and most effective, either plan is thoroughly practical and will yield excellent results in pupil interest and development.

SOME GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

In introducing this subject, as said before, it should be kept clearly in mind that it is not something extraneous and irrelevant, but a natural, logical part of the educational process. Hence the teacher will neither apologize for it on the one hand nor overemphasize it on the other. Rather should it be presented as just a normal part of the day's work, with the emphasis always on facts rather than on theories and opinions. The great task is to normalize the subject.

ENCOURAGE DISCUSSION; AVOID ARGUMENT

There is a great difference between these two. Argument is usually based upon dogmatic opinion; discussion, on the other hand, centers around facts. Argument sets out to maintain a preconceived point of view, however illogical; discussion calmly studies the subject in an honest search for truth. Argument generates heat, of which there is already too much; discussion develops light, and it is light that the pupil needs. Directed discussion, therefore,—unimpassioned reasoning about the facts and their significance—has the greatest educational value. Remember always that light is needed rather than heat, reason rather than emotion.

AVOID DOGMATISM

As argument should be avoided and discouraged, so should dogmatism. Truth has many sides; no one person can see them all. Nobody knows the answers to all the problems, or all the answers to any of them. Some of them, indeed, time only will reveal. Meanwhile, there is need on all sides for mutual respect for diverse opinions. So, however fixed the teacher's convictions on any point, no effort should be made to dragoon into conformity those who disagree. One needs only to make the salient facts available and to stimulate honest inquiry as to their significance. The formation of opinion may safely be left to the intelligence of the pupil.

GIVE THE PUPILS A CHANCE

It will be noted that a great many questions are suggested throughout the text. These are meant to be real questions addressed to the pupils, not rhetorical questions to be answered by the teacher. To be sure, it will often be easier and quicker for the teacher to answer, and the temptation will be great. In general, however, it will be much better to restrain the impulse, so that the pupil himself may work out and express the answers. Thus he is doubly profited—his mind has been stirred to creative activity, and the product is much more a part of himself than if it had been communicated by another. So, don't give the answers unless it is necessary. Let the pupils have a chance—many chances—as many as possible.

I—SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AFRICAN BACKGROUND

Many years ago when the writer studied geography, it was taught primarily in terms of human differences. Chinese, Indians, especially Africans, were presented as very "odd" people, because their customs were so different from mine. So I assumed that both the customs and the people were essentially inferior, and none of my instructors ever taught me to the contrary.

Fortunately, we have learned a better way. Now we teach geography

in terms of human values—in terms of likenesses rather than of differences. Thus we find it one of the most direct roads to understanding and sympathy.

The study of Africa may be used to this end with peculiar effectiveness. The subject may be introduced by a series of questions that excite interest and thought, as suggested in the text. Then by the process of discussion the answers can be developed naturally and with ease along the lines indicated. The teacher need supply only such comment and explanation as may be required to help the pupils to see the essential facts clearly. The most important of these are:

1. A common origin (the Bible and science in agreement).

2. Variations later developed; likenesses more numerous and fundamental. Stimulating questions: "Here are two men of different races; how many physical differences between them can you name? How many likenesses? What about mental and spiritual differences and likenesses?"

3. How did the differences arise? Point out on a globe, map, or board the general region where man is supposed to have originated. Draw lines to indicate migrations in various directions, one into tropical Africa. Invite thought and expression as to the varying conditions into which the different groups would go, and the effects of each type of environment on the individual and on the development of racial and cultural differences.

4. Help the pupils to work out a clear comprehension of the "law of selection and survival," using simple illustrations and language that the pupils can visualize and understand. The analogy drawn from tan and sunburn, which they themselves will develop eagerly in response to apt questions, will go a long way to make it perfectly clear. They may even be able to suggest other illustrations of the process—kinky hair for insulation, wide nostrils for ample air supply, etc.

5. Effects of African environment on personal habits, industry, clothing, housing, temperament, travel, contacts. Let the pupils use their imagination on these matters and express themselves freely.

6. From the Foreword of "Understanding Our Neighbors" have students prepare a pictorial chart showing the racial composition of the people of the world. Also have them prepare a wall chart showing the population of the world by continents.
   Have the class read speeches, books, articles, etc., on postwar planning for significant materials having to do with race.
   Have students prepare a study of the racial composition of the Allied forces in World War II.

7. The study of native African culture may be vitalized by pictures or specimens of African ironwork, pottery, carving, weaving, basketry, and African folklore. A visit to a museum might be very rewarding; books on African culture and biography will help.

8. Discuss significance of African customs different from ours. Had our primitive ancestors any comparable customs? Are some of the African customs logical and sensible? Have the most highly civilized peoples yet outgrown occasional lapses into barbarism?

9. Note testimonies of travellers, missionaries, officials, and educators as to inherent intelligence and capacity of African natives.

10. Round up the chapter with a general discussion, or with the preparation of papers on its significance. Make use of the Foreword in developing the international significance of race problems.

II—THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

If integrated with a course in American History, the study of this chapter should follow, rather than accompany, the preceding one.

The treatment of the subject is obvious, and suggestions are hardly needed. The teacher, of course, will be on the lookout for additional material to enrich the study and a great deal should be available in the form of histories, essays, fiction, pictures. "America's Tenth Man," a survey of the Negro's contribution to American history, will be found very helpful.*

Have pupil locate on the map regions traversed by early Negro explorers; Jamestown, scene of first permanent planting of slavery.

Enliven study of the slave trade by visualizing on map or board the "three-cornered traffic," and by authentic descriptions of various aspects of the trade.

Let the pupils discuss the effects of slavery, good and bad, on all concerned and on the South.

Help them to see that all sections were responsible and that sectional bitterness on either side is illogical.

Under head "Vast Economic Asset," interesting visualizations are possible: Take, for example, Mississippi's Negro cotton crop in 1929, which was 1,234,000 bales. Estimating approximate size of a cotton bale as 2½ x 4 x 5 feet, let the pupils turn the crop into a fence and see how nearly it would enclose the whole State of Mississippi; or figure how tall a solid monument it would build, ten feet square.

Take, then, the value of that Mississippi crop, approximately $100,000,000. Let the pupils convert it into silver dollars (which weigh fourteen to the pound) and load it into railroad cars, 100,000 pounds to the car. How many cars would be required to haul it away? Or let them stack up the dollars, nine to the inch, 108 to the foot. How tall a stack would the hundred million make?

On slave labor in the old South consult U. B. Phillips' books "American Negro Slavery," Bancroft's "Slave Trading in the Old South" and "Life and Labor in the Old South." If in the neighborhood there are samples of slave architecture or ironwork the pupils will enjoy seeing them.

Give the class additional facts as to Southern sentiment for emancipation, the voluntary freeing of slaves, the Colonization Society, etc. Have the class locate and report on Liberia.

The long political controversy concerning slavery need be sketched only in outline, since school histories usually treat it in full detail. It will be sufficient that its general significance be clearly seen.

The abolition movement and the Civil War invite discussion and thought as to the best technique of human adjustment. Would patient, rational processes have been better than the intolerance, heat, and violence which characterized the struggle? Does this have any significance for people today when misunderstandings arise between the races? Current illustrations may be cited.

Under "A Record of Rare Devotion," get a copy of Grady's speech or of "America's Tenth Man" and have the class read the tribute referred to.

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* Sample copy free; 50 cents per dozen. Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Standard Building, Atlanta.

Help the pupils visualize the pathetic plight of the newly-freed Negroes and the difficulties of adjustment of both races to the new conditions.

Under "Reconstruction" the class may profitably discuss the wisdom of seeking to impose, by unreasoning, vengeful force, an unjust human situation; the relative responsibility of the Negroes and of their white leaders for the wrongs of that period; and the one notable service rendered the South by the Reconstruction governments.

Under "Progress Since Emancipation," note that tenancy was the logical first agricultural adjustment of the emancipated slaves, followed by increasing ownership of farms and homes, as they became able to buy.

Inquiries may be made as to local Negro ownership of farms, homes, and business enterprises. Reports of Negro banks and insurance companies will prove interesting and are available on request.* In some cases with good effect classes have been taken to visit such institutions.

What does the public school enrollment of Negro children suggest as to their desire for education? How does it compare in percentage with that of white children?

Catalogs, magazines, and advertising matter from local and nearby Negro colleges will prove interesting; a visit to such an institution will be even more so.

Have the pupils search available libraries, magazines, and newspapers for biographical sketches and stories of notable Negroes.

Under the head "The Negro and the Flag," have the pupils check school histories to see to what extent these histories recognize the Negro's patriotic contribution to America.

A closing question: In the light of the Negro's part in exploring and developing America, winning its independence, and participating in all its patriotic struggles, which would you call him—an alien or an American?

III—LITERATURE AND MUSIC

The material presented here is necessarily far from adequate; it should be richly supplemented from books listed in the Bibliography. If not available in school or local libraries, some of these books can doubtless be secured by correspondence. "Singers in the Dawn" will serve well and may be secured singly or in quantity at negligible cost.

The selections quoted were chosen not only for their literary excellence and human interest, but also for their significance as illustrating typical attitudes and reactions to the varying conditions which Negroes confront. There is Dunbar's fine philosophy in "Life"; McClellan's classic of forgiveness; McKay's bitter defiance; Cotter's gentle questioning; Cullen's keen irony; James Weldon Johnson's ringing challenge. These quotations should have definite value to the pupils as media of interpretation.

The librarian might arrange an exhibit of books by and about Negroes, and samples of Negro newspapers and magazines might be secured.

The class (perhaps the whole school) will enjoy learning to sing some of the favorite spirituals. For this purpose "Southland Spirituals" and "Songs of the South" are good collections, available at very small cost. Victrola records and radio programs offer other possibilities.

IV—CIVIC AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Interest and vitality may be added to the population studies on page 22 by having the pupils make graphs illustrating increase of Negro population, North and South; proportion of Negroes in South's population, 1880 and 1940; per cent of Negro population, state by state, 1900, 1930, 1940.

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* Conspicuous among these are Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Ga., and North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N. C.

Write the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., for 1940 population figures by races in the various states and larger cities.

Encourage thorough discussion of questions raised in connection with these population trends, particularly as they affect various aspects of the race problem in the South.

In connection with "The Problems of Health," a great deal of discussion will be in order, on the lines suggested in the text. Investigation of state and local health conditions will add interest and vitality to the study. Graphs will be helpful here also.

Under the heads "Poverty," "The Negro in Agriculture," "Recreation," and "Public Schools," the numerous questions suggested in the text should elicit adequate discussion.

Examination of official public school reports will add to the interest of that subject. Graphs will help. Nothing else, however, will so effectively vitalize this inquiry as comparison of local school conditions through personal observation.

In the matter of parks, the pupils might be asked to figure in square feet the areas provided per citizen, white and colored, by the Southern city mentioned.[1]

Under the head "Officers of the Law," inquiry might be made locally or by correspondence with the police departments of other cities as to the effectiveness of Negro police.

A graph might be made showing the annual lynching record for the past five years as contrasted with the sixty-year average.[2]

In connection with "The Ballot," the Fifteenth Amendment might be read, followed by discussion of the means employed to restrict or deny Negro suffrage. The class might debate the advantages of limiting the ballot, as against universal adult suffrage. If suffrage qualifications are held to be needed, what form should they take and how should they be applied? Have the class read and comment on Dr. Moton's statement on this point.

On the subject of court practices in relation to Negroes, a Monday morning visit to the police court of almost any city will be highly instructive—much more effective than cold theory or heated dogmatism.

Discuss fully "The Real Question."

Finally, have the class read "Constructive Southern Opinion" and express their own reactions to the views which it sets forth.

Have the class take their community as a unit and work out a practical plan for the improvement of Negro-white relations in the community.

V—COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS

This section of the book is meant primarily to prepare the teacher to deal with the many questions that are certain to arise throughout the course. It may then well be used by the class as a general roundup.

Have students collect rumors having to do with Negro-white relations. Evaluate these and try to determine their origin. Establish a "listening post" for rumors on race.

VI—SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

Take up each of the suggestions made by the Conference on Education for Southern Citizenship and have the class discuss and evaluate each.

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[1] A very simple matter: For the Negro $\frac{14 \times 210 \times 210}{100,000}$; for the white $\frac{1300 \times 210 \times 210}{200,000}$.

[2] For additional facts on lynching see "Changing Character of Lynching," 70 pages, 25 cents. Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.

THREE SELECTED UNITS OF WORK ON THE RACE PROBLEM

HIGH SCHOOL, ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

Three weeks were given to the project in four citizenship classes enrolling 129 pupils. An intensive study was made of "America's Tenth Man" and other publications of the Conference on Education and Race Relations. Books and other supplementary materials from the school and city libraries were read and reported on. These included Moton's "What the Negro Thinks" and Brawley's "History of the American Negro."

The newspapers and magazines were watched for constructive articles regarding Negroes.

A number of committees worked on specific phases of Negro life—economic conditions, political and civil rights, educational facilities, cultural contributions, etc.

Visits were made to the Negro schools and churches, Negro leaders were interviewed, and surveys were made of Negro business and residential areas and recreational facilities. The findings were compiled in four booklets which were typed by the commercial classes and illustrated by the art students.

Four classes made a study of Negro literature and presented a program on it to student assemblies numbering 440. "Singers in the Dawn" was used as the basis of this study.

A music class gave two programs of Negro selections.

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

Two hundred students studied "America's Tenth Man" and other pamphlet materials.

Essays were written by 150 students and posters and scrapbooks were made.

Open forums on race relations were held in the Hi-Y Club.

Two outside speakers addressed the students on the racial situation.

A radio broadcast was given, with four student speakers. It is estimated that this broadcast reached 25,000 people.

Copies of the source pamphlets were presented to the editors of the local papers, and commendatory editorials were published. Copies were sent also to all the junior high schools in the city.

HIGH SCHOOL, BILOXI, MISSISSIPPI

"America's Tenth Man" was studied for one week by 188 students in three sections of American history, three junior home rooms, and two sections of European history. Seventy papers were written on the subject and a prize was awarded for the best.

A study of the native African in contrast with the present-day Negro was made in four history classes, enrolling 118 pupils.

A general assembly program and three junior home-room programs were presented, dealing with Negro progress, health, education, literature, religion, and music.

Books and equipment were presented to the Negro school.

Newspapers and magazines were watched for current-event reports. Several articles on the project were published in the school paper.

Essays, posters, and booklets were made by ten classes in English and civics, enrolling 224 students.

The project enlisted the interest of practically every student, and the results were highly satisfactory.

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SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
CLIPPING SINCE 1895
ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from
Birmingham, Ala News
January 15, 1946

Lawyer Says Race Segregation Illegal

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 15 — (AP)—A Negro attorney opposed the Alabama Public Service Commission's railroad race segregation order today as both discriminatory and illegal, and declared it "violated" the United Nations Charter.

Arthur D. Shores, of Birmingham, appeared at a public hearing in opposition to the commission's order directing railroads operating in the state to segregate white and Negro passengers by curtains and partitions when separate accommodations are not available.

Shores said he represented the Coordinating Committee for Equal Transportation Facilities in Alabama, which he said was composed of representatives of organizations of both races.

A railroad spokesman, meanwhile, suggested several changes in the commission order, chiefly related to the requirement that partitions and curtains must be "in place and drawn at all times" when Negroes are seated in Pullman cars.

W. A. Northcutt, general solicitor of the Louisville & Nashville, said that would be "wholly impractical and unworkable."

He agreed, however, with the provision that Negroes requesting seat space or berths may be assigned to space in enclosed accommodations if available.

Shores declared the order, the effective date of which is Feb. 1, would impose a "badge of inferior citizenship" on members of the Negro race and would be "embarassing and humiliating."

UNESCO/C/23/46(Rev)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL

SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

GENERAL CONFERENCE

PARIS

Nov. 19 - Dec. 10, 1946

REPORT OF PROGRAM COMMISSION

ADOPTED BY THE

GENERAL CONFERENCE*

* Text of UNESCO/C/23, with corrections approved by the General Conference in Plenary Session.

Reproduced by UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State.

The Programme Commission at its First Plenary Session adopted five criteria for the selection of proposals for inclusion in the programme of UNESCO. These criteria had to do with the purpose of the Organisation, the coherence of the programme, its financial feasibility, its feasibility in terms of staff and the appropriateness of any given project to the end in view. In addition to the establishment of these criteria, the Commission requested that proposals be distinguished in terms of priority, with particular reference to the possibility of accomplishment in the year 1947, and that projects "should be few in number and should involve, at least in the first year, crucially important and obviously useful undertakings."

The work of the Commission was thereupon assigned to six Sub-Commissions which were requested to observe the criteria established and to conform to the instructions issued.

The six Sub-Commissions have now completed their work and have submitted to the Programme Commission their final reports which, with minor modifications, have been adopted. These reports are, in themselves, remarkable and distinguished documents. They cannot be read without a mounting sense of the limitless possibilities and the potential importance of the mission of UNESCO. Neither can they be read without an acute and poignant realization of the immediate and present urgency of the task with which UNESCO is faced. All of the reports place first in the order of urgency the needs of the peoples who have felt at first hand the impact of the war. All of them put in the first order of priority the provision of the materials and the services which are necessary if the children of these countries are to resume their education, if their artists and scientists and men of learning are to pursue again their callings, if their libraries are to be rebuilt and stocked again with books, and if the apparatus of scientific inquiry is to be renewed.

The drafting committee, appointed to develop from the reports of the various Sub-Commissions a coherent and single programme, has nevertheless found itself obliged to make an over-all selection in terms of immediate significance. This selection, necessarily somewhat arbitrary, has been made by applying to the reports of the various Sub-Commissions the criteria already established by the Commission as a whole.

The Committee, that is to say, has had in mind the requirements that proposals approved should serve to advance the purpose of the Organisation "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture"; the requirement that projects approved should constitute a coherent whole; the requirement that they should be practically feasible and appropriate; and the requirement that they should be few in number and should relate to matters of self-evident importance and usefulness.

As regards the first of these requirements, the Committee has borne i mind also the language in the Preamble to the Constitution which cites the "common welfare of mankind" as one of the concerns of the Organization. It is the view of the Committee, as we assume it is the view of the General Conference, that the stated purpose of UNESCO to contribute to peace and security must be read in the light of this phrase, and that the "peace" to which reference is made must be interpreted in a positive rather than a

negative sense

negative sense. "Peace" in this context, in other words, means something more than a mere absence of overt hostilities. It means a condition of solidarity, harmony of purpose and coordination of activities in which free men and women can live a secure and satisfactory life - a condition in which war is affirmatively prevented by the dynamic and purposeful creation of a decent and human relationship between the peoples of the world - a condition in which the incentives to war are neutralized by the social, spiritual and economic advances created and achieved.

Thus interpreted, the principal criterion of selection, taken together with the additional criteria established by the Programme Commission, seems to the Committee to offer a means by which the projects reported by the Sub-Commissions may be reduced to such a single and coherent programme as we understand to be desired. Needless to say, the selection we have made is in no sense intended to eliminate any item recommended by any Sub-Commission and approved by the Plenary Session of the Programme Commission. The full reports of the Sub-Commissions are appended to this report and are thus submitted to the Plenary Session of the Conference for Adoption. What we have done is to indicate how those projects may be made to conform most nearly to the established criteria and how they may be combined in a single programme which will, we hope, be regarded as coherent, important, and demonstrably useful.

One further preliminary word is necessary. We have not selected our projects in terms of the division of the entire subject matter into the various fields assigned to the Sub-Commissions. We have selected them rather in terms of UNESCO's over-riding purpose to contribute to peace and security, and more particularly, in terms of the various functions by which - as it seems to us- UNESCO can best contribute to this purpose. These functions, given the over-all purpose and the field of human intercourse in which UNESCO is to act, are fairly evident. UNESCO will contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations in the preservation of men's knowledge of themselves, their world and each other; in the <u>increase</u> of that knowledge through learning, science and the arts; and in the dissemination of that knowledge through education and through communications generally. This last function, given the present distressed and critical state of the world, would seem to be the most important, though not necessarily the most urgent. There are great areas of the world in which the preservation of men's knowledge of their world and of each other is crucially important. Unless the institutions of learning can be restored in those countries in which the malice and superstition and ignorance of the common enemy destroyed them, it will be impossible for men and women and children to pick up again their lives as human beings.

And, there are other fields also in which the <u>increase</u> of knowledge has the first importance - fields in which the events of the last few dreadful years have clearly demonstrated that lack of knowledge may be a cause of war: fields which cry out for the concerted and disinterested analysis of which scholarship and science are capable and the concerted and imaginative understanding which those who love the human spirit and who believe in the capacities of the human mind can give.

The urgent projects aimed at the <u>preservation</u> of the knowledge and the means of knowledge of mankind are not listed in detail here. They will be found in the place of first importance in the reports of the Sub-Commissions. Their character is familiar to us all and to all the world. Whatever, UNESCO can do in rehabilitation will be all too little, and even that little will

be all too

be all too late. Nevertheless, we of this Conference and of this Organisation are agreed that everything we can do must be done.

Nevertheless, it is universally agreed, and has been agreed since the Conference at London, that UNESCO, whatever its responsibilites for the preservation of knowledge and the reconstruction of the institutions and the means of knowledge, is not itself only a relief or a rehabilitation agency. It is an agency for the preservation of the peace through understanding. What is required of us here at this first Conference is to present to the world a programme which shall clearly demonstrate how, and in what measure, UNESCO intends to accept the responsibility imposed upon it by its Charter, and by what means it proposes to translate that responsibility into action and into practical results.

We begin our description of UNESCO's programme, therefore, with those forward projects which relate most directly to the future task. First among these, we put those projects in the field of the dissemination of knowledge through education and mass communication which appear to us most likely to produce practical and effective results in the immediate future, whether through the removal of barriers to communication between peoples or through the increased effectiveness and richness of such communication.

Two projects looking toward the increased effectiveness of communication through the channels of education seem to us to belong at the beginning of this account. The first of these is the proposed development of a worldwide programme in fundmental education (or the establishment of minimal educational standards) by which it is anticipated, will contribute to the vital struggle against illiteracy which must now be joined, and must now be won.

In the words of the Preparatory Commission, "the Charter of the United Nations points out that stability and well-being are necessary if peaceful and friendly relations among the nations are to be created. Such conditions imply advances in economic and living standards as well as the universal acceptance and observance of fundamental human rights and freedom... The present educational inequality between nations represents a danger to the peace of the world which cannot become ONE if half of it remains illiterate."

Such a programme will involve, in addition, new forms of education, especially for adults in agriculture, health and citizenship. The first step in this great project will be the appointment of a panel of experts, most of whom would not be permanent members of the UNESCO Staff. On invitation, they will assit in the development of programmes of education, making contacts with workers in the field. The central staff of UNESCO will assist in providing suitable materials, in the clarification of language difficulties and in the utilization of all forms of instruction, - books, pictures, films and radio - which may serve the purposes of the programme. Assistance will be sought in collateral fields, such as libraries and the social sciences. As the programme advances, follow-up work will carry the new skills of reading and writing to a fuller implementation of every-day life and, further, to a growing recognition of international problems.

The time

The time has come to recognize, what can only be recognised from the international point of view which UNESCO occupies, that the world owes a duty to its less-favoured peoples, not only in their interest but in its own. It is not necessary, in order to recognise this duty, to assert that the roots of the evil of our time lie solely in the things of the human spirit, any more than it is necessary to assert, in order to arrive at certain other conclusions, that the roots of these evils lie solely in material conditions. It is necessary only to admit - as all in this room must admit, for otherwise they would not be here - that what passes in the minds of men is a reality - and a reality which may well affect the great issue of peace and war - of life and death.

A second major project intended to facilitate communication through the channels of education is the proposal for a comprehensive revision of text books and related teaching materials. This project calls for a clearing house for the collection and dissemination of information on the revision of text books, starting with the accumulation of the most commonly used text books. Necessarily involved in this proposal is the assumption by UNESCO of a responsibility to report to the General Conference and to the United Nations and the world at large any instances of the misuse of text books which might be considered to constitute a danger to the peace. No question of censorship is involved here or elsewhere in UNESCO's programme. UNESCO is not the policeman of the mind, nor the censor of the imagination. UNESCO is, however, charged, under its Constitution, with a duty to preserve the peace in so far as the peace can be preserved through the instruments of education, of science and of culture. It has, therefore, a clear responsibility, finally and in the last analysis, to call to the attention of the member nations of UNESCO and of the United Nations any misuse of the facilities of teaching which it considers dangerous to the peace.

Communication between peoples in the contemporary world, however, is not limited to education or to the materials which education traditionally employs. A technological development of revolutionary importance, and of incalculable potentialities for good or evil has taken place in the press, radio, the motion picture and in the newer technical developments of a related character. It is now, for the first time, possible to conceive of culture in planetary terms because it is now, for the first time, possible to communicate upon a planetary scale. Proposals before this Conference provide for the employment by UNESCO of these new means of mass communication and for action by UNESCO to remove the obstacles in the way of their full and most effective employment.

The first of these proposals is the proposal for the establishment of a world-wide network for radio broadcasting and reception. It is not suggested that UNESCO should embark immediately upon an undertaking of such scope and cost. It is suggested, however, that UNESCO should undertake forthwith a study of the possibility of such an undertaking with a view to the presentation to the next General Conference of a practicable plan for action. Closely associated with this proposal is a second proposal that UNESCO should undertake a survey of the press, the film, and the whole range of telecommunications, postal services, with a view to examining the adequacy of existing channels to the world's communication needs. It is thought that proposals can be made, in the light of such a study, for the elimination of inadequacies where they are found to exist and for the encouragement of such supplementary

services as

services as best will fill UNESCO's purposes. Specific proposals are made for the establishment of an international radio forum and a world university of the air by which, within the framework of existing facilities, subjects of international interest can be discussed.

Combined with these positive proposals for the development of existing channels of communication and the possible establishment of a new planetary system, there are also what might be called negative or curative proposals for the removal of barriers obstructing the flow of communication. Any such undertakings on UNESCO's part must, of course, be related to similar undertakings by other agencies of the United Nations, such, for example, as the Economic and Social Council, and its organs.

But it is not in the field of the mass media alone that barriers exist which UNESCO must labour to remove in the accomplishment of its essential and central purpose of advancing the freedom of the people of the world to understand each other. Similar barriers exist in connection with libraries and museums and in connection with literature and the creative arts. Never before in the history of the world have there been as many men and women hungry for books who lack the means of satisfying their hunger. Never before in the history of the world has the freedom of the creative artist to satisfy the fundamental need of his time been so restricted as it is restricted now by commercial practices, and by censorious suppression. Among the projects proposed are projects aimed at the removal of these barriers. Studies are proposed of discriminatory commercial rates, of bureaucratic customs formalities, of unnecessarily high postal rates and of other similar obstacles to the movement of books and other materials of communication. Cooperation is also proposed in the preparation for the universal Copyright Conference proposed by the Belgian Government for 1947.

Furthermore, and as regards creative artists, a resolution has been proposed in the following terms:

"That the freedom of the creative artist to accomplish his proper purpose as an artist in any nation is a matter of concern to the peoples of all nations, and

"That UNESCO, acting for an on behalf of the peoples of all nations, will take such measures as are open to it under its Constitution to protect and defend the freedom of the artist wherever it is put in danger".

But in these fields also, UNESCO is not conceived of merely in negative terms. In this same field of the creative arts, it is proposed that UNESCO should, in the near future, conduct an investigation of the way in which conditions affecting the livelihood and work of the creative artist may be improved, and should cooperate with other agencies in safeguarding the valuable art and culture of primitive and non-industrial peoples from debasement or extinction.

Again, as regards printed materials, it is proposed that UNESCO should establish a central international inter-library loan system by which readers in any part of the world may, given the cooperation of the world's librarians, have access, either in original or copy, to the printed

materials

materials contained in any library in any country. It is proposed further that UNESCO should assist libraries and schools to obtain books, periodicals, works of art and museum objects from all the countries of the world, matching needs with available supplies. The use of photographic reproduction, both for the protection and for the greater availability of printed materials, is conceived of upon a scale never before undertaken. It is clearly seen and clearly proposed that the world's resources of cultural materials destroyed in the war can be replaced in part by a world system of loan and reproduction where they cannot be replaced in kind.

And beyond the development of technological and scholarly means by which the remaining resources of the world may be made more fully and more widely useful, it is also proposed to encourage the establishment of public or popular libraries and museums where they do not now exist, as aids in the great labour of mass education which must be undertaken.

The principal proposals for activity in the field of increase of men's knowledge of themselves, their world and each other are to be found, as would be expected, in the fields of science. The proposals before us in the natural sciences do not, of course, neglect the essential and pressing problem of the preservation of knowledge - the replacement of scientific and technical apparatus, particularly in the devastated areas of the world. It is proposed that this replacement should be accomplished by surveying actual needs and by stimulating the creation of agencies to collect and distribute needed supplies. A related proposal carrying beyond rehabilitation into the continuing labour of scientific work is the proposal for the interchange of scientists of all grades. UNESCO, it is proposed, shall administer fellowship grants made available to it and shall establish a limited number of fellowships from its own funds. It will also stimulate and, to some extent, subsidize meetings of international scientific and other learned organizations. It will cooperate with international unions of scientific personnel. Travelling panels of scientists will be sent to various countries on invitation. In regions remote from the main centres of scientific research and technology, experience has shown that a small mobile team concerned with scientific liaison cannot only facilitate but universally stimulate the advance of science and its application. All these proposals are, of course, part only of a broader programme of exchange of personnel, and encouragement of international conferences which is to be found in the reports of all the Sub-Commissions.

One of the most interesting of the proposals having to do with increase of knowledge is a proposal in a field in which new knowledge is urgently necessary. It is proposed that UNESCO should study the problem of satisfactory living in the Equatorial forest zone. As a concrete beginning UNESCO will take over the coordination of the various researches by many nations on the resources and conditions of life in the great Amazonian forest with a view to establishing later an Equatorial Survey Institute. A similar proposal relates to the study, in collaboration with other United Nations Organisations, of the urgent scientific problems arising in those regions of the world where the majority of the population is undernourished. As a first stage, UNESCO will recruit teams of specialists expert in nutritional science and food technology to attack the problem in three sample regions - the Amazon forest, India and China.

Other Projects

Other projects looking toward the increase of knowledge in ways directly related to UNESCO's responsibility to contribute to peace are to be found in the Social Sciences where it is proposed that UNESCO should undertake a study of tensions conducive to war. This study would include studies of nationalsim and internationalism, the pressure of populations and the effect of technological progress upon the well-being of peoples. It will call for a new type of cooperation among social scientists, anthropologists, geographers and psychologists, and it will demand, as the work progresses, new methods of investigation and report. In such an elaborate undertaking, recourse will be had to the national commissions of Member States wherever possible.

With respect to nationalism and internationalism, the three main objectives will be :

(1) To bring to light the distinctive character of the various national cultures and national ideals.

(2) To help in stimulating the sympathy and respect of the nations for each other's ideals and aspirations and appreciation of national problems.

(3) To study and recommend for action possible measures which can bring the nations into closer cooperation, while maintaining fullest respect for their cultures and ideals.

The study of population will be undertaken cooperatively with the United Nations Economic and Social Council which has set up a demographic commission. Among the factors which may be identified as forming a part of this great problem are the excessive increase or decrease in populations, the effect of migration, tensions created among groups within nations or dependent areas and problems arising from certain customs, standards or political restrictions.

It is also proposed that UNESCO undertake a similar study upon the group of problems created by the impact of modern technological developments upon social life and social institutions. It is believed that tensions, both national and international, created by this impact are, thus far, little understood. A new attack upon this problem utilizing modern methods of survey and analysis is presented.

Again it is proposed that UNESCO should examine the philosophic problems of the time. It is agreed, of course, that UNESCO must not be committed to a dogmatic position in any field or to a philosophy which would exclude other basic philosophies directed to the human and humane ends to which UNESCO, by its Constitution , is devoted. The philosophic problem of UNESCO is the problem of finding common ground for understanding and agreement between diverse philosophies and religions. This is a new and important problem for philosophy directly related to the cause of peace. It is proposed that it should be the subject of discussion in a conference of philosophers to be called in the year 1947.

These, in the view at least of this Committee, are the projects offered by the Sub-Commissions which outline most clearly the character

which UNESCO

which UNESCO will take on when it moves from its preparatory planning stage to the stage of action. There are, of course, many additional proposals listed in the reports of the Sub-Commissions which, equally with the proposals here named, are before the Conference for adoption. It is clearly the responsibility of the Director-General to determine, within the limits of the funds made available to him, which of the many projects proposed by the Sub-Commissions and approved by the Programme Commission and the General Conference he will undertake. All the Drafting Committee has attempted to do is to draw from the reports of the Sub-Commissions those items to which they seem to have devoted principal attention and which, under an over-allexamination, appear to conform most nearly to the criteria established. If the General Conference agrees with the Drafting Committee, it will be saying, in effect, that the Director-General would be well advised, in its opinion, to frame his programme around the projects here presented. We wish, however, to be clearly understood to state that the Director-General, as the responsible officer of the Organisation, must, in the last analysis, make the selection and produce the programme.

We have not in this report touched upon the question of the machinery by which these various proposals shall be realised. The reports of the various Sub-Commissions contain in some detail an account of the instruments to be used. It is sufficient, we think to state here that although these various proposals are advanced as proposals for action by UNESCO, they are, in the last analysis, proposals advanced for action by the peoples of the world. Without the collaboration of the member nations, UNESCO can do nothing and can be nothing. Without the collaboration of the peoples who compose the member nations, the undertakings of UNESCO -- undertakings which touch most nearly the lives of peoples everywhere - can have no reality and no true meaning. In presenting, therefore, this report, and in proposing that the programme which it outlines should be adopted, we are speaking not to the General Conference of UNESCO alone but to the peoples of the world.

Here, in our opinion, is a programme for common action to construct in the minds of men such defences of the peace as the minds of men can maintain. If it is possible in the present dark and lowering atomosphere of cynicism, suspicion and despair for men to agree upon a common programme, they should, we think, be able to agree on this. In the final count, in the last determination, we must trust our power to be men. As men -- as thinking men -- as men who think, believe and have the will to act - we can agree together on the end of peace. Agreeing on that end, we should be able to agree that there are steps by which the end can be approached. In the high confidence that the projects here proposed are projects which can bring us nearer to the hoped-for goal, we put these programmes in your hands.

Reports of Sub-Commissions

REPORTS

OF

SUB-COMMISSIONS*

1. Education
2. Mass Media
3. Libraries and Cultural Institutions
4. Natural Sciences
5. Social Science and Humanities
6. Arts and Letters

* As approved at the Plenary Session of the General Conference, including amendments approved by the Program Commission.

EDUCATION

PREAMBLE

"The Education Sub-Commission is of the opinion that National Commissions or National Cooperating Bodies can play an important part in promoting and implementing this program and it strongly urges them to accept this responsibility. Other relevant national and international organizations can be of great assistance in furthering this program."

I. IMMEDIATE WORK FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

(a) A STUDY OF EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING in the primary and secondary schools and in institutions of higher learning of the member states, to be conducted by the Secretariat of UNESCO, in consultation with a panel of experts and in collaboration with the member states.
To be begun in 1947 (A)

(b) A SEMINAR ON EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING for teachers from member states, together with regional seminars (on the same lines) as considered feasible by the Secretariat.
To be held in 1947 (A)

(c) PUBLICATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL YEARBOOK and the establishment of a Committee on Educational Statistics.
To be undertaken in 1947 (B)

(d) CLEARING HOUSE ACTIVITIES ON INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF PERSONS - Children, students, teachers, youth leaders, leaders in adult education and workers' organizations, and members of various professions. These activities should include a study of the equivalence of school standards and college and university degrees.
To be begun in 1947. (A)

(e) ASSISTANCE

(e) ASSISTANCE TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUBS working through the educational agencies and youth organizations of the member states, providing information and materials for their use.
To be begun in 1947. (B)

II. LONG TERM WORK FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

(a) A PROGRAM OF FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION under the direction of the Secretariat and a panel of experts, to help establish a minimum fundamental education for all persons.
To be begun in 1947. (See publication: Fundamental Education: Common Ground for all Peoples). (A)

(b) THE COLLECTION OF DATA ON ADULT EDUCATION from member states on the content and techniques of adult educational activities - exploratory steps during 1947. (A)

III. IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHING AND TEACHING MATERIALS FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

(a) A PROGRAM FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF TEXTBOOKS AND TEACHING MATERIALS AS AIDS IN DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

1. UNESCO should establish a clearing house for the collection and dissemination of data on the analysis and revision of textbooks and other teaching materials. As a first step in this direction UNESCO should ask every member state to send in 1947 a full set of its most commonly used textbooks in history, geography, civics and other subjects related to international understanding.

2. The Secretariat should arrange for the study of these materials with the assistance of National Commissions and other national bodies; member states should be invited at the same time to study their own textbooks from the point of view of their effect on international understanding. The results of these enquiries should be reported to the next General Conference.

3. The Secretariat should draw up in consultation with qualified experts, a set of principles or code of ethics by which each member state might, as it sees fit, analyze its own textbooks and teaching materials.

4. UNESCO should establish contacts with the member states and with associations of educationists and scientists and with other learned societies, in order to assist them, when invited, in the presentation of events and facts of international significance.

5. UNESCO should call world conferences, if deemed desirable, on specific aspects of the revision and improvement of teaching materials.

6. UNESCO should encourage member states to make bilateral and regional agreements concerning textbooks and other teaching materials; and should assist by preparing 'model Agreements' and the dissemination of information on such agreements.

7. UNESCO should encourage bilateral and regional enterprises and give assistance to them, whether under governmental or non-governmental auspices.

8. UNESCO should prepare from time to time new materials on international affairs to be placed at the disposal of textbook writers.

9. UNESCO should undertake the responsibility of reporting to the General Conference instances of textbook usage inimical to peace among nations.

(A)

(b) A TEACHER'S CHARTER - A Committee appointed by the Director General, should invite drafts of such a charter from interested persons and groups with a view to improving the status of teachers.
To be begun in 1947. (C)

(c) CLEARING HOUSE FOR STUDIES ON THE TEACHING PROFESSION, to include the demand for teachers, problems of recruitment, the training of teachers, their status, and remuneration.
To be begun in 1947. (B)

IV. ACTIVITIES

IV. ACTIVITIES IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

(a) APPOINTMENT OF AN EXPERT COMMITTEE ON HEALTH EDUCATION in conjunction with the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Labor Organization and other organizations with special competence in this field, to explore the field of health education.
To be begun in 1947. (A)

(b) STUDY OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN, with special reference to those in war devastated countries, should be undertaken by the Secretariat in 1947, with other organizations concerned with this problem. (A)

V. ACTION ON OTHER PROPOSALS

(a) RECONSTRUCTION CAMPS in war-devastated countries were endorsed for their educational merits, the project being undertaken as part of the reconstruction and rehabilitation program of UNESCO.

(b) THE RE-EDUCATION OF EX-ENEMY COUNTRIES was raised in a proposal calling for the immediate study by UNESCO of the general problem and issues arising in connection with the opening up of ex-enemy countries to educational and cultural influences from democratic countries, and the matter referred to the Executive Board of UNESCO.

(c) AN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION NEWSLETTER or some other form of news releases should be studied further by the Secretariat. (C)

(d) WORLD PEACE DAY - that the Secretariat investigate the celebration of the first of January throughout the world as a day of the comity of nations and universal brotherhood. (C)

(e) TRAINING IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, with particular reference to an International Study Center and an International University, was referred to the Social Sciences Sub-Commission, with the understanding that any plans would be developed in collaboration with the Education Section of UNESCO.

(f) EDUCATION OF YOUTH ALONG GENERAL, TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL LINES
Action postponed.

A Committee,

A Committee, appointed by the Education Sub-Commission of the Programme Commission, with power to act for it, considered priorities for projects recommended by the Education Sub-Commission. The Committee decided to classify projects in three categories:

A - most urgent

B - desirable

C - advisable

Category A	I (a)
	I (b)
	I (d)
	II (a)
	II (b)
	III (a)
	IV (a)
	IV (b)
Category B	I (c)
	I (e)
	III (c)
Category C	III (b)
	V (c)
	V (d)

The Committee points out that while all the projects listed in Category A are urgent, a number of them will not involve heavy commitments in staff or funds in 1947.

Several projects, namely V (a), V (b), V (e) and V (f) have not been classified. These require no additional staff for any action which may be taken in 1947.

MASS COMMUNICATION

PROJECTS FOR 1947 IN ORDER OF PRIORITY

P.1. Rehabilitation: (a) Commission on Immediate Technical Needs.

UNESCO should as a first and pressing measure appoint three Commissions on Immediate Technical Needs, to examine the requirements of those countries, particularly in Europe and the Far East, where the war has caused serious loss of equipment and personnel, or where rehabilitation and reconstruction are affected by inadequate technical knowledge and facilities. They should examine present needs for raw materials, equipment and trained technical personnel in each of the fields of films, radio and press. Their enquiries should cover the supply of raw film stock, pulp and paper; film cameras and projectors, radio transmitting and receiving apparatus; printing machinery and type. The Commissions should present their reports within six months, and should include in them recommendations regarding:

(i) immediate measures for correcting the deficiencies referred to;

(ii) further plans ensuring a continuous improvement in the supply of equipment and raw materials, together with the provision of such expert advice and technical personnel as may be required.

(b) Technical Training Scheme.

On the basis of a general scheme and with the object of facilitating the pooling of experience, UNESCO should encourage on the widest international basis, the exchange of instructors and trainees in this field.

UNESCO, in the interests of those countries trying to create, extend or improve their own mass media, should operate a scheme whereby countries w with the best technical resources would give to countries less favoured the benefits of their experience by training guest-personnel in the various fields.

For this purpose fellowships should be established either by the host-countries, through Government or non-Government bodies, or, where necessary, by UNESCO itself.

Simultaneously, a higher order of fellowships should be established which would enable qualified practitioners in the fields of mass media to have "refresher courses" in countries other than their own.

P.2. Free Flow of Communication.

UNESCO should cooperate with the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Informatio of the Commission on Human Rights in the preparation of the report on the obstacles to the free flow of information and ideas. The report should include a survey of available facilities throughout the world for the printing of news, books and periodicals, and production and distribution of

films,

films, and the broadcasting and reception of radio programmes. It should deal with copyright restrictions, with the cost of cables and wireless communications - indeed with all restrictions on the flow of information and ideas across international boundaries, and with the suppression and distortion of information and ideas by any influence. UNESCO should take immediate action to develop an agreement with the Commission on Human Rights to assure early and effective action in this field, taking cognisance of the initiative of the U.N. in calling a Conference on Freedom of Information in 1947.

Surveys of Media of Mass Communication.

P.3. A. Radio.

(i) UNESCO should appoint a Committee of Experts to make a comprehensive study of proposals to undertake a world-wide radio network. This study in itself should be sufficiently comprehensive to be called a project under UNESCO. Such a study should cover the needs of peoples, types of programmes, availability of receivers, the interests of member nations in such activities and the means of encouraging technological developments. If the conclusions emerging from this study indicate the feasibility and desirability of a world-wide network, UNESCO should welcome the availability of such resources in communicating its programmes to the peoples of the world, and should expect to take the full responsibility for the preparation of all programmes within its general areas of interest.

(ii) UNESCO should appoint a Programme Committee to study the possibility of collecting material on matters within UNESCO's interest for use on any national or international radio facilities that may become available to UNESCO.

B. Press and Films

UNESCO should undertake a 1947 Survey on Press and Films and make a factual analysis of their present world structure. The survey should examine the extent, range and trend of production and distribution, and within the limits of a factual survey, the nature and degree of public usage. Arising from this survey a short report for popular publication should be prepared. Under this Survey, UNESCO should set up panels for specific analyses, as follows:-

Films.
(a) Themes and distribution of feature and short films; (b) content of newsreels; (c) recent techniques for the utilisation of films, film-strips, and related visual media, with particular reference to:- (i) education, (ii) discussion of social relationships, (iii) the increased appreciation of the arts (iv) the meeting of rural needs; (d) possibilities of improving techniques of the sound film to overcome language difficulties.

Press

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Press

(a) Circulation of the principal newspapers and periodicals in terms of national and international coverage; (b) characteristics and trends of popular periodicals; (c) nature of control of principal newspapers and periodicals; (d) legislation affecting the press in force in various countries.

C. Telecommunication and Postal Services.

UNESCO should initiate an investigation of available means, including priorities, to improve, extend and cheapen services to press and radio by cable, wireless and mail. It should stimulate and work for international conventions to this end and follow closely the proceedings of the various Telecommunications Conferences planned for next year.

P.4. Copyright.

(a) UNESCO should establish a Provisional Committee of experts in the matter of copyright, representative of its artistic, literary and scientific endeavors. This Committee should have recourse to the advice and counsel of experts in the various copyright systems or organisations. It should be asked to study and formulate recommendations on the responsibilities of UNESCO in the field of copyright and on the bearing of these special questions, including those relating to the rights of authors in literary scientific and artistic works, on its programme of work.

(b) UNESCO should request the National Commissions or National Bodies of the Member States cooperating to send to it by March 1st, 1947, their observations on copyright matters which relate to the programme and work of UNESCO.

(c) UNESCO should, in accordance with the recommendation of the Provisional Committee on Copyright, cooperate in the preparations for the Universal Copyright Conference proposed by the Belgian Government for 1947.

P.5. International Ideas Bureau: World Feature Story Project: International Forum; World University of the Air.

A. International Ideas Bureau.
UNESCO should collect ideas of international significance and stimulate their use in feature films, radio programmes and press features. It may be desirable to encourage Awards to successful feature films or radio programmes based on such ideas, these Awards to be made, not by UNESCO, but by outside organizations.

B. World Feature Story Project.
UNESCO should also, from time to time, arrange with leading researchers, writers, radio and film producers to cooperate in presenting and producing a major theme of world interest and

significance in the

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significance in the field of UNESCO's interest, in such a way that the subjects will appear simultaneously in all media.

The themes should be examples of human enterprise and excellence. Possible subjects for 1947 are:- Teaching children in a war-stricken country, in terms of international cooperation involved; the "T.V.A." scheme for India; or an example to the world of creative and imaginative work in art, e.g. the Moscow Art Theatre. Later projects might include a combined enterprise, such as the development of the Amazon.

C. International Forum.

UNESCO should organise or stimulate an International Forum, in the press or radio, or preferably both, to be a series of discussions on international subjects by well-known figures of various nationalities. These discussions would be syndicated throughout the world in the press, and/or on the various national networks.

D. World University of the Air.

In consultation with national broadcasting bodies, UNESCO should arrange a series of talks by the greatest authorities on UNESCO subjects, the talks to be transmitted where necessary and made available to any network willing to cooperate in the scheme and transmitting such talks under the title of the World University of the Air. Texts or transcriptions would be available to networks of countries remote from the main centres.

As regards the International Forum and the World University of the Air, UNESCO should not finance the schemes or act as a commercial agent, but, in cases of strict necessity, should be prepared to underwrite them.

P.6. World Press Conference.

Without prejudice to its proper powers of initiative, UNESCO should cooperate with U.N. in the proposed world conference of journalists in 1947, with particular regard to:

(a) the possible unification, by friendly negotiation, of the rules and practices of the journalistic profession in various countries;

(b) the formulation by journalists of a code of honour guiding their professional practices;

(c) the status of foreign correspondents with a view to assisting their work;

(d) the operation of news agencies.

UNESCO should arrange with U.N. to preserve its identity in a UNO-UNESCO conference.

P.7. Convention for

P. 7. Convention for Facilitating the International Circulation of Visual and Auditory Materials of an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Character (by exempting them from customs duties).

(a) UNESCO should send to all its member States and non-member States the text of the Convention, as drafted at this first General Conference, as soon as it has been approved by the Legal Section and referred to U.N., and recommend to member States that they should sign and accept it, and invite non-member States to accede to it.

(b) UNESCO should recommend to all States accepting the Convention that they should also make provisions whereby any educational scientific or cultural body within their own territory shall be able to import free of customs duty and quantitative restrictions visual and auditory materials not provided for in Articles I and II of the Convention, if the materials are required by the educational, scientific and cultural body for educational, scientific or cultural purposes.

(c) UNESCO should recommend to all States accepting the Convention that, in carrying out the obligations of the Convention, they should use, or associate with their appropriate governmental agency, the National Commission of appropriate National Cooperating Body provided for in Article VII of the Constitution of UNESCO.

(d) UNESCO should do whatever is necessary and is within its field of competence to secure the implementation and operation of the new Convention.

(e) UNESCO should proceed at once, in pursuance of Article VIII of the new Convention, with further discussions designed to prepare for presentation at the 1947 Conference a further Convention to reduce to a minimum other restrictions which might interfere with the international circulation of the material referred to in Article I of the present Convention, and which are not dealt with in the present Convention.

P.8. Working Centres.

UNESCO should arrange, under its own auspices, the establishment in various capital cities of Working Centres to meet the needs of journalists working outside their countries of origin.

STIMULATION.

S.1. Needs of deficiency Countries.

UNESCO should stimulate the supply to dificiency countries of films relative to their needs on the freest possible basis, and stimulate the production of films describing needs and achievements of such deficiency countries. It should also call

a conference with

a conference with a view to aiding the reconstruction of Educational Broadcasting.

S.2. Press and Publications.

(a) UNESCO should stimulate a number of organised tours of journalists from different countries for exchange of views and for purposes of goodwill.

(b) UNESCO should promote the presentation of an Award for the best series of articles which have spread impartial information and furthered international understanding.

(c) UNESCO should encourage, in collaboration with the Educational authorities, the improvement of periodicals for children, which in certain countries exercise a great influence for good or ill.

(d) UNESCO should promote the formation of standard classes in journalism, with exchange facilities between countries, for pupils and teachers.

(e) UNESCO should use its influence to increase the international circulation of national newspapers and periodicals by facilitating their free and rapid entry, and by encouraging libraries to include those dealing with UNESCO subjects in their Reading Rooms.

(f) UNESCO should draw the attention of the Press to sources of accurate information and should encourage the speedy circulation of official papers and reports from national sources, even though these are primarily issued for domestic consumption.

(g) It should stimulate the production of genuinely international periodicals by providing access to suitable material.

S.3. Institutes of Scientific Information.

UNESCO should encourage the establishment in member countries of Institutes of Scientific Information, with the intention that UNESCO should eventually act as a clearing house between such Institutes.

S.4. National Visual Councils.

UNESCO should stimulate the establishment in all countries,- possibly in conjunction with the national library services - of National Visual Councils or Institutes, to facilitate the provision of films and film information services to educational and community organisations. In their turn, these Councils might correlate and express the needs of such organisations to producers at home and, through UNESCO, to producers elsewhere.

Complementary to this

Complementary to this, UNESCO should encourage the promotion of National Film Societies and Scientific Film Societies for the provision of specialised programmes in the fields of UNESCO interests.

S.5. International Film Organisations.

UNESCO should cooperate with existing International Film Associations and should assist in the formation of an International Film Council representing the Film interests of all countries.

S.6. Emphasis on visual content.

UNESCO should stimulate the development and use of the film medium by such means as will overcome language difficulties through emphasis on the visual over the auditory and the furtherance of this aim through Awards of Merit to be made by suitable national and international organisations.

S.7. New Developments in auditory and visual aids.

UNESCO should encourage developments in the fields of auditory and visual education, with a view to the use of auditory and visual aids to assist UNESCO in the carrying out of its work in its various fields of interest.

S.8. Exhibitions.

UNESCO should stimulate the inclusion by countries planning educational, scientific or cultural exhibitions of exhibits illustrating the practices or achievements of other nations in similar fields. In this connection, UNESCO should be prepared to supply information as to where such additional exhibits or material are obtainable.

DIRECT SERVICES.

D.S. 1. United Nations Film Board.

UNESCO should help to form and run a United Nations Film Board which will co-ordinate the film interests and activities of all agencies of the United Nations, prevent overlapping and secure economy.

D.S. 2. Exchange of Press material and techniques.

UNESCO should establish a Clearing House for basic material on UNESCO subjects from the world press; make suggestions for and provide assistance in the preparation of publications and articles on UNESCO subjects (but not as a producer agency except in rare circumstances); supply information on request about the latest techniques and journalistic practices, both editorial and technical; and should assist interested persons and organisations to obtain such materials.

D.S.3. Radio and International

D.S. 3. Radio and International Programmes.

While the Secretariat should be free to cooperate with the United Nations and other agencies in the presentation of international programmes through transcription or otherwise, UNESCO should not enter into large commitments in the matter of an international network without consulting the Committee of Experts.

D.S. 4. Exchange of Radio material and techniques.

In collaboration with the existing International Bodies UNESCO should establish a clearing house of radio-information with the object of encouraging countries to reflect in their national broadcasting programmes the culture and achievements of other countries. To this end, UNESCO should collect information about programme techniques and new developments in broadcasting services throughout the world, in order to draw the attention of other countries to those ideas, or provide guidance on request.

D.S. 5. Information on visual media.

UNESCO should, in conjunction with U. N., and the other Specialised Agencies, act as a Clearing House for information about films, film-strips and other visual media, particularly in the fields of health, food, agriculture, social and economic problems, education, science and the arts. It should promote the adoption by all countries of common methods for collecting and cataloguing information. This international information service should be used by UNESCO for three purposes:-

(a) to provide each country with information available from all countries:

(b) to organise, through national organisations, demonstration exhibits showing the use being made of films for educational, scientific and cultural purposes;

(c) to show producers what new films are required, and assist in their supply.

UNESCO should not itself produce films, save in exceptional cases where normal agencies cannot satisfactorily be used.

D.S. 6. German educational films.

UNESCO should continue the work of selecting and adapting suitable German educational and scientific films for use by other countries, on the lines established by the Audio-Visual Aids Commission of the Committee of Allied Ministers of Education. The films should be available to all countries wishing to have them, and the cost of the work should be borne by the countries concerned.

LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

A. GENERAL AND DEFINITIONS

1. The Sub-Commission on Libraries and Museums, during the course of its meetings on 28 and 29 November, carefully studied and gave its general approval to the reports presented by the Preparatory Commission and the Secretariat. Detailed resolutions and contributions made during the course of the discussion are given in the report of the proceedings, to which the Secretariat should give due regard.

2. The Sub-Commission emphasises the fact that UNESCO's libraries, museums and archives activities must principally and most urgently be directed towards tasks of rehabilitation; but requests that problems of a permanent nature be also dealt with immediately.

3. UNESCO's activities in the fields of libraries and museums must be at the service of education, science and culture as a whole. The libraries, museums and archives programme must therefore develop in close collaboration with the other departments of UNESCO's work.

4. The Sub-Commission recognises that the term "libraries" covers all collections of documents, manuscripts, printed books, photocopies and other educational materials, etc. and that the term "museums" applies to all collections of other objects, in the widest sense of the word, including natural objects.

B. COLLABORATION WITH SPECIALISED INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

1. The Sub-Commission recommends that, in accordance with Article 11 of its constitution, UNESCO should establish formal relations in regard to certain specific and limited matters, with such specialised international organisations as the International Council of Museums, the International Federation of Documentation, the International Federation of Library Associations and the International Standards Organisation.

C. PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

1. In the recommedations set out below the chief emphasis is on the scientific and cultural tasks in the fields of libraries and museums. But an essential responsibility of UNESCO is education at all levels, and UNESCO should contribute to this task by providing a new stimulus to public libraries and museums throughout the world.

2. UNESCO should promote the establishment and development of public circulating and reference libraries and museums for adults and children.

3. Conferences of librarians, museum professionals, educators and of others interested in these subjects should be sponsored by UNESCO, in cooperation with the appropriate international agencies.

4. Included in UNESCO's studies in this field should be the organisation of exhibitions of all types, especially circulating exhibitions, which can play an educational role of the greatest importance.

D. REHABILITATION

D. REHABILITATION OF COLLECTIONS AND PROTECTION OF MONUMENTS

1. The objective of UNESCO is to operate effectively in all the fields of education, science and culture. A first duty must be to assure the protection of the sites, monuments, documents and objects of the civilised world.

2. UNESCO should therefore assist in the restoration of collections and monuments which have suffered from the war. It should in the main stimulate and coordinate the efforts of governments and organisations, above all on behalf of the nations which at the present time lack adequate resources.

3. UNESCO should first assemble the elements of an inventory of what has been destroyed and of library, museum, archival and related needs, by stimulating surveys and the preparation of reports. It should seek to obtain immediate protection of monuments, etc. still in danger and which require urgent attention. Plans for meeting these needs, including reproduction where necessary, should be formulated for action by governments, private agencies and individuals, or if necessary by UNESCO itself.

4. The Executive Board should be asked to establish a special fund for this purpose, to which governments, foundations and individuals would be invited to contribute.

5. Service for the protection of monuments, sites and collections should take a permanent form, for the dangers which they run do not all derive from war: fires, floods and civil disturbances have all in the past caused great ravages and still do so.

E. ELIMINATION OF BARRIERS TO FREE CIRCULATION

1. UNESCO should encourage free access by the citizens of all countries to sites and collections.

2. In the field of libraries and museums UNESCO should seek to procure the lowering of the barriers which interfere with the free circulation of educational, scientific and cultural material from one country to another. Among these obstacles are tariffs, currency exchange, customs formalities, postal rates, freight charges, patents, censorship, etc.

F. COPYRIGHT

1. Libraries and museums interests should be represented in all discussions on copyright.

G. EXCHANGES AND DISTRIBUTION

1. In connection with the work of the Clearing House, the Director General, with the approval of the Executive Board, should obtain from the Allied Control Authorities appropriate powers as an agency entitled to operate in occupied countries. The Sub-Commission also expresses the hope that the occupying powers will be willing to cooperate with UNESCO in the solution of all the problems dealt with in the Sub-Commission's recommendations.

2. So far as exchanges of books and periodicals are concerned, measures can be taken at once through the creation of an International Clearing House

for

for Publications. Among the first problems which the Clearing House must consider is the manner in which several large existing stock-piles of books, which exist in Germany, Czechoslovakia and England, can be distributed for the benefit of education, science and culture.

3. To fill the serious gaps created in public collections during the past seven years, the Clearing House should facilitate exchanges between all kinds of organisations and use all the available techniques, particularly methods of reproduction and documentation, etc.

4. UNESCO should encourage the creation in each country of a central library for lending, allied to those which exist already. These libraries would serve as the foundation of an international lending system.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SERVICES

1. The Sub-Commission considers that it is necessary to establish a working centre which will coordinate all bibliographical and library tasks, and in particular should coordinate and encourage international lending.

2. Most of the Sub-Commissions of UNESCO have emphasised the need for international bibliographies in their own fields. These undertakings should be encouraged and coordinated through the Centre in collaboration with specialists and bibliographers.

3. Moreover, the need has everywhere appeared for subject surveys, indexes and abstracts. It will be the obligation of the Bibliographical and Library Centre to stimulate the meeting of this demand.

4. The Centre should also be prepared to supply information about bibliographical sources in all countries. It is desirable that the Centre should encourage and, if necessary itself undertake, the publication of bibliographies, union catalogues, indexes, abstracts, etc., and assure their distribution throughout the world.

5. UNESCO should encourage, through the appropriate international organisations where possible, the adoption of uniform terminology and methods in libraries, museums and archives, with special reference to bibliography, cataloguing, classification, indexes, abstracts, formats, statistics, etc.

I. PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR LIBRARIES, MUSEUMS AND ARCHIVAL WORKERS

1. UNESCO should immediately encourage the exchange of personnel between institutions in different countries. The chief effort should be directed, in association with the organisations of librarians and museographers and archivists to the encouragement and improvement of professional and technical education.

J. MUSEUM DOCUMENTATION AND TECHNIQUES

1. The Sub-Commission formally expressed the wish that parts of the essential work carried on until 1946 by the International Museums Office, one of the divisions of the former International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, should be continued.

2. The

2. The technical problems of exhibitions should be studies, thus putting at the service of the whole of UNESCO the competence and experience of museums.

K. REPRODUCTION AND OTHER TECHNIQUES

1. UNESCO recognises the increasing importance of methods of reproduction of documents and of other objects. It should carefully study and promote all library and museum techniques, and should gather and distribute technical information helpful in the development of libraries and museums and archival workers in their specialised techniques.

L. PUBLICATIONS

1. UNESCO should study the problems involved in publishing. It should seek to establish precise statistics of publications. As a matter of rehabilitation, consideration should be given to the means of helping nations at present lacking publishing material such as printing plant, paper, ink, etc.

M. ARCHIVES

1. UNESCO should encourage the creation of an international organisation of professional archivists. It will deal, in collaboration with the organisation, with questions of technique and administration, such as the exchange of personnel, the general accessibility of archives, the establishment and exchange of inventories, the reproduction of documents and the exchange of reproductions.

N. CONCLUSION

The programme which has been outlined is vast. The greater part of the projects described in it can be set on foot in 1947, but if this is to be done it will be necessary to provide adequate funds. The Sub-Commission is of the opinion, which it has requested its Chairman and its Rapporteur to convey to the Conference, that the budget proposed is inadequate both absolutely and relatively to the total budget of UNESCO. The Sub-Commission therefore formally requests an increase in the budget for Libraries and Museums. It asks for this more particularly because one of the first tasks of Libraries and Museums must be the establishment of the UNESCO Library, which is essential for the work of the whole organisation and which will require a large personnel and considerable expenditure in the acquisition of working collections, for the service of the Secretariat and for the operation of UNESCO's information services. The budget of the library should not in any case appear as part of the resources of Libraries and Museums.

NATURAL SCIENCES

I. The Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences gives general approval to the statement of the tasks and functions of the scientific secretariat of UNESCO, as outlined in the White Booklet working paper "Science and UNESCO" (Prep.Com./Nat.Sci.Com./12), and the Green Booklet "Report on the Program of UNESCO", Chap. V. (C/2).

II. The Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences, learning that approximately $ US 1,096,500 will be available as budget for the Natural Sciences Section in 1947 (see Prep.Com./Nat.Sci.Com./14) considers that the program for the year should be as stated in document Prep.Com./Nat.Sci.Com./23 (being the amended version of Prep.Com./Nat.Sci.Com./13); with the funds allocated roughly as follows:-

	$US
Personnel	146,500
International Conference	130,000
Studies and Surveys	70,000
Publications & Productions	50,000
Grants-in-aid	400,000
Consultation and Field Services	200,000
Exchanges, Fellowships	100,000
	1,096,500

The Sub-Commission considers that no sum less than $ US 1,000,000 in any year would allow of the carrying through of an effective program.

III. The Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences takes note of the fact that number of further matters are discussed in the White Booklet, on which no immediate action is proposed (see Prep.Com./Nat.Sci.Com./13a), with the exception of items 1 and 3.

IV. The Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences forwards herewith the attached Special Resolutions to the Program Commission.

SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS

All Carried Unanimously

Special Resolution A (Ref. page 31, item 3)

Resolved:

That the Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences approves the Draft Formal Agreement between UNESCO and the International Council of Scientific Unions, and urges the Sub-Commission on External Relations to do so also. (copied to the Chairman of the Sub-Commission on External Relations)

Special Resolution B (Ref. page 31, item 5)

Resolved:

That UNESCO should concern itself, in cooperation with the International Council of Scientific Unions, with the matter of restarting the publication of scientific journals interrupted by the war, and of starting new journals; and that this problem should be handled from the point of view of the rationalisation of such journals and their distribution among the various countries.

Special Resolution C (Ref. page 32, item 6)

Resolved:

That, without waiting for funds to be found by the Economic and Social Council, but if possible with the financial cooperation of WHO and FAO, UNESCO should institute a group of Nutritional Science and Food Technology Field Teams consisting of scientists of high quality, chosen with reference to all aspects of the problem, with assistants, based (where possible) on existing laboratories, but made fully mobile by special transportation aids; and that these teams be formed for the following regions:-

Immediately:- (a) India
(b) Hylean Amazon
(c) China

As soon as conditions permit:- Africa.

Special Resolution D (Ref. page 32, item 10)

Resolved:

That the scheme for the establishment of an International Institute of the Hylean Amazon at Belem (Paraguay, Brazil) should be supported; that the secretariat be authorised to set up an International Scientific Commission in consultation with Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, Equador, Peru, Venezuela, France, Great Britain, Netherlands, and the USA, to investigate the question on the spot as soon as possible in all aspects, including both immediate, and long-term plans, financial matters and the framing of a draft agreement between the cooperating governments and

UNESCO;

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UNESCO; further that the Executive Board consider this project on the recommendation of this Commission, and instruct the secretariat accordingly.

Special Resolution E (Ref. page 33, item 14)

Resolved:

That the Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences is unable to accept the view, implicit in the Draft Directives governing UNESCO's relations with Non-Governmental International Organisations (UNESCO/C/Admin & Jur /SC Leg & Ext.Rel./3 Part II) that such organisations cannot be granted financial aid towards their administrative expenses, while recognising, therefore, that in cases where national governments already pay contributions (as in the case of the International Scientific Unions) grants should only be made for specific projects, the Sub-Commission considers that, at least so far as international scientific organisations are concerned, the Draft Directives should be amended so as to place, between items IV (e) and (f), an item reading

"Financial support by UNESCO to the organisation towards its administrative expenses, as a temporary measure in its initial stages, if it is not in receipt of direct contributions from national governments for this purpose".

It recommends this change to the Program Commission.
(copied to the Chairman of the Sub-Commission on External Relations)

Special Resolution F

Resolved:

That the Budget Break-Down presented by the Secretariat be accepted on bloc, with the addition of the words "and national" in the second line of item V a, after "international".

Special Resolution G

Resolved:

That the Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences considers that the secretariat should have the power to transfer funds from one item to another within the budget of the Section of Natural Sciences, with the approval of the Director-General, in the course of its work, if found necessary; care being always taken to keep purely administrative expenses at a minimum. (copied to the Chairman of the Sub-Commission on Administrative and Financial Matters).

Special Resolution H

Resolved:

That in view of the fact that the Natural Sciences and Technology constitute the material basis of modern world civilisation, and that their clarity and universality form one of its major spiritual forces, the Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences considers that the Budget

allotted

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allotted to the Natural Sciences should be increased in future years, and should not be less than $ US 1,000,000 even if the total budget of UNESCO is reduced below its present figure.

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DIGEST OF DIRECTIVES AS AMENDED BY THE SUB-COMMISSION ON NATURAL SCIENCES

The directives which follow give the lines of work of the secretariat in 1947. It should be emphasised that the directives are not placed in the order of their importance.

Of the concrete operations referred to in directives 6 and 10, these which have highest priority are the Hylean Amazon scheme and the Nutritional Science Field Teams scheme.

THE SECRETARIAT IS INSTRUCTED:-

1. To do whatever is possible, according to the means which may become available, to meet the needs of the devastated areas in scientific and technological apparatus and equipment, including purchase and shipment, and having special regard to the availability of war surplus equipment which might be of use.

   And to make recommendation to the United Nations Organisation for the adoption of a policy of reparations in the form of scientific equipment, newly manufactured and in commercial and governmental stock in the ex-Axis countries, for the scientific rehabilitation of the war-damaged countries.

   Note: In transferring scientific equipment as part of reparations, every effort will be made not to interfere with the continued scientific activity, at a normal level, in the countries supplying the equipment.

2. To establish a series of Field Science Cooperation Offices starting with those regions of the world remote from the main centres of science and technology; to begin in 1947 with four (East Asia (China), South Asia (India), Middle East, and Latin America); each to consist of scientific men engaged in every type of liaison work which will assist the scientists of the region, having special regard to the raising of the standard of life of the non-industralised peoples.

3. To assist in every way possible the work of the International Council of Scientific Unions and the specialised unions which it federates.

4. To stimulate the setting up of International Advisory Councils in the Engineering, Medical, and Agricultural Sciences, by inviting representatives from each of the existing international organisations in these fields, together with representatives of the relevant UN specialised agencies and other interested bodies.

5. To explore all possibilities of imporvement of the present situation in scientific literature, e.g. (a) by ameliorating the present serious position in the movement of books and periodicals, (b) by preparing for a world congress to consider rationalisation of scientific publishing and abstracting, (c) by stimulating the photolithographic reproduction of back runs of the most important scientific periodicals, (d) by assisting existing scientific microfilm and photostat services, (e) by taking measures to establish uniform scientific terminology in all countries speaking the same or allied languages.

6. To assist scientific work of international significance by grants-in-aid directly or through the relevant international scientific union, and by sending scientific and technical assistance by means of personnel on mission to national insitutions. Amongst the kinds of assistance would be:- (a) support of type-culture collections (bacteria, algae, fungi, genetic mutants) leading to the preparation of a world-catalog of strains maintained, (b) grants towards selected expeditions, (c) aid to multisearch groups, (d) aid to existing international laboratories (such as Naples, Jungfraujoch, Roscoff), (e) aid to certain national institutions carrying on work of international significance, (See Special Resolution on Nutritional Science Field Teams), (f) aid to collections of growing plants with a view to their better international cooperative use.

7. To assist the dissemination of essential research equipment and material exchanges, notably by operating a Scientific Apparatus Information Bureau, and by taking measures to overcome difficulties arising out of currency restrictions.

8. To assist (in conjunction with other appropriate Sections of UNESCO) the development and circulation of scientific cinema films, for research, teaching, and popularisation purposes, not only by keeping records, but by arranging for the provision of titles and soundtracks in many languages.

9. To assist the travel of scientists themselves across national boundaries (a) by financial assistance along selected lines, (b) by exploring the possibilities of 'letters of credence' or 'cartes d'identite', (c) by encouraging the formation of 'foyers des savants' in the principal cities, (d) by facilitating the transport of scientific instruments and documents carried by scientists across frontiers when travelling.

10. To explor the possibilities of the foundation of new international scientific laboratories and observatories (as requested by letter from the UN Economic and Social Council, signed Trygve Lie, Oct. 1946). Among these might be institutes of (a) astronomy, (b) nutritional science, (c) meteorology, (d) applied mathematics (computing machines), (e) tropical life and resources (Amazon Basin), (f) health (specific diseases such as tuberculosis and cancer, (g) tropical diseases field research station (h) oceanography and fisheries of Indian Ocean (in South India or Ceylon), (i) ornithology (bird migration):
furthermore to investigate the feasibility of smaller projects such as international stockrooms for
(a) pure substances not commercially obtainable,
(b) new materials (plastics, glasses, alloys, etc.)
(c) radioactive isotopes, (d) pure line strains of laboratory animals.
Note: In the planning of each project, advice to be sought from the relevant international scientific unions or other similar international bodies or agencies.

11. To take the necessary steps to begin the compliation of a world register of scientific institutions and scientists.

12. To

12. To collect up-to-date information on what the individual nations are doing with respect to the sending and reception of scientific personnel, to take responsibility (in conjunction with other Sections of UNESCO) for the completion of the UNRRA Fellowship program (if this devolves upon UNESCO), to administer any Fellowships which may be given to UNESCO by special benefactions such as that of the American Chemical Society, and to institute a certain number of Fellowships.

13. To cooperate with, and advise when required, all the other elements in the UN structure - the Economic and Social Council, the other Councils, and the other specialised agencies (FAO, ILO, WHO, UNADA (if and when set up), PICAO, IRO, ITO, etc.) by joint committees, etc.

14. To aid the work, in every way possible, of the smaller, more specialised, international organisations, such as the IBWM, the ITB, the ISO, the ICZN, the IMO, the ICES, the IHO, etc., etc. (See Special Resolution on Grants-in-aid for administrative expenses).

15. To do whatevery may be possible to inform the public of all countries on new scientific discoveries and their possible bearing on international and social relations, by, e.g. the publication of pamphlets; aid to, and correlation of, science news services, etc.

Note: In carrying out this directive, the scientific secretariat to cooperate with, and where possible work through, other Sections of UNESCO, and other agencies, both international and national.

16. To give whatev r aid may be feasible to science museums, and to consider the stimulation or preparation of travelling science exhibitions, travel panels (of lecturers), etc., etc.

SOCIAL SCIENCES, PHILOSOPHY AND HUMANISTIC STUDIES

1. At the outset of its deliberations the Sub-Commission decided to recommend to the Programme Commission of the General Conference that philosophy and humanistic studies be separated from the social sciences and placed in a separate category. There was broad agreement, however, on the fundamental unity of the various disciplines.

Part I - SOCIAL SCIENCES

Regarding the proposals presented by the Preparatory Commission for the social sciences, there was general approval of the principles, but some divergence of views on the feasibility of attempting extensive programs in certain projects during the first year of the Organisation, and an emphasis upon the need for more extensive exploration by competent experts of the feasibility of certain other proposals from the point of view of scientific method.

2. In considering the program for the social sciences outlined in the Preparatory Commission's report, the Sub-Commission approved projects which fall naturally into six main groups.

Group I - Organisation of and Service to the Social Sciences.

It was recommended under this head that UNESCO should:

1. Collaborate with and promote voluntary international organisations in the various social sciences;

2. Prepare a world inventory of research resources in the social sciences, primarily to assist the operations of UNESCO.

3. Explore, in consultation with experts, the feasibility of an yearbook which would be an appraisal of the year's work in the various social sciences with special reference to their international aspect;

4. Explore the problem of providing abstracts and bibliographies covering those social sciences for which no such service at present exists.

Group II - Home and Community Planning.

The Sub-Commission recommended in regard to the proposed setting up of an international centre to serve as a clearing house for experiments in Home and Community Planning, that UNESCO should:

Consult with

1. Consult with the Economic and Social Council and see whether work by UNESCO in this field would be useful;

2. Engage consultants, make investigations and report to the 1947 session of the General Conference;

3. Invite national work on this question through the National Commissions;

4. Defer decision on the principle of establishing the new center until after the 1947 session of the General Conference.

Group III - International Study Centers.

The recommendation adopted under this head was to the following effect:

The Sub-Commission approves the principle of international study centers, and takes note of the report on the establishment of a center in international relations presented to it.

It recommends that the following action be taken during 1947:

1. The drawing up of definite proposals before the next session of the General Conference:

2. The organization of three short-period courses as an experimental measure.

Group IV - International Organization and Technique

The Sub-Commission recommended in favour of the setting up of a small group of experts to study and report on methods of international organization.

Group V - A Study of Tensions Crucial to Peace.

The Sub-Commission distinguished what may be described as a broad field of tension centering around three inter-connected groups of world problems; those relating to nationalism and internationalism; those relating to population; those relating to technological progress. It considered these three groups of problems to be closely bound up with questions of education, science and culture and to be crucially important in the establishment of peace and security.

In dealing with this field of tension the Sub-Commission considered that the whole armament of the social sciences should be brought into operation, in particular political science, economics, sociology, anthropology, human geography, and psychology; that UNESCO should have large recourse to scholars, experts and administrators active in these fields, and should examine, devise and develop instruments and methods for the investigation of these matters, always with the direct object of practical action. To this end it should have regular recourse to the National Commissions whenever appropriate. These are long term projects to be initiated in 1947 and continued over a period of years. They are:

Nationalism and Internationalism

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM: UNESCO should interest itself in the study of the elements which constitute "nationalism" in all countries and their bearing upon close international cooperation.

Three main objectives should be aimed at:

1. To bring to light the distinctive character of the various national cultures and national ideals.

2. To help in stimulating the sympathy and respect of the nations for each others ideals and aspirations and appreciation of national problems.

3. To study and recommend for action possible measures which can bring the nations into closer cooperation, while maintaining fullest respect for their cultures and ideals.

POPULATION PROBLEMS

The United Nations Economic and Social Council has set up a Demographic Commission. In the work of this commission UNESCO will necessarily be called upon to deal with questions of education, science and culture in relation to population problems.

The project would involve the identification and analysis of: those areas in which there has been excessive population increase or decrease; migration to or away from areas with the consequent impact of new cultural and environmental factors; pensions created among racial or cultural groups within national groups and independent areas; the cultural status of displaced populations; the cultural effects of restricting or stimulating the large scale movement of peoples; the problems arising from conflicting customs, standards, values and ideologies of populations in contact and competition under new territorial economic and political circumstances.

SOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN MODERN TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

UNESCO should interest itself in the study of the effects of modern technological developments upon social life and institutions generally, and more particularly upon the manner in which such developments might lead to the production of tensions, both national and international, and exercise thereby an adverse effect upon international understanding and cooperation.

Background and Object. An enquiry was begun by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation upon the problem of mechanisation, and 27 documents are already available for study. The scope and purpose of this enquiry should be enlarged so as to include new technological developments and at the same time made more precise and directed towards the formulation of practical recommendations. The relationships between education and technological developments call for especial attention.

One of the instruments UNESCO might usefully employ in the study of this field of tension is the public opinion survey. UNESCO will need to examine the scope and scientific value of such surveys, including their possible application to international affairs.

Group VI - International Law. UNESCO will draw up in 1947, with the aid of experts, a scheme of comparative studies of the juridical systems of the different countries and of international law, with the object of promoting international law and bringing these studies before the general public.

3. The above proposals constitute the specific recommendations by the Sub-Commission as to work in the social sciences which UNESCO should undertake in 1947. It was assumed that a number of general recommendations regarding work which UNESCO might usefully undertake or facilitate (such as the exchange of personnel and materials, arrangements for translations, etc.) apply to all sections of UNESCO.

4. As a result of its deliberations the Sub-Commission decided to defer two projects: (1) a tentative study of the means available for preparing a social and economic history of the second world war and (2) an analysis of Nazi psycho-political techniques. In the meantime UNESCO should act as a clearing-house of work being done in the different countries towards collecting publishing and commenting upon material relating to the second world war, including the social and psychological problems of nazism and fascism.

The Sub-Commission did not directly examine those projects listed in the Preparatory Commission's report as suitable to be undertaken subsequent to 1947; but favourable reference was made to certain of them during the debate. The projects in question included particularly (1) glossaries of technical terms - the preparation of international reference books setting out the various meanings of the technical terms used in the social sciences; and (2) popular publications - designed to bring the social sciences, more especially in their international aspects, to wider public attention.

5. In order to establish priorities for the guidance of the Program and Budget Committees a sub-committee was appointed by the Chairman on the authority of the Sub-Commission consisting of the representatives of six national delegations, the rapporteurs and the chairman to decide upon priorities for the projects agreed upon by the Sub-Commission for submission to the Program Committee of the General Conference. The following countries were selected: South Africa, the U.S., the U.K., France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and China.

This special Sub-Committee considered all proposals and agreed unanimously on the following recommendations to the Program Committee:

(1) Group I, items 1 and 2, which are concerned with collaboration with and the promotion of international organisations, and the assembling of essential research resources for the operation of UNESCO's program are regarded as basic and essential, and thus are placed in a special category.

(2) Groups V, III and II are conceived as closely inter-related projects, centering around tensions crucial to peace, involving on the one hand the incorporation of community interests through the home and community planning proposals and, on the other, essential educational

features which

features which utilise the principle of international study centers. This group of projects is given Priority I.

(3) Groups IV and VI, dealing with the study of methods of international organization and the study of international law, and items 3 and 4 of Group I, which are explorations by the Secretariat in regard to the preparation of a yearbook, abstracts and bibliographies, are given Priority II.

It is the opinion of the Sub-Commission, however, that all projects agreed upon for 1947 are regarded as being of importance. These projects not given priority for 1947 have already been deferred or eliminated.

PART II - PHILOSOPHY AND HUMANISTIC STUDIES

I PHILOSOPHY

The Sub-Commission having studied the Reports of the Preparatory Commission and supplementary Documents submitted by the Secretariat, wish to express their general approval of the principles and plans of action expressed therein. But, as the Sub-Commission had to refer on several points to the text of Chapter VI of the Document-Programme, and not to the skeleton list of the projects, here is a complete list of formulae approved by the Sub-Commission.

A. CORRESPONDENCE:

The Secretariat should centralise the correspondence which will be exchanged between Universities, Philosophical Societies and Philosophers.

B. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND CARD-INDEX:

The Secretariat should help the International Institute of Philosophy to publish an International Bibliography of Philosophy, being understood that the drafting-committee should be truly representative of every tendency and every country, and that this Bibliography should be accurate and comprehensive. It is recommended that the drafting-committees should secure the help of the National Commissions in all countries.

It is understood that a card-index of references to articles in Philosophical reviews throughout the world will be created at the international Institure of Philosophy, and that UNESCO will assist the Institute in performing this task.

C. UNESCO DISCUSSIONS:

The Secretariat should study the desirability and practicability of international contacts among scholars and thinkers of all kinds in the Social Sciences, Philosophy and Humanities, and, in particular, of international meetings of experts in the various fields which bear directly on the ends of UNESCO; the Secretariat will report the results of its study at the next General Conference; further, it is authorized to arrange some meetings which clearly serve the ends of UNESCO during 1947.

D. RIGHTS OF MAN:

The Secretariat

The Secretariat should organise, in relation with the United Nations Commission on the Rights of Man, an International Conference in order to clarify the principles on which might be founded a modern declaration of the Rights of Man.

E. TRANSLATIONS:

The work of translation of philosophical works should be referred to the National Commissions for action in 1947, and not be undertaken by UNESCO itself in 1947. But the Secretariat will prepare a coordinated scheme for translation, with a view to action by UNESCO after 1947.

F. PROLONGED CONTACTS:

This project is delayed, as its realisation depends on the creation of a UNESCO Home for Scholars.

G. TEACHING FOR PEACE:

The Sub- Commission noticed, that this project is already included under project "A" of the Sub-Commission on Education, which is concerned with education in international understanding; the Sub-Commission feel that the contribution of philosophy to this enquiry should be made in three ways:

(a) direct advice of experts consulted by the Secretariat in carrying out Education Project "A";

(b) ideas and suggestions discussed at the three short courses thich are to be held in 1947;

(c) as a result of the conferences or meetings of thinkers of all kinds which have been agreed to (under paragraph "C. UNESCO DISCUSSIONS").

II. HUMANISTIC STUDIES

II. HUMANISTIC STUDIES

The Sub-Commission, having studied the reports of the Preparatory Commission and supplementary documents submitted by the Secretariat, expressed the desire to put up a small committee for the drafting of a more precise working programme. The report from the small committee and a motion made by the delegation for the United States served as basis for the discussion. The Sub-Commission approved the general ideas expressed in the motion of the United States, but desired to add a certain number of propositions taken from the working programme set up by the small committee which have a bearing on points of urgent need. The following list gives the final form of the proposition which the Sub-Commission wishes to put before the Programme Commission.

1. (a) The Secretariat should during 1947 carefully study the basic principles of the action to be taken in the humanistic studies, and define those principles both with regard to their academic implications and to their implications in so far as the principles of UNESCO are concerned.

   (b) The Secretariat should during 1947 set up special commissions or fact-finding boards with the aim of recommending more concrete proposals for further consideration and implementation.

2. In conjunction with the Permanent International Committee of Linguists (P.I.C.L.) the Secretariat must enquire into the possibility of creating a documentation centre for linguistic questions of outstanding international interest, namely linguistic statistics, the preparation of linguistic maps in fields so far unexplored, indexes showing the adoption of new national languages and alphabets, and a study of the importance of a world language for the publication of learned works.

3. The Secretariat will prepare an agreement with the International Academic Union parallel to the agreement already drawn up with the International Council of Scientific Unions; the International Academic Union should be asked to study the possibility of carrying on with the big scientific works in the field of humanistic studies hitherto prepared and published in Germany.

4. The Secretariat will undertake an enquiry into the means recommended for the reprinting of classical texts on the lines of the Teubner editions of Greek and Latin authors.

5. The Secretariat will, in collaboration with the National Commissions, make an enquiry into the place occupied by studies of the past and into the classical tradition in teaching in the different parts of the world.

6. The Secretariat should, in collaboration with the National Commissions, consider the possibility of UNESCO itself disseminating booklets which emphasize the general importance of the study of the past in the various zones of human culture and the part played by scientific research in this field.

ARTS AND LETTERS

A.- The Sub-Commission of Creative Arts proposes the following services, including all the arts, for execution in 1947:

1. UNESCO should study the role of education in Creative Arts at all levels, including that in professional schools. It should also regard as urgent the organisation of information services in the Creative Arts, and should recommend for the near future a study of conditions affecting the creative artists.

   N.B.- In this connection the Sub-Commission adopted the following resolution:

   (1) "that the freedom of the creative artist to accomplish his proper purpose as an artist in any nation is a matter of concern to the peoples of all nations, and

   (2) "that UNESCO, acting for and on behalf of the peoples of all nations, will take such measures as are open to it under its Constitution to protect and defend the freedom of the artist wherever it is put in danger."

2. UNESCO should encourage the world-wide circulation of the products of creative artists in both original and reproduced form. This activity should be carried on in conjunction with museums, musical societies, and other groups which organise national or international exhibitions or productions of art.

   N.B.- UNESCO should immediately study the best means of promoting the movement of art exhibitions from country to country and in this connection study the obstacles thereto, such as transport charges, customs duties, and transport difficulties with a view to reducing such difficulties. To this end, UNESCO should keep in touch with national organisations arranging such exhibitions, in order to enable the latter to cross frontiers. Also UNESCO should collect and disseminate information on music and dance festivals and encourage international festivals of this character.

3. UNESCO should investigate and devise means of experimenting with modern techniques in the teaching of Creative Arts. This would include, for the visual arts, new methods of reproduction and interpretation including color reproductions, motion pictures, three-dimensional photography, etc.

4. UNESCO should help artists obtain the tools, methods and materials needed in the creation of their art.

   N.B.- The Sub-Commission recommends that UNESCO should study and encourage the improvement of musical instruments, records and musical publications, and their diffusion.

B.- UNESCO should

B.- UNESCO should in due course study and record folklore, collate and, where necessary, study the methods of preserving native art and culture.

1. The following recommendation was approved:

UNESCO should cooperate with the agencies now working to preserve the arts and culture of non-industrialised countries and sectors from extinction or debasement through contact with industrial civilisation.

The above resolutions covering the Creative Arts in general include all the projects assigned to visual arts, music and dance.

In addition there are listed below the specific services adopted by the Sub-Commission on Creative Arts for execution by Literature and Theater:

A.- Literature

(1) Translation

Creation of a UNESCO translation office, with the following functions so far as literature is concerned:

a) To encourage a bibliography of translations such as the Index Translationum begun by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

b) To compile a list of first-class translators.

c) To compile and to keep up to date a list of works suitable for translation. In selecting these works, UNESCO should consult the National Commissions and such other agencies and eminent personalities as may be deemed qualified. UNESCO reserves the right to submit its own suggestions to the agencies or individuals consulted, but shall not in any circumstances assume responsibility independent of such consultations for the selection of work for translation.

d) To study the means for improving the relations between authors, translators and publishers.

(2) Publications

a) Creation within UNESCO of an International Literary Pool whose function will be to supply magazines and newspapers with especially pertinent material for publication. This service will be channeled through the ordinary Mass Communication and Public Information Services of UNESCO.

b) Recommendation: Although

b) Recommendation: Although UNESCO should not normally itself publish literary workd it is recommended that UNESCO encourage and if necessary assist certain publications which have been considered worthy.

N.B.- In this respect it is suggested that UNESCO study the possibilities for establishing (a) a chronological index of world literary activity, and (b) an International Literary Yearbook.

(3) Anthology.

By exception to the general policy on publications the following resolution was accepted:

"That UNESCO should encourage and, if necessary, undertake in 1947, the publication of an Anthology of Suffering and Resistance."

B.- The Theatre.

(1) It was resolved to recommend that the Theatre, including Ballet and Opera, should be placed on an equal footing with the other Creative Arts of the Division.

N.B.- It was the sense of the Sub-Commission that the Film should be included and recognised amongst the Creative Arts and that UNESCO initiate an investigation of the contemporary influences which tend to improve or impair the quality of the films. This proposal was not however adopted as a resolution.

(2) It was resolved to call an international meeting of theatre experts for the purpose of founding an International Theatre Institute, which would be independent of UNESCO and supported by private or national branches or centres.

The following proposals, listing priority activities for Creative Arts have been adopted by the Sub-Commission of Creative Arts, and shall be observed by the Secretariat in the execution of the above resolutions and recommendations:

(1) Information and document services will be organised immediately in Creative Arts. These information services shall be coordinated with the related sections of UNESCO with a view to an economy of personnel.

(2) In the Central Exchange which, it is expected, will be set up by UNESCO, Creative Arts (Visual Arts, Music, Literature, Theatre,) will seek to:

a) encourage and arrange for the direct exchange of students, teachers and creative artists and take practical steps for the purpose:

b) encourage and facilitate

b) encourage and facilitate visits of students, teachers and artists to other countries;

c) publicize schools or institutes, of an international character, in the arts, including those offering short-term and summer instruction as well as longer courses;

d) encourage international festivals in the arts;

e) encourage the exchange of exhibitions and of musical and theatrical performances;

f) encourage international organisations in the holding of conferences bringing creative artists together.

(3) UNESCO shall collaborate with and assist international organisations in the arts. Where such organisations do not exist, as in many of the Visual Arts and the Theatre, UNESCO should encourage efforts to establish them, provided they are on a satisfactory basis and appear to have good chances of success.

(4) A Committee should be set up in collaboration with Mass Communication for the purpose of preparing recommendations to Member States with regard to:

a) a reduction of postage rates on books, manuscripts, reproductions of painting and other art objects which are sent by mail;

b) the simplification of customs formalities and a reduction of duties on cultural material;

c) possible immunity from customs examinations and duties for books, films, records and other cultural material sent out by UNESCO.

d) the interest taken by Arts and Letters in everything concerning the improvement of the present practice in regard to copyright.

(5) A similar Committee should be charged with the task of approaching air, sea and rail companies in order to obtain:

a) a reduction of transport charges on shipments of books, paintings, stage scenery and accessories and other material in connection with exhibitions or activities arranged by UNESCO;

b) a reduction in fares for students, teachers and creative artists travelling to other countries under exchange projects sponsored by UNESCO.

Office of Public Affairs,
Department of State.

UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE
Paris
Report No. II.

January 1, 1947. The first meeting of the General Conference of UNESCO concluded on Tuesday, December 10, 1946.

At the final plenary session the Conference elected Julian Huxley to be Director General; adopted reports from Commissions on Educational Reconstruction, Program, Legal and External Relations, and Administration and Finance; voted a budget of six million dollars for the year 1947; and accepted an invitation to hold the next annual meeting in Mexico City.

The final report on Program, supplementing the reports of six sub-commissions, emphasized a few major projects. Among projects listed were world-wide campaign against illiteracy, revision of text books and related teaching material to promote international understanding; scientific projects to raise the level of living in tropical areas; constructive use of the radio, film and press; a study of the feasibility of an international radio network; and fundamental studies of tensions that conduce to war. The report was drafted by Archibald MacLeish, of the American Delegation.

The Conference agreed that UNESCO should stress assistance to war-devastated countries during the coming year, although it should not be a relief organization. A commission on reconstruction will coordinate the work of private bodies, and disseminate information about needs.

The report on administration urged the Director General to avoid the segmentation of his staff, and recommended the use of "task forces" and special consultants so far as practicable. Detailed planning of the administrative organization is entrusted to the Director General and the Executive Board.

All commissions and subcommissions of the Conference recommended that the Secretariat aid where possible and collaborate and cooperate with the specialized agencies of the United Nations

and

and with recognized voluntary international institutions, and stimulate and encourage the activities of voluntary national organizations and National Commissions.

In three weeks of meetings, the Conference completed a large agenda. It had to determine the main lines of organization and program, and bring UNESCO into official relationship with the United Nations. No issues of substance developed. Although a comprehensive program was adopted, all recognized that UNESCO is a "fledgling organization" which can make only a modest start in its first year. But one member of the American Delegation said, UNESCO has promise of becoming

> "the stimulating and coordinating agency for all activities of the United Nations in the illimitable and overlapping fields of education and communication. UNESCO has vast possibilities as a circulatory system tying the members of the world body together-and keeping down the blood pressure".

Following are summaries of the Reports on Educational Reconstruction and on Program:

COMMISSION ON RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

The Commission recommended that a special Committee on Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Equalization be created. Raising funds, procuring educational materials and equipment, and developing training programs for educational personnel were mentioned as its specific objectives. Countries receiving funds and materials will turn them over to a national authority for distribution. Only projects of immediate importance, requiring prompt action, will be financed directly by the UNESCO budget while funds received from other sources will be placed in a separate category and administered by the special committee.

The activities approved by the Commission were:

(1) UNESCO will serve as the central agency in an extensive fund-raising campaign. It will formulate relief proposals, secure contributions, make arrangements to distribute supplies, and stimulate the National Commissions and voluntary organizations to cooperate in these activities.

This

This section of the international secretariat is to supply pamphlets, reports, photographs, posters, graphs, films, newsletters, statistical data and histories to aid in the campaign to raise funds. It should call conferences of relief agencies and if necessary facilitate the travel of qualified representatives of voluntary relief organizations and maintain UNESCO representatives in the field.

(2) For needy areas UNESCO will publish materials having a direct value to schools and institutions, seek fellowships for qualified leaders in these areas and arrange for specialists to conduct educational seminars and workshops in war-torn sectors. It may underwrite the cost of a few "pilot" projects. For the summer of 1947 it will promote youth service camps in cooperation with student organizations.

(3) UNESCO will set up immediately a limited reserve fund or revolving fund to purchase surplus war property, especially scientific apparatus, and pay for transporting goods in emergencies.

Resolutions were passed to cooperate with the World Health Organization and with the UN Economic and Social Council in continuing the UNRRA work for children and the UNRRA fellowship training program. Close relations between children and youth in donor and receiving countries were proposed. The governments of devastated countries will send concrete information on their country's most urgent needs and report activities of their international voluntary organizations, and donor countries will report on the progress of their contribution to UNESCO.

THE PROGRAM COMMISSION reported its summary findings by subcommittees as follows:

Education

(1) For education in international understanding a study is to be made of the present activities along these lines in primary and secondary schools and colleges in consultation with a panel of experts; current training in institutions of higher learning will be surveyed; and a seminar will be established for teachers under thirty-five years of age.

Other immediate activities are to be the publication of a year book, formation of a committee on educational statistics, establishment of a clearing house for the international exchange of persons and assistance to international relations clubs.

(2) In

(2) In its long-term work for international understanding the Secretariat, aided by a panel of experts, will begin in 1947 to help establish minimum fundamental education for all persons throughout the world and start the collection of data on adult education from member states. To improve teaching textbooks and teaching materials for international understanding, the Secretariat will establish a clearing house for revising textbooks, help formulate a code of ethics, call a world conference, and encourage bilateral agreements between member states. The Secretariat will also seek to improve the status of the teaching profession generally.

A committee of experts in health education, in cooperation with the World Health Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, International Labor Organization, etc., will be appointed. The plight of handicapped children in war devastated countries will be studied; youth service camps in these areas were endorsed because of their educational merits. The problem of re-education in former enemy countries, the circulation of an international education newsletter and the designation of January 1 as World Peace Day are referred to the Secretariat for further consideration. Action is also postponed on the education of youth along general technical and professional lines.

Mass Communications

UNESCO will appoint three commissions to study the needs of countries in which war has caused the loss or shortage of personnel, equipment or raw materials and report within six months on immediate measures for improvement.

The Secretariat will facilitate through fellowships the pooling of experience by an international exchange of instructors and trainees. It will cooperate with the Freedom of Information subcommission under the UN Commission of Human Rights in the preparation of a report on the obstacles to the free flow of information and ideas.

A committee of experts is to be appointed to study proposals for a world-wide radio network. It will have a program committee and study the possibility of collecting materials for the use of those national or international radio facilities which become available to UNESCO. The press and films will be surveyed to determine the extent, range and trend of production and distribution and the nature and degree of public usage. Telecommunications and postal services are to be investigated to show how their coverage can be extended, and how the cost of services to the press and radio by cable, wireless, and airmail can be reduced.

UNESCO will also establish a committee to study and formulate recommendations on the responsibilities of UNESCO in the copyright field. It will request the National Commissions to send by March 1, 1947, their observations on copyright matters and may cooperate with the Belgian Government on the proposed copyright conference during 1947 if the committee so recommends.

UNESCO will collect ideas of international significance and cooperate with experts in selecting a major theme of world interest for films, radio programs and press features. It will either organize or stimulate the organization of an international forum of press and radio.

The Secretariat will invite member and non-member states to sign a convention facilitating the international circulation of visual and auditory materials, and their importation without duty or quantitative restrictions. It will stimulate the production generally of international periodicals and draw attention of the press to accurate sources of information. It will also assist in the formation of an international film council and encourage national visual councils or institutes.

UNESCO will assist in drawing the attention of film producers to what is required in films for educational, scientific and cultural purposes.

NATURAL SCIENCE

The Amazon study of tropical areas and the nutritional science field project for India, China, and the Amazon will be given the highest priority. The Secretariat has been instructed to meet the needs of devasted areas for scientific apparatus and equipment, where possible through purchases of war surpluses.

Field offices, to assist local scientists in raising living standards of non-industrialized peoples, will be set up, starting in China, India, the Middle East and Latin America. UNESCO will cooperate with the International Council of Scientific Unions and the creation of International Advisory Engineering and Medical Councils will be encouraged.

Specific projects include the improvement of scientific literature; preparation for a World Congress to consider rationalization of scientific publication and abstracting; the promotion of photolithographs, reproductions, microfilms and photostat services; and the establishment of uniform scientific terminology.

Grants

Grants-in-aid and the assignment of experts to national institutions, the operation of a scientific apparatus information bureau, and the circulation of scientific films for research, teaching and popularization are other activities proposed.

The Secretariat will explore the possibilities for establishing new international scientific laboratories, observatories, and stock rooms for pure substances, new materials, radio-active isotopes, etc. It will begin the compilation of a world register of scientific institutions and scientists, and take the responsibility for the completion of the UNRRA Fellowship Program. And as a continuing service the Secretariat will inform the public in all countries of new scientivic documents and will outline their bearings on international and social relations.

SOCIAL SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND HUMANITIES

In the field of the Social Sciences, UNESCO will prepare a world inventory of research resources and explore the feasibility of publishing a Year Book, abstracts and bibliographies.

Home and Community planning will be approached in consultation with the Economic and Social Council and in collaboration with the National Commissions. International Study Centers are approved and a small group of experts will study and report on methods of international organization. A study of the tensions crucial to peace, in their relationship to nationalism, internationalism, population and technological progress will be initiated in 1947. The study of national judicial systems and international law to acquaint the general public with the rules of law will be explored.

In philosophy the Subcommittee recommends the centralization of correspondence exchanged between universities, philosophical societies and philosophers; help to the International Institute of Philosophy in publishing an international bibliography of philosophy and in developing a card index of articles in philosophical reviews. In cooperation with the UN Commission of the Rights of Man the Secretariat will organize an international conference to decide upon principles basic to a modern declaration of the rights of man.

In humanistic studies the Secretariat will explore basic principles of action and set up special commissions to recommend concrete proposals. In conjunction with a permanent committee of linguists the Secretariat will consider creating a documentation center for linguistic questions. It will prepare an agreement with The International Union of Academics for the continuation of

humanistic

humanistic studies hitherto prepared and published in Germany. The Secretariat will also investigate means for reprinting classical texts and inquire into the place that studies of the past occupy in present-day education.

THE CREATIVE ARTS

UNESCO should study the role to The Creative Arts in education at all levels including professional schools. Information services, central exchange for artistic products and persons, world-wide circulation of products in reproduction as well as in original form, international festivals and conferences, experimentation with new techniques in teaching creative arts will be organized. The Secretariat should help artists to obtain tools, methods and materials, and should initiate the recording of folklore and the study of the preservation of native arts and culture. The Conference resolved that"UNESCO ,,. will take such measures as are open to it under its Constitution to protect and defend the freedom of the Artist wherever it is put in danger."

In the field of literature the Secretariat will set up a translation office, encourage a bibliography of translations, list works suitable for translation, maintain an active file of translations and create an international literary pool to supply magazines and newspapers with material for publication. UNESCO will stimulate, or undertake itself if necessary, the publication of an anthology of suffering and resistance.

The Theater, including the ballet and opera, should be placed on equal footing with other creative arts and UNESCO will call an international meeting of theater experts to found an International Theatrical Institution independent of UNESCO and supported by private national branches and centers. A committee will be named in in collaboration with mass communication to recommend to member states a reduction in postal rates, transport charges, students' fares and other services which would encourage the work and exchange of creative arts and artists.

Libraries and Museums

The rehabilitation of libraries, museums and archives is the first immediate consideration of this Subcommission of UNESCO.

The Secretariat will stimulate scientific, cultural and educational activities for adults and children in public libraries and museums throughout the world. It will help in the protection, rehabilitation and restoration of sites, museums, collections, documents and objects affected by the war; to these ends it will set up an inventory and create funds for outside contribution.

The

The Secretariat will encourage free access to all museums, sites and collections, and will establish an international clearing house for publications and arrange for the distribution of existing stockpiles of books in German, Czechoslovakia and England. It will also fill in serious gaps in public collections and encourage the creation of national lending library in each country to be part of an international lending system serviced by UNESCO.

A working center is to be established to coordinate international bibliographical services, encourage or undertake publication of bibliographies of union catalogues, indexes, abstracts, and encourage uniform terminology. Additional projects will include the exchange of personnel, the continuation of the work of the International Museums Office of the International Institute of Intellectural Cooperation, the study of library and museum techniques, the study of current publishing problems, and the encouragement of an international organization of professional archivists.

Finally, the establishment of a library for the UNESCO Secretariat has been recommended and referred to the Executive Board for the necessary increase in budget funds.

BUDGET

A budget of six million dollars was adopted for 1947. There was considerable debate on this figure in The Plenary Sessions. David Hardman of the British Delegation proposed an increase of a million and a half dollars saying "we should be betraying our trust if, at the very outset of UNESCO's career a move were made to reduce its financial resources to a point below what we believe necessary to put into execution its approved program."

William Benton of the American Delegation replied that this higher figure ignored the recommendation made by the Conference for streamlining the program and that full use must be made of temporary employees, working groups and the staff loaned by governments and universities. He added that UNESCO would win support most effectively by an economical and prudent program in the first year.

France then proposed that the figure be increased $550,000 with this amount to be spent exclusively on relief and rehabilitation. Mr. Benton warned against creating the false impression that UNESCO was handling direct relief and pointed out that American private sources had donated much larger sums than UNESCO could possibly obtain.

In

In the discussion of the revolving fund Mr. Benton stated he could not commit the United States Congress, and other delegates made similar comments in regard to their governments. The Chairman of the Session ended the discussion by saying that all votes on the Budget were subject to this reservation.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

January 7, 1947
No. 11

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM BENTON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, BEFORE THE CHICAGO COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AT 1:00 P.M., C.S.T. (2:00 P.M., E.S.T.) THURSDAY, JANUARY 9, 1947

REPORT ON UNESCO

The last time I attended a meeting of the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations I witnessed a most dramatic ovation to one of Chicago's most distinguished citizens. The closing line of the speech at that luncheon was Stephen Decatur's famous cry, "My country -- may it always be in the right -- but my country, right or wrong!" The audience rose to its feet and applauded. It applauded at length, and with unrestrained admiration for the character of the speaker. The speaker was General Robert E. Wood. The time was 1941.

Does anyone doubt that the tradition of the United States still stands behind that quotation? Does anyone doubt that it applies with equal force in the traditions of England, of France, and indeed of all the countries of the world: "My country, may it always be in the right -- but My country, right or wrong"?

We have none of us learned to say, with a fraction of the same fervor, "my world". Nor have we tried. Can we so learn, or can our children, or theirs? Do we want to try to learn? UNESCO -- the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, about which I am going to speak to you today -- is dedicated to fostering the idea of "my world, my human race" in the minds and hearts of men everywhere. If this idea is to take root and grow, UNESCO is the one political organization that is most likely to help it grow.

I shall have to begin by conceding that, at the first general conference of UNESCO in Paris last month, from which I have just returned, the American delegation did not find a conference dedicated wholeheartedly to education, science and culture. The Conference was in part a political conference. That fact is of great importance to the American people. By "political conference" I do not mean merely that the delegates played politics as they would on a university campus, or at the Christmas meeting of a learned society. I mean that, behind many of the assembled scholars, scientists, educators, and administrators of cultural agencies, stood their governments seeking to advance and protect specific national interests.

There was, however, far less jockeying for national advantage than you would find at most intergovernmental conferences. In part, the jockeying merely took the mild form of competition for prestige. But, in the larger view, we of the American Delegation learned once more that power in today's

world

world is not merely economic power and military might. Power also lies in the field of ideas. As older empires lose economic and military power, and as new ones emerge, they are eager to gain strength on this new frontier -- the frontier of the mind.

We learned in Paris the great importance that the statesmen and politicians of many countries attach to the proposed activities of UNESCO. The problem within the United States is to see to it that we Americans now understand how vital these are to us as well.

Potentially, UNESCO is a force of the first magnitude. It can contribute mightily to a world will towards peace. It can thus be a major force in the security program of the United States through the furtherance of the broad objectives of American foreign policy -- peace and prosperity among all peoples of the world.

Did the fact that this first conference was also a political conference mean that it failed? Not at all. Anne O'Hare McCormick of the New York Times, one of the American delegates, described it as a most successful political conference. The politics of national interest merely show that the idea of one world, of "my world", is still a long way off; that the task of UNESCO is indeed a very great task, for the long pull and not for the short.

UNESCO obviously is not going to bring about, in a few years, the moral and intellectual revolution that is required by the age ahead of us. But it is equally clear that it can now move confidently toward a more modest goal; to help dispel, in some degree, the unwarranted fears, suspicions and hatreds that hang like a fog over the world today.

No unresolved disagreements bedevilled the sessions. The closest approach to one was raised by the representative of Yugoslavia, Mr. Ribnikar. Mr. Ribnikar inquired whether UNESCO proposed to develop a philosophy of its own, which would exclude or even combat the philosophy of dialectical materialism and which it would seek to impose on all peoples.

In my opening speech to the conference, the day after Mr. Ribnikar first spoke, I said, "UNESCO does not believe and cannot believe that peace is to be obtained through the intellectual and cultural subjugation of the world by any single political philosophy or through the conversion of the world to any single religious faith. UNESCO is founded on the belief that neither the forced unification of the world of the spirit, nor the forced standardization of the world of the mind can give men peace, but only a world democracy of mind as well as spirit. Cultural democracy implies cultural integrity, as true political democracy implies the freedom of the person and his personal integrity and self-respect. The cultural democracy which UNESCO proposes is a democracy of mind and spirit in which every culture shall be free to live and develop in itself and in the great community of common culture. Free men do not fear ideas; free men are not afraid of thought; free men are eager to confront the differences and rich varieties that life presents, and to determine for themselves the things they take as true. This, from the beginning, has been the path of freedom."

Mr.

Mr. Ribnikar's question may have a bearing upon the decision of the Soviet Union to join UNESCO. Russia was the only major power which was not officially represented at the conference. While there is great and useful work for UNESCO to do through its present roster of members, it cannot realize its full potentialities unless and until the Soviet Union constructively joins in the work. The fact that the Communist press throughout the world absolutely ignored UNESCO -- even the Communist press of Paris -- is interpreted by many to mean that the Soviet Union is taking no steps to prejudice its later joining in UNESCO.

Can UNESCO succeed? I want to contrast several remarks I heard in the first days. One was by J. B. Priestley, the novelist, who was a British delegate. "This Conference", he said, "which is trying to lay the foundations of international understanding, is the most underrated conference in all history". Another was a remark that circulated among the French journalists covering the Conference: "L'UNESCO c'est du fromage qui s'est monte sur un nuage" -- which, literally translated, means "UNESCO is a cheese riding on a cloud." In French political slang, I'm told the cheese means something like our phrase, "pork barrel" -- a pork barrel riding on a cloud. Another French commentary, similar in its cynicism, was "UNESCO is a band of little valiant men, and so much music lover".

My own view, of course, is that of Mr. Priestly. Otherwise I would not be here talking about UNESCO. I amend Priestley's comment in one way: UNESCO, in its potentialities, is the most underrated organization in history.

I have never heard anyone question the importance of UNESCO's goal. The obvious question -- the recurrent, pervasive and latently demoralizing question is -- can UNESCO actually make any significant progress, within the significant future, toward its goal: Is it, in fact, now riding on a cloud?

The skeptics can truthfully say, UNESCO has no real power. It has no authority to intervene in the cultural or educational life of any nation, Its budget is a pittance compared with its task. It must do most of its work through other organizations. Its responsibilites are as wide and intangible as the human mind and spirit. It cannot measure or prove its results.

But there are compelling reasons for believing that UNESCO can succeed. To me these reasons are cogent enough to make UNESCO a good gamble -- something of a long-shot, perhaps, but good enough to warrant playing the gamble to the absolute limit. By "succeed" I do not mean that UNESCO may hang on as a worthy, rather useful and certainly harmless refuge for intellectuals and artists -- as indeed it may. By succeed I mean that, in the issue between war and peace, it can weight the balance for peace.

The first of my reasons is that, like the other parts of the United Nations it must succeed or we are all of us in dire straits indeed. Hard headed men everywhere know this. The forty-three governments that sent representatives to Paris are most of them fairly hard-boiled. Many of them can ill afford to spend money for luxuries. They came to Paris to work out a program that, a decade ago, would have indeed seemed, in the politician's view, a ride on a cloud. Today it may be a matter of life or death.

Second, there

Second, there is abroad in the world, among ordinary people, a deep, if vague yearning for the ends UNESCO is designed to serve. The ordinary people of the earth want to understand each other, and to understand the best of each other. They know that such understanding will minimize the risks of war. The unspoken hopes of millions are thus centered on UNESCO's goals, even though today UNESCO is virtually unknown. But it is dedicated to the service of ordinary people everywhere and, as it secures leaders that understand this, UNESCO will derive vitality from the people.

Third, the world now has at its disposal, for the first time in history, instruments of communication, and of education, that make possible the development of what Archibald MacLeish calls a planetary culture. It is no longer unrealistic to talk about eradicating illiteracy everywhere, or about raising the educational level of all. It is no longer visionary to establish the goal for most of the world's population of a full, prompt and continuous account of world developments. The newest and most spectacular of these instruments are radio, motion pictures, and fast transportation. These are the tools UNESCO can work with -- tools potentially as promising for good as the new weapons of war are potent for destruction, if we have but the sense to use them.

Fourth -- and to this point I shall address the last half of this talk -- a good start, a sound start was made by UNESCO at Paris. After the opening plenary sessions the Conference was divided into three major commissions. One was on administrative and legal questions, with thich I shall not belabor you though they were constructively resolved and are crucial for the long pull. A second was devoted to the problem of relief and rehabilitation of the educational, scientific and cultural facilities of war-devastated areas. Of this I shall say only that the plight of these areas is a matter of deep concern to UNESCO. Although UNESCO itself cannot become an operating relief agency, $400,000 was voted to prepare a report on the needs and how they can be met, and to stimulate public and private agencies to help meet them.

The third commission, of greatest interest to such an audience as this, was that which dealt with the long-range program of UNESCO. This was further divided into six sub-commissions -- one for education; one for libraries and museums; one for social sciences, philosophy and humanistic studies; one for the natural sciences; one for the creative arts; and one for the mass media of communication.

There never had been any shortage of ideas for UNESCO. Proposals had come in by the bagful for a year -- many of them excellent proposals. We heard from the proponents of a world language, a world university, a new calendar. The proposals ranged all the way from the establishment of a bird sanctuary on Heligoland to a frontal attach on rebuilding both the educational and communications facilities of the world.

So the first task of the Conference was to agree upon a principle of priorities. The decision taken helped to bring UNESCO down out of the cloud. It was this: that projects should be few in number; that every project must be tested by its feasibility; that every proposal must further be tested by the question, will this contribute directly and significantly to the cause of peace through understanding?

Out of

Out of the six sub-commissions on program came recommendations, later adopted by the general conference, in support of over one hundred projects. The number was in my opinion far too large. I shall be happily surprised if really substantial progress is made on 10 per cent of them during 1947.

Certain recommendations were common to all the sub-commissions reports. For example, each developed plans for the exchange of students and specialists, for the convening of international meetings and for the creation, as needed, of new international associations of specialists. Such exchanges, if they are undertaken on a really large scale, can clearly contribute to peace through understanding.

A second general type of recommendation was directed toward increasing the freedom and the volume of international communication. These recommendations took many forms, and dealt with studies of censorship, customs and postal and freight rates on books and scientific materials, copyrights, new methods of reproduction, standardization of library cataloguing, international lending of books, and so forth.

Perhaps the most ambitious single project was one that came out of the education sub-commission - a world-wide attack on the problem of illiteracy and the establishment of minimum standards of education everywhere. This is a revolutionary undertaking, but it lies at the heart of UNESCO's long-range effort. If UNESCO can contribute substantially to its solution, it will have justified its existence through this effort alone. Well over half the world's population is illiterate. Can the world achieve peace through understanding in the absence of the simplest tools of understanding, the ability to read and write? Illiterate men are pawns in a power struggle. They are also victims of an inequality so grave as to constitute a threat to peace. UNESCO will create a staff of its own, supplemented by experts from many nations to recommend programs for combatting illiteracy; to develop educational materials; and to determine how best to use books, pictures, films and radio. Dr. George Stoddard, President of the University of Illinois, took leadership in the development of this major proposal, as he did in so many ways in Paris.

Further, Mrs. Louise Wright, Dean Richard McKeon, Dr. Carl Milam and other Chicagoans made notable contributions to the development of UNESCO's program.

A recommendation made by Dr. Charles Johnson, President of Fisk University, became the top priority project of the social scientists. Under it UNESCO will undertake a study of the psychological and social tensions that lead to war. When the tensions that produce unrest, suspicion and hatred among classes, races and peoples have been identified and diagnosed we shall know better how to attack UNESCO's central problem of promoting peace through understanding.

An example from the sub-commission on the natural sciences is the proposed International Institute of the Amazon. This proposes to bring together scientists from many nations, and from many fields of science, to study the problems of food, disease and natural resources of a tropical area. The tropical areas of the world have been characterized by malnutrition and backwardness. An international attack upon this problem may open up new possibilities for the development of the tropics in such a way as to reduce future international tensions.

The mass media proposals were of especial interest. Before the Paris meeting we had heard that some of the other nations — particularly some of the smaller nations — feared

what

what they called "American cultural imperialism". It was charged that, by a combination of our financial strength, out highly developed communications industry — and our policy of opposing all barriers throughout the world to the free flow of ideas and information -- we aimed to flood the world with American ideas, American standards of taste and — to use an ugly word — American propaganda. We were told that, for this reason, American's proposals for the use of the mass media would find a cool reception.

We discovered that this fear of "American cultural imperialism" is not a fear of American books. Our book exports are, unfortunately, negligible. It is not a fear of American art or music. Neither is it a fear of the American press associations, which get plenty of competition, or of American radio, which can be heard in most countries only by shortwave. What it boils down to is largely the fear of Hollywood. The very technical genius of Hollywood, which makes its pictures sought after and beloved by the masses of the peoples of the world, terrifies the scholars and intellectuals and politicians in these countries when they hear their children speaking English with an American accent, using American slang, and discussing love, divorce and murder in Hollywood epigrams. The great world-wide impact of Hollywood is but little understood here in the United States, and it is greatly feared abroad.

The American delegation arrived in Paris determined to press for maximum use of the mass media of communication — motion pictures, radio and the press - not as instruments of entertainment, but in their potential role as magnificent and unprecedented new instruments for the pursuit of peace. We were delighted to find that, far from being cool to the development of the mass media in this role, other nations began to take the lead on proposals which we had been prepared to advance.

In the subcommission on mass media, under the chairmanship of a Belgian and the vice-chairmanship of a Dane, the British, the French, the Canddians and others came forward vigorously with proposals that coincided closely with our own.

The small nations found us gladly acknowledging that other peoples have ideas, and cultural achievements, that deserve mass dissemination, even in America. The ancient Greeks couldn't film or broadcast their plays, we conceded; but they could write them. The other nations found us eager to cooperate in a scheme by which mass communications techniques might be broadened by inviting technicians of backward countries to work and study in the more advanced countries.

UNESCO will undertake a major effort to reduce the barriers that now obstruct the free flow of communications among peoples. We know from bitter experience that even highly literate peoples, when they are cut off from a full, honest and continuous account of developments among other peoples, can be propagandized and bullied into aggressive belligerency. UNESCO is to survey the restrictions on the flow of information and ideas across international boundaries, and the suppression and distortion of information and ideas by any influence.

In

In cooperation with the United Nations, UNESCO will explore the possibility of creating a world-wide broadcasting network, under international auspices. Such a network might bring to ordinary people everywhere, and in many languages, an account of history, the achievements, the problems, the hopes and the aspirations, the music and the literature of other peoples.

I shall conclude my comments on UNESCO's program with a special word about the natural sciences. It is clear that science, and scientific ways of thinking, have a major, a crucial, role in education for international understanding. Cooperative projects, involving the collaboration of scientists of many nations, are helpful by the very fact of collaboration, even though the projects may have no direct bearing on peace or on the will to peace among people generally. But at some point the yardstick must be invoked. Does UNESCO, for example, have any direct concern with research on cancer? I fear that many of the scientists at Paris, who hoped that UNESCO might immediately emerge as the chief agency for coordinating international scientific activities including scientific research as such, came away feeling that the budget allotted for science was inadequate to such a purpose; and that another organization, specifically designed to the end of advancing international scientific research as such, might be needed. If there is a single field of UNESCO in which the world is turning to the United States for leadership, it is science and technology. UNESCO should increasingly stress this field with the passage of the years.

UNESCO's operating budget for the first year — $6,000,000 — is minuscule compared with the task and the opportunity. That is about the cost of two submarines. It is about half the budget of the University of Chicago in a normal year. The American delegation opposed a somewhat larger budget, not because of any lack of faith in UNESCO, or failure to understand the magnitude of its task. We opposed a larger budget because the cost of the various international organizations that have come into being during the last two years has mounted to the point where many of the smaller nations — particularly those impoverished and devastated by the war — simply cannot afford to pay their share. It would be a disaster if they were forced to withdraw. Further, it will take time properly to organize UNESCO's staff and coordinate its program.

The American delegation at Paris insisted that the 1947 budget must not be taken as a standard for future years. When the nations have passed through what Senator Vandenberg calls "the present subsistence period"; when UNESCO has built its staff and discovered by experience what it can and what it cannot do. I see no limit, except the clear cut promise of results, upon either its efforts or its budget.

I shall close on a note of hope and caution. The Conference that took place may well have been, in Mr. Priestley's words, the most underrated conference in all history. For UNESCO can become one the most useful instruments ever devised by man.

But it can fulfill its potentialities only under favorable conditions. It cannot succeed unless the pressing political and economic problems that now

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beset the world are resolved in such a way as to give UNESCO time to grow. It cannot succeed in the absence of outstanding leadership, adequate funds and public support. It cannot succeed if the expectation of quick results brings disillusionment.

Yet no experiment in international cooperation ever held less danger or more promise for the future peace and well being of mankind. UNESCO is like a break in an overcast sky. It is a patch of light — if I may reverse a familiar expression — now no bigger than a man's hand. We must all unite in the hope that it is destined to grow — to grow until the clear light of truth and understanding breaks through to all peoples.

37 - United Nations

DIGEST OF UNESCO PROGRAM FOR 1948

37 - United Nations

UNESCO and the National Commission

BASIC DOCUMENTS

37 - United Nations

16 PAGE CONFERENCE ISSUE
Including 8 page
SUPPLEMENT

UNESCO

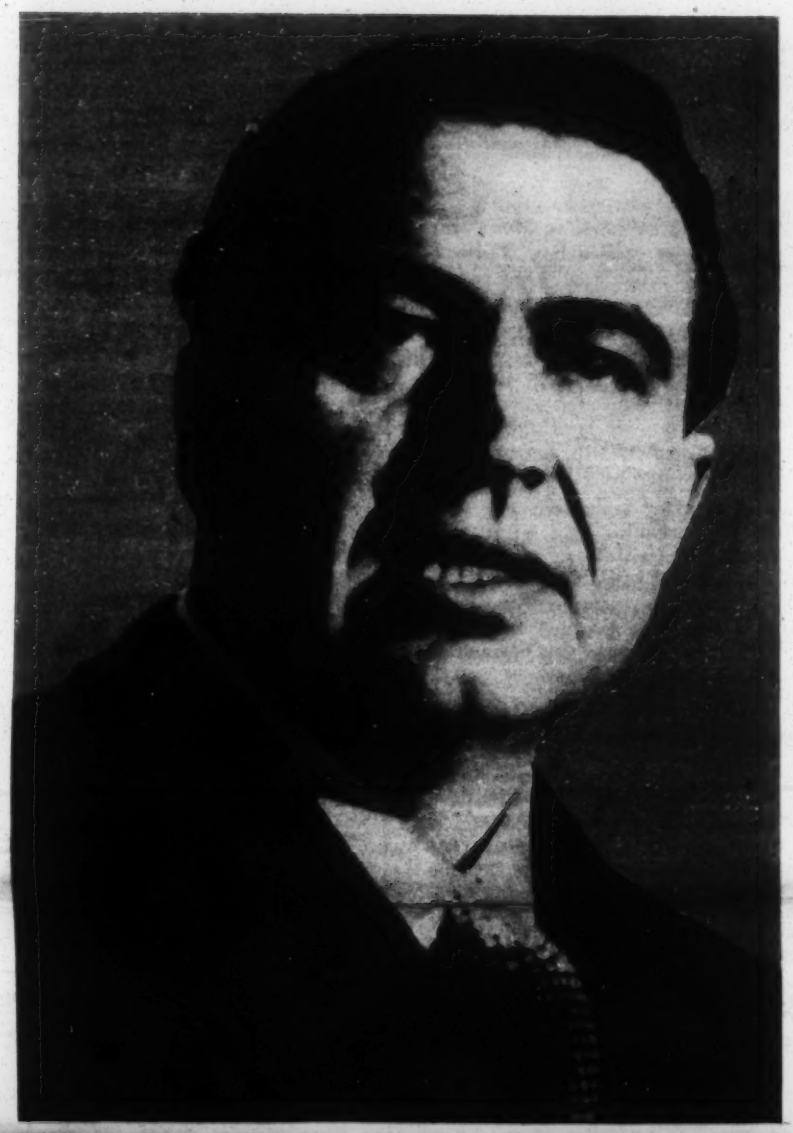
COURIER

PUBLICATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Volume I.— No 11-12. Price: 10 Cents (U.S.), 6 Pence (U.K.), or 25 Francs DECEMBER 1948 — JANUARY 1949.

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

Jaime Torres Bodet Elected Director - General



WHEN the President of the Beirut Conference, M. Hamid Bey Frangie, Lebanese Minister of Education and Foreign Affairs, rapped the gavel on the evening of December 11, 1948, he entrusted Unesco to another Foreign Minister and Minister of Education, Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico.

The new Director-General, who was elected by the delegates to the Third Session of Unesco's General Conference on November 26, succeded Dr. Julian Huxley whose term of office as first head of the Organization had ended. The Conference also elected seven new members of the Executive Board, which, in turn, voted Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (India) its Chairman, and Dr. C. Parra-Perez (Venezuela) and M. Roger Seydoux (France) Vice-Chairmen for 1949.

Immediately following the election of the new Director-General, M. Frangie cabled to Dr. Torres Bodet in Mexico, on behalf of the Conference, inviting him to come to Beirut, to participate in the closing days of the Session.

On December 10, the newly-elected Director-General made his appearance before the delegates to the Third Session. In his inaugural address he assured his listeners "that I shall dedicate myself unreservedly to Unesco's service" and stressed that Unesco's most urgent duty was to defend the moral and intellectual rights of man. **(The full text of Dr. Torres Bodet's address will be found on the centre page of this issue).**

For three and one half weeks, from November 17 to December 11, the Third Session worked methodically in elaborating the new programme during morning, afternoon and often evening meetings of Plenary Sessions, Commissions and Sub-Commissions. In a similar fashion, questions concerning Unesco's budget, administration and external relations were the subject of careful, detailed examination and study.

At the end of their deliberations, the delegates agreed not only on specific, practical activities for the year 1949, but on a

"Human Rights Day" Urged By Unesco Head

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In a message sent on December 30th, Dr. Torres Bodet recalls that at the close of its Third Session at Beirut, on December 11th, 1948, the General Conference of Unesco greeted with enthusiasm the International Declaration of Human Rights which had been adopted the day before in Paris by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

At the same time, the General Conference instructed the Director-General to take all necessary steps to publicize this document of historical significance and to encourage its study and use by Unesco in all its activities.

In pursuance of these instructions, the Director-General has

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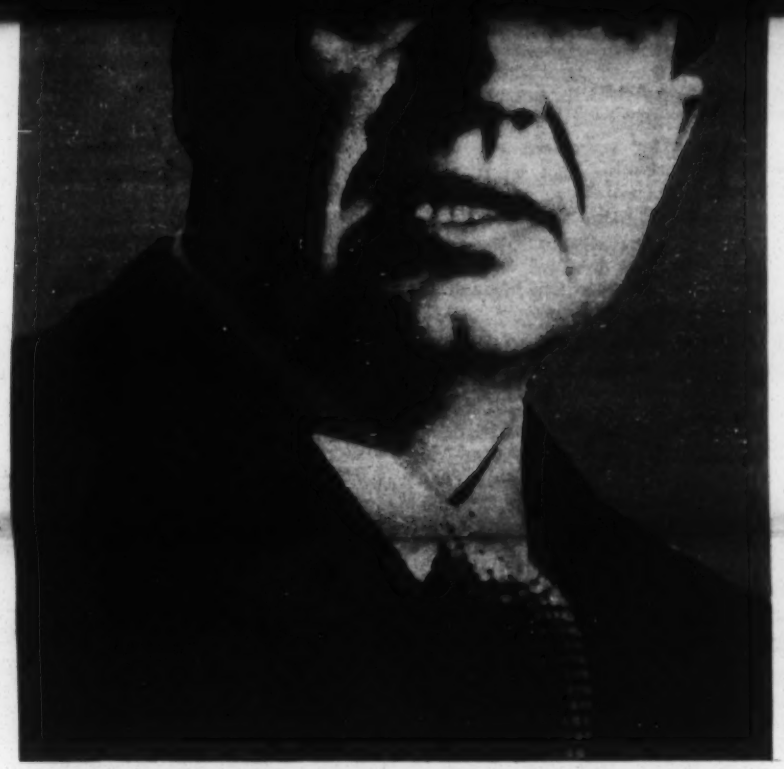
The Director-General further suggests that, in order to imprint upon the imaginations and hearts of youth the memory of that historic moment when the value of human personality was universally proclaimed the Tenth of December of every year should hence-



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In pursuance of these instructions, the Director-General has invited Member States of the Organization, to support Unesco and the United Nations in their joint efforts to make the Declaration of Human Rights as widely known as possible.

In his message, the Director-General says:

"The world yearns for an age of peace and justice which shall give to all the opportunity to develop to the fullest their creative faculties in the cause of right and progress. Peace and justice require above everything else the strengthening of that intellectual and moral solidarity, without which, in the words of Unesco's Constitution, the political and economic arrangements of Governments alone could not secure the lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world. But for that solidarity to be the expression of a true harmony of minds and not a mere passive coincidence of wills, there is one fundamental condition, namely, respect for the human being with his essential integrity and with all this manifold diversity.

To Unesco the International Declaration of Human Rights affords support and encouragement. Recognition of the principles therein proclaimed and their dissemination through education will help to strengthen the faith of every human being in the dignity of his own experience, and to fortify the urge to brotherhood which bids civilization by common action."

The Director-General further suggests that, in order to imprint upon the imaginations and hearts of youth the memory of that historic moment when the value of human personality was universally proclaimed the Tenth of December of every year should henceforth be devoted, in the programme of all schools, to render homage to the principles of freedom and the dignity of man.

Mrs. Roosevelt Links U.S. And U.N. Rights Declaration

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in a special statement, on December 15, paid tribute to the newly-adopted U.N. Declaration of Human Rights as a "milestone" in the progress of people everywhere.

The statement was made on the anniversary of the Bill of Rights drafted 157 years ago as the first 10 amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Citing the common goals of the Bill of Rights and the U.N. Declaration, Mrs. Roosevelt called for a joint celebration in the United States this year, honoring both documents.

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At the end of their deliberations, the delegates agreed not only on specific, practical activities for the year 1949, but on a broad educational programme for the years to come which would assure continuity in Unesco's work and facilitate greater understanding and participation by the general public. **(For details of Unesco's new programme please see special SUPPLEMENT).**

THE General Conference opened with an impressive flourish. As delegates poured into the Conference Hall, cameras clicked and movie men filmed the proceedings. Inside Klieg lights occasionnally intensified the lighting for the cameramen

Dr. Francisco del Rio y Canedo, Mexican Ambassador to Paris and chairman of the Mexican delegation delivered the opening speech as temporary President of the Conference. He was followed by M. Hamid Bey Frangie, who was later that day to be elected President of the Third Session.

(Continued on Page 8)

Duty-Free Film Agreement Up For World Ratification

A draft agreement providing for the duty-free importation of educational and scientific films was submitted to the governments of Unesco Member States, early in January 1949.

The agreement which will become operative after acceptance by ten states, is the first international agreement drawn up by Unesco.

In addition to films the agreement applies to sound recording and other audio-visual material of an educational, scientific and cultural character, when it is so certified by the exporting country. This material includes film strips and microfilm, glass slides, models, wall charts, maps and posters.

New agreement planned for books and newspapers

Besides abolishing customs duties, the agreement also does away with quota retsrictions on the types of material covered. As a protection to commercial interests within the importing country, use of the material may be restricted to non-profit-making purposes.

The draft agreement has been described as an important step in Unesco's campaign to lower technical, economic and political barriers to the free flow of information.

Another agreement, approved in principle at Beirut, is being drafted to deal with free importation of books, periodicals and newspapers.

"COURIER" NOW REPRINTED IN U.S.

We take pleasure in notifying our readers in the United States that, beginning with the present issue, the Unesco Courier will be reprinted in New York every month. In addition, the Columbia University Press, has been designated as the official agent in the United States for the sale and distribution of the Unesco Courier as well as other Unesco publications.

Subscriptions to the Unesco Courier may now be obtained by writing to:

Columbia University Press
Columbia University,
New York, 27, N.Y.

A full year's subscription is still only one dollar (US).

We draw the attention of our readers inside and outside of France, who use French Francs purchasing the Unesco Courier, to the following new prices:

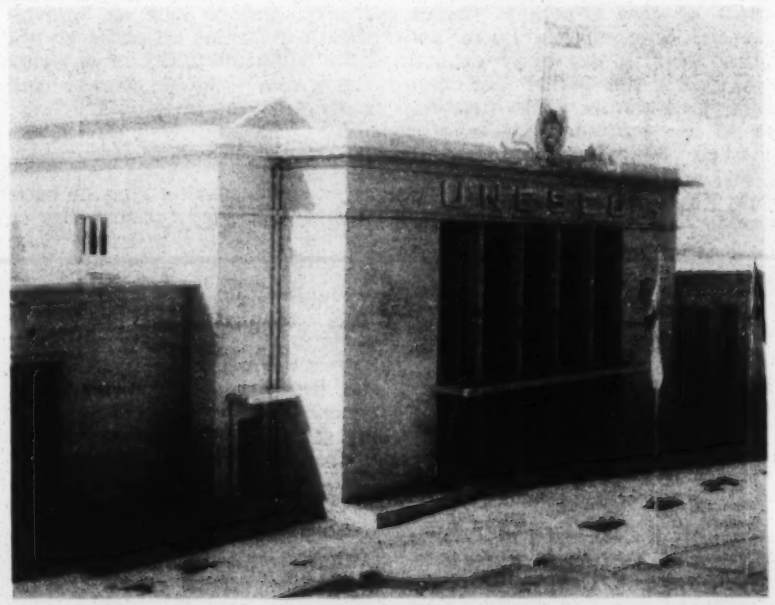
Year's subscription:

France	Fr. Francs 250
Other count....	Fr. Francs 300

Single Copies:

France	Fr. Francs 25
Other countries.	Fr. Francs 30

- The Story of Torres Bodet's Life. (P. 2.)
- Inaugural Address of new Director General. (Centre Page.)
- Farewell Address of Dr. Huxley. (Centre Page.)



View of main Conference Hall of the "Palais de l'Unesco" in Beirut

Organizing a UNESCO *council*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE · WASHINGTON, D. C.

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(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 83d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

U. N. and World Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 6, 1953

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I made before the American Association for the United Nations at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., on March 3.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICANS MUST UNDERSTAND U. N.

I am very proud of my continuing relationship with this organization. I have always been devoted to its purposes. Its leaders are men of deep dedication and great distinction. The caliber of this gathering in Washington is proof enough of the worth and character of this association.

I have lately thought that this organization might well be called the Association for the Advancement of America and the Preservation of Mankind. I am convinced that unless the aims and goals of this organization, and of others devoted to like purpose, are achieved, America, as we know it, and mankind, in its present state, will not endure. I am convinced that until and unless the American people understand clearly the fact that the United Nations, with all its shortcomings, offers still the only machinery for achieving peace, security, order, and justice in the world we will make no consistent or permanent progress toward our goals.

We may well succeed in effectuating the European defense pacts; we may successfully engage in new flights of psychological warfare; our Armed Forces may be victorious on land, on sea, and in the air. But still we will not have achieved a world of peace, justice, and security until the prestige and authority of the United Nations are firmly established, first of all, in the hearts and minds of freedom-loving people.

I need not recite the dangers which confront America and mankind today. The atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb are simple facts of life. Wholesale destruction of entire populations is now within the limits of military potential. Every day new and deadlier weapons are being invented—and produced. How much further do we need go in this direction, day by day, before we realize that we are rushing headlong down a dead-end street, with fewer and fewer possible turnoff points?

And today our greatest danger lies in our growing resignation to that danger. We live in deadly peril, but we are learning to accept it and to act as though it were a terrible annoyance to be rid of, rather than a burning challenge to be met.

U. N. REMAINS HOPE FOR SURVIVAL

I believe that the United Nations is one of the answers to the problem of survival. But many of our own people do not believe it. Many of our officials scoff at it. Some pay only lip service to it. Some are ready to sabotage and discard it.

I think this circumstance stems from a complete lack of understanding of the world we live in, the problems we face, and of the United Nations itself.

I need not remind those assembled here that the United Nations is only 8 years old, an infant originally conceived by inspiration, but born in a world atmosphere of illusion—the illusion that victory in World War II had solved most of our world problems, and that those remaining unsolved would be attended to by the United Nations, in a quiet, unobtrusive, and inexpensive way.

What a rude awakening we have had. But this awakening has served to breed not a new awareness and determination, but a new weariness and disillusion. Against this spirit we must combine with all our powers and energy. To yield to it or to compromise with it is to be overwhelmed.

It must not be forgotten that the United Nations Charter was conceived as a covenant for peace—for strengthening, preserving, and maintaining the peace. The United Nations Organization was developed to carry out the

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good works of peace. Given the breathing space that was generally anticipated at that time, in 1945, the authority of the United Nations Organization was expected to grow and become robust in the ripeness of time.

Instead the United Nations was thrown almost immediately into a succession of world-shaking crises, any one of which could well have resulted in another world war. Chisis in Iran, crisis in Greece, in Indonesia, in Berlin, in Palestine, in Kashmir, and finally in Korea—the United Nations took them all on, and, in one measure or another, met those crises, and emerged intact, stronger with accomplishment, but bearing the scars of conflict.

The world organization for peace was flexible enough to become an instrument for carrying on a local war—a local war designed to preserve the world from total war.

A great American general of far eastern fame could not understand how military operations could be conducted with any object other than complete military victory. How little he understood the new world order, and the United Nations. Contrary to the understanding of that American general, the object of the military operations in Korea was and is to halt aggression, not to incite new aggression; to preserve the peace, not to wage total war. General MacArthur did not and does not understand that if total war comes, the United Nations will have failed.

PURPOSE OF KOREAN ACTION

The major purpose of the United Nations is to prevent another total world war. Insofar as the successive world crises of the past 8 years have been met without world war, the United Nations has brilliantly succeeded in its tasks.

In Korea the immediate object of the United Nations could only be the limited object, first of meeting Communist aggression and of restoring the territorial integrity of the South Korean Republic and then of bringing hostilities to the speediest possible end, without inciting a major war. The first object has been achieved.

The second object has thus far been frustrated. Hostilities in Korea still continue. But those hostilities have not broadened out into total, catastrophic world war, despite the impetuous demands and reckless recommendations of some in this country who would plunge us into the "wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy."

It can certainly be shown that among the greatest influences operating to save us from such a tragic course has been the United Nations. This is an achievement, but one which, by itself, can scarcely appease our anguish at the continuing casualties our forces suffer in Korea. How long must this go on? What great good do these hard and tragic sacrifices serve?

These questions will not be answered until we fully understand that the object of the United ations is peace, and not victory in war. In the long range, the United Nations knows that peace is not secured by war. Peace is secured by a solution of those basic problems, among men and nations, which lead to war. Large-scale war—indeed any war—only aggravates those problems. Total war, even if it did not destroy mankind, itself, would multiply those problems beyond appraisal or description.

Thus the United Nations and its individual members fight limited actions in Korea, in Indochina, in Malaya, in Burma, and in the Philippines to gain time and opportunity to solve the larger, deeper problems.

What are the problems to which I have referred? Are they all centered in the Soviet Union? Would they all be solved solely by the collapse of the power of the Kremlin?

I think the answer to these questions is "No." The Kremlin is, of course, our main and immediate danger. Its enslavement of hundreds of millions of persons, its persecutions, its aggressions, and brutalities certainly are at this time the main challenge to the peace and security of the world. But even if we can imagine the Politburo wiped out and the power of the Soviet Army broken still the basic problem would not be completely and finally solved.

We must remember that the Soviet design for chaos and conquest is built primarily on conditions of ferment, unrest, and dissatisfaction in vast sectors of the world.

The Soviet Union is the smoking crater of a huge volcano. We may drop an atomic bomb in it and precipitate the explosion of it with all its accompanying violence and destruction. But still we will have done nothing about the boiling mass which seethes and rages underneath the crust of all the earth.

That boiling, seething mass of unrest is the problem we confront. And the United Nations must move with every resource to relieve and mitigate it.

HUMAN RIGHTS OUR BASIC PROBLEM

I think of this basic problem in terms of human rights, of which the Soviet regime has been the chief violator. In recent years, the aspiration for human rights—economic, social, and political—has become universal. Hundreds of millions of human beings have awakened to an irresistible urge to share with all other people in the enjoyment of what we call human rights. These people will not be denied. They are deeply stirred by the naked contrast between power and privilege for some, and privation and poverty for others.

In great and farflung areas of the earth, this urge for human rights manifests itself in many forms—in anticolonialism, supernationalism, and antiwesternism. This force, often confused and perplexed, may spend itself in self-defeating hates and

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prejudices, as in the Middle East. Sometimes it seethes in the form of racial tensions, as in South Africa.

But in whatever form, this basic force will not be halted, regardless of the course of conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. The surge for human rights will roll on, and we must be prepared either to help give it sense and direction, or be overwhelmed by it.

We must exercise our world leadership in behalf of human rights. Human rights must be our banner in world affairs. Under that banner, and within the framework of the United Nations, we can prevail.

We must acknowledge the right of every individual to freedom, to justice and dignity; to equality of economic and social opportunity, to an equal voice in government—in short to a positive stake in world security, peace, and order.

We must set this goal forth as our goal for all men. As we value our own freedom, we must help others to learn that freedom and human rights and economic progress and opportunity are one and inseparable.

In this way, we can meet the isolationist and xenophobic force which now shows itself in many quarters of the globe. We can thus rally the force for human rights in the camp of freedom, and offset the possibility that this force may find common cause with the unprincipled forces of Communist tyranny and oppression.

This is the task of the United Nations, as well as of the United States. Within the framework of the United Nations, and exercising our legitimate leadership in that organization, we can succeed.

But we cannot pursue this course if we lose faith in the United Nations, or if we show contempt for it, by seeking to use the United Nations when it suits us, and to act unilaterally, in disregard of the Charter, when it better fits our temporary purpose.

HOPE OF MILLIONS

In the innocence of ignorance, we may feel strong and powerful enough to dismiss the United Nations on the grounds that it is only a debating society, and useless for our purposes of struggle with the Soviet Union. But we must remember that to many millions of people throughout the world, the United Nations is a mighty structure, within whose design and purpose lies the last great hope for world peace and security. These people will not accept the sacrifice of the United Nations on the altar of any struggle. They see in the United Nations the only possible means of preventing the eruption of that struggle into total, cataclysmic war.

I am glad to associate myself with that view. I think I speak also for most of those assembled here and, I believe, for the majority of the people of our country.

We must act on this basis. The Congress must be made more deeply aware of this truth. The new administration must be made aware of it.

We dare not, for instance, sanction legislation such as the proposed Bricker resolution for an amendment to our Constitution, which not only breathes distrust of the United Nations but even of our own Senate by taking away from the Senate the power and discretion to judge the validity of all treaties and agreements that may be negotiated, both those arrived at within the United Nations and outside it.

Our leadership must be based on a firm determination to maintain free world unity—a unity based on agreement and not on intimidation—the unity of common consent to concerted action and not the unity of fear to dissent.

Despite all the confusion and uncertainty, the trouble and anguish of our present situation, we must take comfort in the knowledge that the common purpose of all mankind, however divided in streams and currents of conflicting scope and direction, floods surely down to a common sea.

"In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward look, the land is bright."

Let this be our inspiration, our source of strength and courage in these dark and desperate days, and those which still lie ahead. With hope and faith in ourselves and in all free men, let us proceed together, with firm confidence and resolution, to the tasks of peace.

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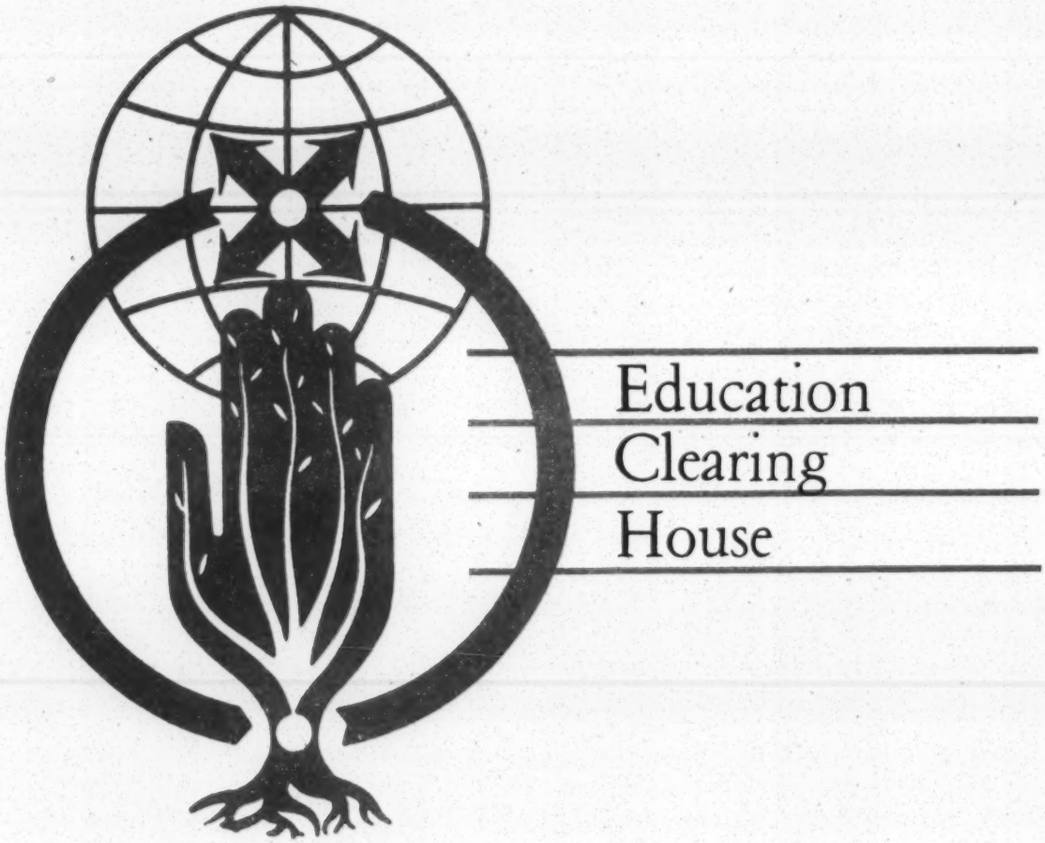
Vol. V, No. 4
PARIS, April 1953

Education Abstracts



UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION - 19, AV. KLEBER, PARIS XVI

Secretary-General's Review of United Nations Progress

INTRODUCTION TO EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Every year the Secretary-General presents a report on the work of the United Nations to the General Assembly. Here is the text of the introduction by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold to the eighth annual report; prepared for the eighth regular session of Assembly which is scheduled to open on September 15.

I SUBMIT herewith the eighth annual report of the Secretary-General to Member States on the work of the United Nations for the period 1 July 1952 to 30 June 1953.

During all but the last two and a half months of the period the responsibilities of the office of Secretary-General in the work of the Organization were exercised by my distinguished predecessor, the first Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie.

In the chapters that follow, the governments of Member States will find a comprehensive review of their efforts, during the past year, to make progress, through the United Nations, towards constructive solutions of problems of common concern to them all. This record, like those that have preceded it, is a reminder that the pursuit of peace and progress cannot end in a few years in either victory or defeat. The pursuit of peace and progress, with its trials and its errors, its successes and its set-backs, can never be relaxed and never abandoned.

An annual survey such as this inevitably presents in some respects an artificially fragmented picture. The short-term aspects of the problems with which the governments are faced tend to dominate the long-range view. The inter-relationship of the many and diverse elements and trends in the world situation with which they are grappling tends to be obscured.

CONTINUING PROCESS The work of the United Nations should always be viewed as a continuing process over a long period of time in which there is constant change and development. It is difficult to measure the significance of results in the perspective of any single year. Often the unspectacular or the unnoticed may prove to be a significant forward step on the long road towards peace in a world of organized co-operation and of more equal partnership among the nations.

The efforts of the governments to control and moderate those conflicts that constitute an immediate danger to world peace—and above all the "East-West" conflict—must command first

attention in day-to-day decisions. However, side by side with those conflicts, or underlying them, two fundamental trends in human society are apparent which must determine the long-term direction of our efforts. One of the trends is directed towards wider social justice and equality for individuals. The other is directed towards equality and justice between nations, politically but also in the economic and social sense.

The United Nations is a positive response by the world community to the fundamental needs of our time. Its record should be judged against this background. Its efforts are significant in so far as they show the growing maturity of the Organization as an instrument by means of which the nations can solve conflicts threatening the natural evolution of the world community. They are significant in so far as they represent successful steps by that community in the direction indicated by the underlying trends in social and international development. This perspective should help to put the Organization in its proper light as an expression of the will of the peoples to achieve co-operation in a guided development towards social and international justice as a basis of social and international peace. It should also provide a safer guidance for our judgment of the significance of various aspects of United Nations activities than the one offered by day-to-day events.

The work of an instrument such as the one the Members are trying to develop in the United Nations must be based on certain fundamental principles. There are reasons to draw attention to two of these at this point. What I have in mind are those principles which gave their most distinctive features to efforts of the world community to create effective instruments for peace prior to the establishment of the United Nations. On the one hand, no organized international development can take place unless it is founded on a respect for international law and an acceptance of the obligations which that law imposes. On the other hand, although on a somewhat different level, the place in such a development of a truly international civil service, free from all national pressures and influences, should be recognized, not only in words but in deeds. Neither of the two principles has yet been given the significance which it should have in the policy of the governments of Member States in relation to the United Nations.

INTERNATIONAL LAW We must recognize that the nations have been for the most part slow to submit their juridical disputes to the International Court of Justice and thus to build up a body of decisions respected by the international community. It is also disturbing that the movement to extend and codify international law on crimes against the peace and against humanity, which was so strong at the end of the war and in the first days of the United Nations, has diminished in momentum. It is true that covenants and treaties on many matters are being drafted and submitted for ratification. But ratifications are slow. The growth of international law and jurisdiction is essential, not only as a way to safeguard the nations whose interest may be directly involved, but also as a means to give a solid basis to our efforts to achieve and maintain world peace. In international law expression has been given to ideals which are the result of a long and often painful development of human society. In the conflicts among the international and national forces to which I have referred, these ideals are sometimes questioned or imperilled. In this way the conflicts acquire an ideological significance sometimes going beyond their importance in other respects. The defence of international law is a con-

tribution to the effort to guide the general development in such a way that the basic ideals of freedom and justice, which inspire and support our life, are not lost or obscured. Upheld in international life, their victory in national life also will be brought closer.

THE SECRETARIATS As for the secretariats—I refer here to the staffs not only of the United Nations itself but of the Specialized Agencies as well—the concept of a truly international civil service and of the independent authority in this respect of the Secretary-General and the Directors General is not yet fully understood and accepted. There are, here, mutual obligations. On the one hand, members of the secretariats must accept the international discipline that requires them to abstain from any political activity outside the scope of their duties and from any other activity which might throw doubt on their status as trusted and dedicated servants of the United Nations as a whole. On the other hand, on this basis the international civil service should be left free from national pressure of any sort. Only if this is so will the secretariats be able to render the service necessary to world organization. The United Nations itself cannot be fully effective in its appointed functions except under these conditions.

I hope that the governments will find occasion, in the months and years ahead, to give greater attention to the importance for world peace of extending the scope of international law, of building up respect for its disciplines and of resorting more willingly to the International Court. I hope also that they will reaffirm in their policies the respect they have pledged in the Charter for the independent position of the Secretariat of the United Nations and the recognition there given to the essential role of an international civil service in an irrevocably interdependent world. As Secretary-General, I shall uphold the policies concerning conduct of members of the Secretariat which are a condition for this independence.

With these principles as a background, previous efforts for world peace were directed towards objectives which have received even fuller recognition in the present effort expressed in the United Nations. It is recognized that an international instrument for peace and justice must seek to work out a system of mediation, conciliation and collective security. There is the further general recognition of the vital importance for sound development of the world community of orderly progress of the nations towards a state of full economic development, self-government and independence. And, finally, international co-operation is recognized as an essential instrument for a guided development towards greater social justice within the nations.

DECISIVE FACTORS I have already indicated my belief that our time is one of two historic movements of change and progress—one involving equal rights for nations, the other equal rights for individuals. There is a tendency to regard social justice and equality of political and economic rights among nations—or what may be called international equality—as being on the whole technical and special problems subordinated to the more urgent one of collective security. This attitude is understandable and correct, but only in a short-term perspective. International equality and justice are pre-requisites of the domestic social development of all the peoples of the world and, together, they are the decisive factors if we are to build a world of peace and freedom. No system of collective security can be built with sufficient strength unless the underlying pressures are reduced—and

those pressures can be mastered only to the extent that we succeed in meeting the demands for international justice or internal social justice.

An analogy with the life of a nation may serve as illustration. No police force can be of sufficient strength to maintain internal security, at least without excessive costs, both financial and social, unless the government meets its basic responsibility to guide the economic and social development of the nation. Similarly, the efforts of the United Nations to assist under-developed countries and its efforts to promote the observance of human rights should be recognized as contributions to world peace which are just as basic as its efforts in the field of collective security.

The significance of the economic and social approaches to the problems of world peace and freedom in the very dynamic period in which we are living does not in any way reduce the significance of the United Nations as an instrument for direct reconciliation and for preventing aggression. In both respects the potentialities of the United Nations have so far been only partly explored.

CONSTRUCTIVE WILL As an instrument for conciliation the United Nations provides a forum which should serve the Members less for the voicing of complaints and more for the presentation of proposals furthering the common end. The Organization can grow in influence only in so far as the peoples of the world feel that what is brought out in its conference rooms represents an expression of the constructive will of the Member nations to put the common international interest before national demands, and in so far as they are given reasons for confidence that the machinery of international co-operation represented by the United Nations is an adequate means of reaching sound compromises, based on the Charter, between the interests involved. The United Nations as an instrument for preventing aggression will gain strength in proportion to its achievements as an instrument for reconciliation. Its authority in these respects will depend also on the solution of those underlying economic and social problems that are behind the pressures leading to international conflicts.

The principle of universality is linked with all these efforts and is inherent in the very concept of the Organization. The United Nations exists because a shrinking world, in which no nation or group of nations can live any more unto itself alone, has made world organization necessary for the purposes expressed in the Charter. Enlightened national policies, constructive bi-lateral and regional arrangements—political and economic—all have an essential place in contributing towards greater security from war and in promoting economic and social progress, provided they are pursued as parts of a greater whole in which the interdependence of all regions of the world is recognized. But, as the United Nations Charter recognizes, the governments can no longer succeed in promoting and protecting the peace, security and well-being of their peoples by national and regional efforts alone. I hope that the United Nations will be able to move more rapidly towards true universality of membership. Certainly, if the Organization is to reach its maximum usefulness and fulfil its purposes, every nation in the world which meets the obligations set forth in Article 4 of the Charter should be properly represented in it.

KOREA AND THE UNITED NATIONS At the time of writing, there is new hope for the early conclusion of an armistice in Korea, after many previous disappointments. Such an event would be of great significance for world

peace. It would, first of all, be a victory for the principle of collective security. It would confirm the failure of the attempt to unify Korea by armed aggression in violation of the Charter and restore to the Republic of Korea the territory over which it exercised control before the fighting began. It would make possible the resumption of efforts to achieve by the peaceful means that are alone permitted by the Charter the United Nations objective of a united, free and democratic Korea. It would improve the prospects for fruitful negotiation on other issues.

The Members of the United Nations have also recognized that the international community has a responsibility to aid Korea, as a victim of armed aggression, in the restoration and reconstruction of its ravaged land. It seems to me of high importance that this responsibility should be carried out honourably, vigorously and generously by the United Nations and with the widest possible participation of its Members. The Korean people, who have suffered so grievously, deserve and should receive this help from the United Nations. But it is also important for the Organization to demonstrate, for the future, that it will not only uphold security with collective force when necessary, but will join in brotherly aid to bind up the wounds of battle, and to restore to the victims of war hope and opportunity for a decent life.

I am confident that the governments of Members will explore in other areas where tensions exist all possibilities for a further relaxation of those tensions and for progress towards settlement. I hope that the peoples will understand that these processes are usually slow and that it may be necessary to bear with fortitude and patience a succession of painful disappointments, extending sometimes over a period of years, before acceptable compromises are reached on strongly contested questions involving basic national policies and interests.

The present divisions of our world often appear unbridgeable and the obstacles to ultimate agreement unsurmountable. But the landscape of international affairs is not immutable. It is constantly shifting and moving, subject to all the influences at work in our world, in which new opportunities develop and the hope for ultimate solutions can never be abandoned.

The United Nations system places at the disposal of the Member nations a wider diversity of influences and institutions favourable to peaceful settlement than has existed in the past. Its open debates give public opinion the opportunity to test the merits of the respective national positions on the issues before the Organization. In spite of what superficially and in a short perspective may often seem to be indications to the contrary, the debates generally tend in the long run to reduce the differences between these positions.

The United Nations provides not only for ascertaining the consensus of world opinion on such issues, but also a more formal machinery for negotiation, mediation and conciliation developed on a basis of sovereign equality. As I have already indicated, I believe that we have only begun to explore the full potentialities of the United Nations in these respects, especially the most fruitful combinations of public discussion on the one hand and private negotiation and mediation on the other. But the opportunities are here, to be tested and used.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT Of the multitude of United Nations programs in the economic and social field in which the governments of Members have joined their efforts for their common benefit, none is more significant

or less costly in the building of a better world community than the sharing of skills now universally known as technical assistance.

After many preliminary difficulties of organization and administration, the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies is now in full operation. The broad international character of the program is eliciting a very positive response from governments in all parts of the world and especially in the under-developed areas.

The United Nations approach to technical assistance enhances the mutual aid aspects of the program. Not only do all participating Member countries share in the responsibilities of over-all direction and control, whether they give or receive aid, but the less developed countries receiving assistance also give aid in those special skills that are found to be of value to other under-developed nations. Thus, the United Nations program of technical assistance is assuming more and more the aspect of a truly co-operative enterprise of mutual aid in the sharing of skills in which nations from all parts of the world and in every stage of economic and social development have something to contribute as well as to receive.

It would be a most unfortunate and unnecessary set-back to international co-operation if the growth of this constructive program should now be arrested by a lack of sufficient funds. While I fully appreciate the heavy financial burdens of Members, I feel confident they will wish to review the goals which should be established. In the light of the high priority which the governments have themselves placed on technical assistance in the whole field of economic and social co-operation and of a realistic appraisal of the present growth and future prospects of so constructive, practical and promising a program, the sights should be set higher and we should seek to reach as soon as possible a level of contributions that will more nearly meet the demonstrated needs.

The related problem of increasing the flow of public and private capital for financing economic development will once again—and rightly so—occupy an important place on the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly. Governments have long recognized the central place of this problem in their common efforts for peace and progress through the United Nations. The search for peaceful settlements, for collective security and for ultimate disarmament, as I have already pointed out, has to be based upon an orderly and steady advance towards higher living standards for all peoples. These standards, in turn, will be unattainable unless world productivity and world trade expand at a pace that more than matches the increase in population.

INSUFFICIENT EFFORTS Science and technology have given mankind new power to destroy itself. But together with this, we know that the opportunity for economic and social progress for all men now lies within our power to an extent that previous generations have not known.

Yet, at the present rate of economic development, the gap between living standards in the most industrially developed countries, where a minority of the peoples of the world live, and the less developed areas, where a majority of the human race still struggles with poverty, continues to grow wider instead of narrower. Indeed, in many under-developed areas the rate of economic progress barely keeps pace with or, in some instances, even falls short of the population growth.

Clearly, the efforts that have so far been made by the governments, both inside and outside the United Nations,

to increase the flow of private and public capital for economic development are not sufficient.

Proposals for the establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development to make long-term low interest loans and grants-in-aid and of an international finance corporation to mobilize both private and governmental capital resources for self-liquidating projects are now before the United Nations. But the problem is not primarily one of machinery, of the establishment of new international institutions, important and necessary as these may be. It is primarily a question of national policies and the climate of opinion as these are expressed both by governments and business communities in both capital-exporting and importing countries.

Many political, economic and social factors bear upon the problem. The present allocation of so large a proportion of resources to the production of armaments in the capital-exporting countries is only the most apparent of these factors. But the complexity and difficulties of the problem do not diminish the fundamental national interest of all countries in finding effective remedies. The firmest foundation for a peaceful and stable world order is one of steadily expanding world production, trade and consumption where inequalities of weath and living standards among different parts of the world are diminishing while the general level is rising.

The United Nations system at once offers safeguards and imposes obligations that can be used greatly to increase the flow of public and private capital for economic development. From the point of view of the underdeveloped countries the provision of capital through United Nations agencies is in itself a guarantee of its non-political character. From the point of view of the capital-exporting countries, the use of United Nations agencies as the vehicle for both private and public loans offers for the investor a safeguard that is backed by the moral weight of the whole community of nations.

The absorptive capacity of the under-developed countries for wise and productive investment in economic development projects is already great and could be considerably increased by a combination of national and international measures. Annual investments many times greater than those at present being made would be economically sound and are essential if the necessary progress is to be achieved. We are far from this objective now. Yet the stakes are high—high in terms of the future well-being of every nation and of all peoples.

SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT Last year, the United Nations issued its first report on the world social situation; the report demonstrated above all the need for more effective international co-operation towards social progress and the need for integrating efforts in this direction more closely with those for economic development. This year, concerted programs for practical international action in the social field have been planned which should command the widest possible support and participation of the governments of Member States. The problem of mobilizing available resources and further improving co-ordination in this whole area of activity of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies is one in which the governments and the administrative heads of the agencies are all concerned. Policy in the planning and execution of the programs rests, of course, in the hands of the governments. In so far as administrative responsibilities are concerned, I look forward to working in the closest collaboration with the Directors General of the Specialized Agencies towards the most effi-

cient possible use of the resources placed at the disposal of the United Nations family of institutions.

Whereas the programs for international action in the social field are aimed on a practical level primarily at the basic, long-range objectives to which I have referred, it is evident that the Members of the United Nations must continue at the same time to deal with certain immediate problems. These include the relief and reintegration of the Palestine refugees and appropriate international assistance to all those other refugees who are under the protection of the United Nations High Commissioner; assistance through United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, as in past years, to needy and orphaned children in war-torn and under-developed areas; and the problem of the repatriation of the prisoners remaining from the Second World War as well as that of prisoners-of-war in Korea.

In connection with the work of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and of UNICEF, it will be opportune to recall that the General Assembly will, at its coming session, be reviewing the activities of these bodies with a view to determining their future. There can be no doubt that both bodies have come to fill a practical, useful and needed place in the field of international action for social progress, and I am confident that Members will consider sympathetically the question of continuing them so that they may pursue their work for the victims of war and social conflict.

The development of social justice is closely connected with the problem of human rights. Such international legal instruments as the proposed covenants on human rights are parts of a concerted effort that is in fact proceeding on a much wider basis. Fundamentally, the rate of progress will be determined by the degree to which the developing social conscience of the peoples of the world is able to find expression not only in national legislation and in international treaties, but in the climate of opinion in the various regions of the world. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights should set a standard for achievement that will guide opinion in this field, which is so essential to the ultimate success of the United Nations.

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD
Secretary-General

July 15, 1953

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ANNOTATED PROVISIONAL AGENDA
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
EIGHTH REGULAR SESSION

The eighth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is scheduled to open on 15 September 1953 in the Permanent Headquarters of the UN, New York.

The provisional agenda (Document A/2416) containing 58 items was issued on 17 July 1953. The supplementary list, containing 13 items was issued on 25 August (Doc. A/2443).

"Additional items of an important and urgent character," says Rule 15 of the Assembly's rules of procedure, "proposed for inclusion in the agenda less than 30 days before the opening of a regular session or during a regular session, may be placed on the agenda, if the General Assembly so decides by a majority of the Members present and voting. No additional item may be considered unless seven days have elapsed since it was placed on the agenda, unless the General Assembly, by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting, decides otherwise, and until a Committee has reported upon the question concerned."

At the beginning of a session, the General Committee (which consists of the President, the seven Vice-Presidents, and the Chairmen of the Main Committees) considers the provisional agenda, the supplementary list, and any requests for the inclusion of additional items, and reports to the Assembly. On the basis of this report, the agenda is adopted, and the various items allocated to appropriate Committees.

Items are listed below in the order in which they appear in the provisional agenda and the supplementary list. This is not necessarily the order in which they will appear on the agenda as adopted by the Assembly. The notes in parentheses are given as background information.

ITEMS ON THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Canada.

[NOTE: The Chairman of the Delegation from which the President of the previous session was elected presides until the Assembly elects a President for the new session. Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Minister for External Affairs was President of the seventh regular session.]

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2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.

[NOTE: According to Rule 64 of the Assembly's rules of procedure, "immediately after the opening of the first plenary meeting and immediately preceding the closing of the final plenary meeting of each session of the General Assembly, the President shall invite the representatives to observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation."]

3. Appointment of a Credentials Committee.

[NOTE: This Committee consists of nine members appointed on the proposal of the Temporary President. It examines the credentials of representatives and reports to the Assembly.]

4. Election of the President.

[NOTE: The President is elected by secret ballot and by simple majority. There are no nominations. Past Presidents of the Assembly were: Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium (first regular session); Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil (first special session and second regular session); Jose Arce of Argentina (second special session); Herbert V. Evatt of Australia (third regular session); Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines (fourth regular session); Nasrollah Entezam of Iran (fifth regular session); Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico (sixth regular session); Lester B. Pearson of Canada (seventh regular session.]

5. Constitution of the Main Committees and election of officers.

[NOTE: There are six Main Committees, generally known by their numbers: the First (Political and Security) Committee; the Second (Economic and Financial) Committee; the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee; the Fourth (Trusteeship, including Non-Self-Governing Territories) Committee; the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee; and the Sixth (Legal) Committee.

All 60 member nations are represented on the Main Committees to which are referred items falling within their fields of competence. The Assembly, acting directly in plenary meeting, deals with those items, which, for any reason, are not referred to a Committee. The Main Committees discuss proposals in detail, and report to the General Assembly with their recommendations, on which the Assembly, sitting in plenary meeting, takes final action. A two-thirds majority vote of those present and voting is required in plenary meetings for resolutions on important questions, but voting in the Committees is by simple majority, except to re-open discussion on a question, for which a two-thirds majority vote is needed.

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Since many agenda items are primarily of a political character, the Assembly often finds it necessary to appoint an additional ad hoc committee, generally known as the Ad Hoc Political Committee. At the last session it was agreed that the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Political Committee should participate with a vote in the proceedings of the General Committee. A similar recommendation is contained in a report to this session by a special committee set up to consider measures to limit the duration of regular Assembly sessions. (See Item #56.)

In constitutingthe Main Committees, the Assembly holds brief successive meetings, as each Committee, to elect the Committee Chairmen. Other officers of the Committees are elected at their following meetings.]

6. Election of Vice-Presidents.

[NOTE: Seven Vice-Presidents are elected by secret ballot after the Main Committees have elected their Chairmen. The President of the Assembly, the Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the Main Committees constitute the General (or Steering) Committee. In electing the Vice-Presidents, the Assembly pays regard to insuring the representative character of the General Committee. Election of Vice-Presidents is by simple majority. Member countries are elected, not individuals. The heads of the delegations of the countries elected serve as Vice-Presidents.]

7. Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

[NOTE: This Article of the Charter requires that the Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council.]

8. Adoption of the agenda.

[NOTE: All the items submitted for inclusion on the agenda are considered by the General Committee which reports to the Assembly with its recommendations. The Assembly adopts the agenda by a majority of members present and voting.]

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9. Opening of the General Debate.

[NOTE: At the beginning of each session of the Assembly there is a general debate in which the heads of delegations usually express the views of their countries on problems of common concern to the Membership of the United Nations.]

10. Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.

[NOTE: The Charter requires the Secretary-General to report annually to the Assembly on the work of the Organization as a whole. His present report (Doc. A/2404) covers the period 1 July 1952 to 30 June 1953. Every aspect of United Nations activity is dealt with under six broad headings -- political and security questions, economic and social developments, questions concerning trusteeship and non-self-governing territories, legal questions, development of public understanding and administrative and budgetary questions.]

11. Report of the Security Council.

[NOTE: The report (Doc. A/2437 covers the twelve months 16 July 1952 to 15 July 1953. The Charter requires the Council to submit such annual reports which include an account of the measures decided on or taken by the Council to maintain international peace and security. As in other years, the report is a summary of resolutions approved or rejected and an account of the broad lines of debate. This year's report was approved by the Council at a closed meeting held on 12 August 1953.]

12. Report of the Economic and Social Council.

[NOTE: Each year the Assembly examines the work of the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary organs on the basis of the Council's annual report. The Council's report this year covers theperiod from 2 August 1952 to 5 August 1953, during which time the Council held two sessions. The annual report, Doc. A/2430, will be issued shortly. Resolutions arising from the 16th session held in Geneva 30 June to 5 August 1953 are included in the Supplementary List (see below). Roundups of the 15th and 16th sessions of the Council are contained in Press Release ECOSOC/1149 and Geneva Press Release ECOSOC 657, which are available at the Press Documents Counter.]

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13. Report of the Trusteeship Council.

[NOTE: The report covers the Council's twelfth session held 16 June to 21 July 1953 at UN Headquarters. Owing to a new schedule for the examination of the annual reports of administering authorities on trust territories, the Council this year held only one session and the report deals with its review of only five instead of all eleven trust territories. The territories examined were Somaliland (administered by Italy), the Pacific Islands -- Marshalls, Marianas and Carolines (administered by the United States), Nauru and New Guinea (administered by Australia) and Western Samoa (administered New Zealand). The report also deals with the Council's review of the reports of its 1953 visiting mission to the above-mentioned four trust territories in the Pacific, and of the 1952 visiting mission to West Africa which covered the two Togolands and the two Cameroons (administered by Britain and France respectively). In addition, the report describes in each case the action taken by the Council in respect to petitions -- numbering some 400 -- from the various trust territories, the Ewe and Togoland unification problem (see special report under item 31), as well as several other questions referred to it by the Assembly: rural economic development in trust territories, participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the government of the territories and in the work of the Council, educational advancement of the territories and administrative unions affecting trust territories.]

14. Election of three non-permanent members of the Security Council.

[NOTE: The Security Council consists of five permanent members (China, France, United Kingdom, United States and USSR) plus six non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. The terms of Chile, Greece and Pakistan expire at the end of 1953. Election is by two-thirds majority in secret ballot. Retiring members are not eligible for immediate re-election.

The three other non-permanent members now on the Council who will continue till the end of 1954 are Colombia, Denmark and Lebanon.

So far the following non-permanent members have served on the Council:

Argentina (1948-49)
Australia (1946-47)
Belgium (1947-48)
Brazil (1946-47, 1951-52)
Canada (1948-49)
Chile (1952-53)
Colombia (1947-48, 1953-54)
Cuba (1949-50)
Denmark (1953-54)
Ecuador (1950-51)
Egypt (1946, 1949-50)
Greece (1952-53)
India (1950-51)
Lebanon (1953-54)
Mexico (1946)
Netherlands (1946, 1951-52)
Norway (1949-50)
Pakistan (1952-53)
Poland (1946-47)
Syria (1947-48)
Turkey (1951-52)
Ukrainian S.S.R. (1948-49)
Yugoslavia (1950-51)

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15. Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council.

[NOTE: Six of the 18 members of the Economic and Social Council retire each year after serving three years on the Council. Election is by secret ballot and a two-thirds majority is required. Retiring members are eligible for immediate re-election.

The present members of the Council are: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, China, Cuba, Egypt, France, India, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Turkey, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

The six whose terms of office expire at the end of this year are: Philippines, Poland, Sweden, USSR, United Kingdom and Uruguay.]

16. Election of two members of the Trusteeship Council.

[NOTE: The Trusteeship Council consists of UN members administering trust territories, permanent members of the Security Council which do not administer trust territories, and as many other non-administering countries, elected by the Assembly for three-year terms, as are required to insure on the Council an equal number of countries which administer trust territories and of those which do not.

The present members of the Council: Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States (administering countries); China, USSR (non-administering permanent members of the Security Council); Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Syria, Thailand.

Elected members of the Council are eligible for immediate re-election when their terms expire. Election is by secret ballot; a two-thirds majority is required.

The two members whose terms expire at the end of 1953 are: Dominican Republic and Thailand.]

17. Election of the members of the International Law Commission (resolutions 174 (II) of 21 November 1947 and 486 (V) of 12 December 1950)

[NOTE: The International Law Commission was established by the General Assembly's resolution of 21 November 1947 but it was not until 3 November 1948 that the Assembly elected 15 members of the Commission for a three year term. By its resolution of 12 December 1950 the Assembly extended the members' term for two further years.

The Commission's terms of reference are to promote the progressive development of international law and its codification. The present members who serve in their individual capacity, are:

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Ricardo J. Alfaro (Panama), Chairman
Gilberto Amado (Brazil), Second Vice-Chairman
Roberto Cordova (Mexico)
J.P.A. Francois (Netherlands), First Vice-Chairman
Shuhsi Hsu (China)
Manley O. Hudson (United States)
Faris Bey el-Khouri (Syria)
F.I. Kozhevnikov (USSR)
H. Lauterpacht (United Kingdom)
Radhabinod Pal (India)
A.E.F. Sandstrom (Sweden)
Georges Scelle (France)
Jean Spiropoulos (Greece), Rapporteur
Jesus Maria Yepes (Colombia)
Jaroslav Zourek (Czechoslovakia)]

18. The Korean question

(a) Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (resolution 376 V of 7 October 1950)

[NOTE: UNCURK was established by the Assembly resolution of 7 October 1950. It consists of Australia, Chile, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and Turkey. One of its functions is to represent the United Nations in helping to establish a unified, independent and democratic government of all Korea.

UNCURK's report to the 8th Assembly session has not yet been issued.

In accordance with a resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 18 April 1953, the Seventh Regular Assembly which had recessed on 23 April was called back by the President on the day that he was notified by the UN Command of the signing of the Korean Armistice at Panmunjom on 27 July 1953 (Korean time).

The Seventh Session reconvened on 17 August to discuss arrangements for the special Political Conference recommended in Article 60 of the Armistice Agreement. The Assembly adjourned on 28 August after adopting a resolution recommending that "the side contributing forces under the Unified Command in Korea shall have as participants in the Conference those among the member states contributing armed forces pursuant to the call of the United Nations which desire to be represented, together with the Republic of Korea." The resolution further recommended that the United States Government should arrange with the other side for the Political Conference to be held not later than 28 October 1953, at a place and on a date satisfactory to both sides. The vote on the resolution was 43 in favor, 5 against and 10 abstentions. The Assembly also recommended participation of the Soviet Union in the Political Conference, "provided the other side desires it."]

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(b) Report of the United Nations Agent General for Korean Reconstruction (resolution 410 A (V) of 1 December 1950)

/NOTE: UNKRA was established by Assembly resolution of 1 December 1950. The first Agent General was J. Donald Kingsley who was appointed on 7 December 1951 and who was succeeded by John B. Coulter on 12 May 1953. The Agent General is assisted by an Advisory Committee consisting of Canada, India, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay. UNKRA's operations are financed by voluntary contributions from UN member governments.

At its seventh session, the General Assembly on 11 March 1953 adopted a resolution noting with approval that the Agent General had undertaken, in co-operation with the Government of the Republic of Korea and the UN Command, and in consultation with UNCURK, a program of relief and rehabilitation projects for the period ending June 1953. The resolution went on to express appreciation of the contributions made by governments, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations and requested governments which had made pledges to UNKRA to make prompt payment of those pledges and called for continuing assistance to meet the need of the Korean people for relief and rehabilitation.

Agent General John B. Coulter has subsequently reported that outside aid in the amount of one billion dollars will be required to restore Korea's economy to its pre-war level.

On 26 August, the Advisory Committee to UNKRA approved the Agency's $130 million program of long-range rehabilitation of Korea for the year ending 30 June 1954. This is essentially an extention of the $70 million program undertaken by UNKRA last year.

(The Agent General's report to the Eighth Session of the Assembly will be issued shortly.)/

19. Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (resolutions 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949 and 614 (VII) of 6 November 1952)

/NOTE: The General Assembly, at its sixth regular session in Paris, approved a three-year $250,000,000 relief and reintegration program for Palestine refugees, without prejudice to the refugees' other rights to repatriation or compensation: At its seventh session, the Assembly recognized, in a resolution adopted on 6 November 1952, that the immediate realization of

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of reduction of relief expenditure envisaged in the three-year program had not proved possible and that therefore increased relief expenditures were required with resultant reduction in the reintegration funds. The resolution authorizes UNWRA to increase the relief budget to $23,000,000 for the fiscal year ending 30 June 1953 and to adopt a relief budget of $18,000,000 for the fiscal year ending 30 June 1954.

The operations of UNWRA are financed by voluntary contributions by UN members. In its report to the seventh General Assembly, UNWRA stated it had 880,000 refugees on its rolls scattered over more than 100,000 square miles in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

The Director of the Agency is assisted by an Advisory Commission consisting of France, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States. The Director's report to the coming Assembly has not yet been issued.]

20. Treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa: report of the United Nations Good Offices Commission (resolution 615 (VII) of 5 December 1952)

[NOTE: The Assembly, which had had this question before it since 1946, noted at its last session that the Union of South Africa had expressed its inability to accept a resolution adopted by the Assembly in January 1952 regarding resumption of negotiations with the Governments of India and Pakistan, and also noted that the South African Government had continued to enforce the Group Areas Act in contravention of Assembly recommendations. By the same resolution of 5 December 1952, the Assembly established a Good Offices Commission of three members to be named by the President to assist in negotiations between South Africa on the one hand and India and Pakistan on the other "in order that a satisfactory solution of the question in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights be achieved." The resolution also called for suspension of enforcement of the Group Areas Act pending conclusion of negotiations between the three governments.

The President named Cuba, Syria and Yugoslavia to comprise the Good Offices Commission. On 23 March 1953 the Commission informed the three governments concerned that it was its sincere hope that it could be of some help in the matter and asked that they inform it of any suggestions they might have on the manner in which it could render assistance.

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In a communication to the UN Secretary-General dated 13 May 1953, the Permanent Representative of the Union of South Africa to the United Nations stated that his Government regarded the Assembly resolution of 5 December 1952 as unconstitutional and therefore regretted it could grant no recognition to the Commission appointed under that resolution.

The report of the Commission to the Assembly will be issued later.]

21. The question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa: report of the Commission appointed to study the racial question in the Union of South Africa (resolution 616A (VII) of 5 December 1952)

[NOTE: By the resolution referred to, the General Assembly at its last session established a Commission of three members to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa and to report its conclusions to the 8th regular session. The South African Government was invited to extend its full co-operation to the Commission. The preamble to the resolution referred to the fact that one of the purposes of the UN was to achieve international co-operation in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all and recalled previous Assembly resolutions urging cessation of religious and so-called racial persecution and holding that a policy of racial segregation was based on doctrines of racial discrimination.

The three members originally designated by the Assembly to serve on the Commission were Hernan Santa Cruz, Ralph Bunche and Jaime Torres Bodet. As the two latter were unable to serve, the Assembly later decided that the Commission should consist of Hernan Santa Cruz, Henri Langier and Dantes Bellegarde.

The Commission began its meetings in Geneva on 11 May 1953 and has heard statements from witnesses. Its report to the coming Assembly will be issued later.]

22. Admission of new Members: report of the Special Committee (resolution 620A (VII) of 21 December 1952)

[NOTE: The 19-member Special Committee on the Admission of New Members was established by the General Assembly in its resolution of 21 December 1952 and instructed to make a detailed study of the question of the admission of States to membership in the United Nations, examining the proposals and suggestions which had been made in the General Assembly and its Committees or which might be submitted to the Special Committee by any Members of the United Nations, such study to be conducted in the light of the relevant provisions of

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the Charter of the United Nations, the discussions in the General Assembly and its Committees, the debates in the Security Council, the advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice, the other antecedents of the question and the principles of international law. The Special Committee was to report on its work and conclusions to the Eighth Session of the General Assembly.

The Special Committee's report (Doc. A/2400) noted that none of the courses proposed had proved generally acceptable. In light of the view of many members that the Special Committee should limit itself to giving a comprehensive account of its deliberations, the Special Committee agreed that no vote would be taken on the various proposals and suggestions and that no specific recommendations would be submitted to the Assembly.]

23. Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments: report of the Disarmament Commission (resolution 704 (VII) of 8 April 1953)

[NOTE: The resolution of the last session which is referred to was adopted by a vote of 52 in favor, 5 against, and 3 abstentions. It declared that the aims of a system of world-wide disarmament is to prevent war and release the world's human and economic resources for the purposes of peace; it took note of the report of the Disarmament Commission and requested it to continue its work for the development by the United Nations of comprehensive and co-ordinated plans providing for: (a) the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments; (b) the elimination and prohibition of all major weapons, including bacteriological, adaptable to man's distruction; (c) the effective international control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only; the whole program to be carried out under effective international control in such a way that no State would have course to fear that its security was endangered. Finally, the resolution requested the Disarmament Commission to report to the Assembly and to the Security Council not later than 1 September 1953.

The Commission met on 20 August and unanimously approved a report stating the hope "that recent international events will create a more propitious atmosphere for the reconsideration of the disarmament question, whose capital importance in conjunction with other questions affecting the maintenance of peace is recognized by all." The Commission said it expected to continue its work and planned to present a report to the Ninth Session of the General Assembly and to the Security Council. (Docs. A/2444 and S/3087/Rev.1)

The Disarmament Commission consists of the 11 members of the Security Council plus Canada.] (more)

24. Question of impartial investigation of charges of use by United Nations forces of bacterial warfare (resolution 706 (VII) of 23 April 1953)

[NOTE: The resolution of 23 April 1953 noted that accusations had been made by certain governments and authorities charging use of bacteriological warfare by UN forces and that the Unified Command had repeatedly denied such charges; it noted also that the Unified Command had requested an impartial investigation and that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the North Korean authorities had refused to accept an offer by the International Committee of the Red Cross to carry out an investigation, and that a US proposal for an investigation by the International Committee of the Red Cross had been defeated in the Security Council because of the negative vote of the USSR. The resolution went on to state that the Assembly, desiring to serve the interests of truth, resolved that a Commission consisting of Brazil, Egypt, Pakistan, Sweden and Uruguay should investigate the charges after the President of the Assembly had received an indication from all governments and authorities concerned of their acceptance of said investigation. The President was asked to transmit the resolution to the governments and authorities requesting them to indicate their acceptance of the investigation.

The resolution was duly transmitted in accordance with the Assembly's decision. By communications dated 27 April, 13 and 18 May respectively, the United States, the Republic of Korea and Japan made known their acceptance of the proposed investigation. To date, no reply has been received from North Korea or the People's Republic of China. The proposed Commission has, in consequence, not functioned.]

25. Complaint by the Union of Burma regarding aggression against it by the Government of the Republic of China: report of the Government of the Union of Burma (resolution 707 (VII) of 23 April 1953)

[NOTE: This question was considered at the last session of the Assembly on the request of the Government of Burma in a cablegram dated 25 March 1953. As a result of the ensuing discussion, the Assembly, on 23 April, adopted by 59 votes in favor with 1 abstention (China) a resolution which declared that the presence, hostile activities and depredations of foreign forces in the territory of Burma constituted a violation of the territory and sovereignty of Burma. The presence of these forces was condemned and the resolution declared they must be disarmed and either agree to internment or leave Burma forthwith. All states were requested to respect the territorial

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integrity and political independence of Burma. The resolution recommended that negotiations then in progress through the good offices of certain member states should be pursued in order to put an end to this serious situation by means of the immediate disarmament and withdrawal of the foreign forces from Burma or by means of their disarmament and internment. All states were urged to aid Burma, in its request, to facilitate by peaceful means the evacuation of these forces; to refrain from giving any assistance to them which might enable them to remain in Burma or continue their hostile acts against that country.

The final clause of the resolution invited Burma to report on the situation to the 8th General Assembly session.]

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26. Economic development of under-developed countries:
(a) Question of establishing a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low-interest long term loans: report of the Economic and Social Council (resolution 622 A (VII) of 21 December 1952)

/NOTE: The report of the Economic and Social Council on this question is submitted in accordance with a request of the Assembly as part of its consideration of the general question of the financing of economic development of under-developed countries.

At its sixth session the Assembly had asked the Council to submit a detailed plan for the establishment and organization of, as soon as circumstances permitted, a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low-interest long term loans to help under-developed countries, at their request, to accelerate their economic development and to finance basic, non-self-liquidating projects.

The Council decided to establish a committee of experts, to be appointed by the Secretary-General, to prepare a plan. This committee early this year produced a unanimous report (Doc. E/2381, summarized in Press Release EC/1218) on the operations of a Special UN Fund on Economic Development (SUNFED) which would come into being only when at least 30 countries had pledged the equivalent of not less than $250,000,000 for its initial period of operation. The Fund should be a separate administration but within the framework of and in close relationship to the United Nations. In its early phase, it was recommended, guiding factors in allocating resources among governments should be (1) merits of individual applications submitted; (2) projects promoting the purposes of the UN or special objectives given high priority by UN organs; (3) projects capable of yielding early results; and (4) maintenance of a reasonable geographical balance in allocations.

This report was considered by the ECOSOC which at its last (16th) session held in Geneva 30 June to 5 August 1953, adopted a resolution which recommended that governments should consider joining in the following draft declaration at the coming Assembly session: --

"We, the Member governments of the United Nations, in order to promote higher standards of living and conditions of economic and social progress and development, stand ready to ask our peoples, when sufficient progress has been made in internationally supervised world-wide disarmament, to devote a portion of the savings achieved through such disarmament to an international fund, within the framework of the United Nations, to assist development and reconstruction in under-developed countries."

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The Council also expressed great appreciation to the expert committee for its report on the special fund which it transmitted to the Assembly together with records of the Council's discussion.

It recommended that the Assembly consider what other preparatory steps might usefully be taken toward the establishment, when circumstances permit, of an international fund to aid development and reconstruction in under-developed countries.

[The Council's vote on this resolution was 15 in favor, none against, 2 abstentions (Poland and the USSR) and 1 absent.]

(b) Status of the proposal for the establishment of an international finance corporation: report of the Economic and Social Council (resolution 622 B (VII) of 21 December 1952)

[NOTE: Last year's Assembly resolution, which is referred to, among other matters (1) noted with satisfaction a preliminary report prepared by the International Bank on a proposed international finance corporation (Doc.E/2215); (2) recalled that in June 1952 the Economic and Social Council requested the International Bank to continue its studies and to seek the views of its member governments on the desirability of establishing such a corporation and to inform the Council during 1953 on the results of this further examination; (3) looked forward to early completion of their tasks on this question by the Bank and ECOSOC; (4) requested the Secretary-General to provide the Bank with the records of the seventh Assembly's discussion on the subject; and (5) requested ECOSOC to report to the coming Assembly session on progress made.

Before the last session of the ECOSOC was an interim report of the International Bank which indicated that the time was not yet ripe for setting up the finance corporation. Reporting on its consultations with various governments, national organizations and business groups, the Bank drew attention to the fact that "while maintaining their interest in the proposal, countries on whom the corporation would necessarily have to depend for the greater part of its funds have not as yet indicated that they are ready to commit themselves to subscribe to its capital."

The Council's discussion centered on the feasibility of establishing such a corporation. In a vote of 16 in favor, none against and with 2 abstentions (Poland, USSR) the Council eventually adopted a resolution commending the International Bank for its useful contribution to the study of an international finance corporation and invited it to present the results of its further studies as soon as possible and to report progress to the Council's next session.

For fuller information on the Council's discussions both of the proposed Special UN Fund for Economic Development and the international finance corporation see the "UN Bulletin" for 15 August.]

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27. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance for the economic development of underdeveloped countries: report of the Economic and Social Council (resolution 621 (VII) of 21 December 1952).

[NOTE: Financial difficulties facing the expanded program of technical assistance occupied a large part of the Council's attention at its last session in Geneva. The program is financed by voluntary contributions from Governments and the Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board told the Council that unless contributions were increased for 1954 it would be necessary to cut down projects in course of application and to abstain from launching new ones, although requests for aid from governments were increasing.

The Council's decisions, which will come before the Assembly, included the following:

(1) It unanimously urged states taking part in the expanded program to continue giving it their full support, financial and otherwise, so as to ensure the essential development of the program and to help it meet the growing needs of underdeveloped countries. Governments were urged to contribute the maximum possible for meeting program needs in 1954, contributions in any case to be no less than the amounts earmarked for assistance activities approved by the TAB for 1953.

(2) To enable the UN and specialized agencies taking part in the expanded program to plan their 1954 projects before next 1 January, the Council asked the UN Committee which negotiates with Governments for extra-budgetary funds to meet as soon as possible after 5 August. It also asked that the next pledging conference at which governments announce their contributions to the program, be held as early as possible during the coming Assembly session.

(3) By 16 votes to 0 with 2 abstentions, the Council asked the Assembly to approve the following financial arrangements for 1954:

(i) Seventy-five per cent of the funds pledged for 1954 to be available for immediate allocation to the participating organizations after programs for various countries have been approved by the TAB;

(ii) The rest of the available funds, including the carry-over from previous years, to be kept in reserve for meeting essential minimum expenses of TAB and resident technical assistance representatives and for further allocations to participating organizations as TAB may deem necessary;

(iii) In view of the present level of operational expenditures, the need for economy to be taken fully into account when establishing essential administrative expenses for the entire program.

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(4) The Council unanimously asked its Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) to submit any recommendations it may have on the financial procedures for the program's operation.

(5) The Council was of the unanimous opinion that for the orderly development of projects it would be useful to have assured financial support for more than one-year periods, as has been the case so far; accordingly it asked countries in a position to do so to take steps, within their constitutional limitations, to ensure long term financial support.

(6) The TAB was asked to report on the results of proposals to improve the co-ordination of technical assistance in recipient countries.

(7) The Council asked the Assembly to approve a revised program of technical assistance in public administration.

Separate agenda items arising from its last session of ECOSOC and relating to technical assistance will be found in the Supplementary List, items # 2, 3, 4, 5, given at the end of this release.]

28. Work of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees:
(a) Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (resolution 428 (V) of 14 December 1950)

[NOTE: The UN High Commissioner for Refugees acts under the authority of the General Assembly to give international protection to refugees as defined in the Statute of his office which was adopted by the Assembly on 14 December 1950. Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart of the Netherlands was elected High Commissioner for Refugees for a three-year term from 1 January 1951. In 1951, the Economic and Social Council established an advisory committee whose opinion may be requested by the High Commissioner. It consists of representatives of Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Israel, Italy, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, the Vatican and Venezuela.

The annual report of the High Commissioner (Doc. A/2394) was considered by the last ECOSOC session which is transmitting it to the General Assembly with a resolution, adopted by 16 votes in favor to 2 against (Poland, USSR) which recommends that the Office of the High Commissioner be continued for a further five years. The resolution praises the valuable work performed by the Commissioner "in providing international protection for refugees and promoting permanent solutions" for their problems. It draws the Assembly's attention to the importance of making provision for the arrangements of the Office to be reviewed at least one year before the expiry of the period which the Assembly will determine.

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Addressing the Council, the High Commissioner pointed out that the target for voluntary contributions to the UN Refugee Emergency Fund had been set at $3,000,000 but that so far only $1,000,000 has been obtained. From the Ford Foundation Grant, the High Commissioner reported, his Office has allocated as of 15 June 1953 the sum of $2,250,000 for long-range assimilation and resettlement projects to be carried out by voluntary agencies.]

(b) Memorandum by the Secretary-General

[NOTE: This has not yet been issued.]

(c) Question of the continuation of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (resolutions 319 (V) of 3 December 1949 and 428 (V) of 14 December 1950

[NOTE: The Office of High Commissioner was originally established for three years beginning 1 January 1951. As stated in the note to item 28 (a) above, the ECOSOC is recommending extension of the period for five more years.]

29. Continuation on a permanent basis of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (resolution 417 (V) of 1 December 1950)

[NOTE: Under the terms of the Assembly's 1950 resolution, the work of UNICEF would be terminated at the end of 1953. This coming session will have before it a unanimous recommendation from the ECOSOC that the work of UNICEF be continued indefinitely under the title of United Nations Children's Fund, although the symbol UNICEF would be retained. The work of the Fund would be subject to periodic review by the Council and the Assembly.

In the Council discussion on UNICEF, delegates warmly praised its work which in six years has assisted millions of children and mothers in 70 countries and territories.

30. Transfer to the United Nations of the functions undertaken by the League of Nations under the International Slavery Convention of 1926. Draft Protocol prepared by the Secretary-General: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 475 (XV) of 27 April 1953)

[NOTE: A memorandum from the Secretary-General to the General Assembly on this item is contained in Doc. A/2435. It recalls the ECOSOC resolution of 27 April 1953 adopted after the Council had considered a report on "Slavery, the Slave Trade, and other Forms of Servitude" (E/2357). The Council's resolution,

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inter alia, recommends that the Assembly invite States Parties to the 1926 Convention to agree to transfer functions undertaken by the League of Nations under the Convention to the United Nations. It also requested the Secretary-General to draft a protocol for this purpose and to communicate it to States Parties to the Convention and to the General Assembly. The draft protocol is given in Doc. A/2435.]

31. The Ewe and Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council (resolution 652 (VII) of 20 December 1952.)

[NOTE: The Ewe question, first brought before the United Nations in 1947, has been considered by the Trusteeship Council at almost every session since. The Ewes, a tribe of about one million people, are at present divided between British- and French-administered Togoland and the neighboring Colony of the Gold Coast. Through their spokesmen and organized groups they have petitioned the Trusteeship Council for unification of their people under a single administration. Various proposals advanced by the two Administering Authorities, Britain and France, have failed to secure agreement.

When the question came again before the Assembly at its seventh session, tribal spokesmen for different local parties once more presented their views. The Assembly also took account of a special report of the Trusteeship Council (Doc. A/2289) which gave general endorsement to the findings of its visiting mission which made a first-hand study of the problem that year (Doc. T/1034). The Assembly also heard the observations of the two Administering Authorities.

In its resolution of 20 December 1952, the Assembly urged the two Administering Authorities concerned and the peoples involved to "exert every effort to achieve a prompt, constructive and equitable settlement of the problem, taking fully into account the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned." It recommended that Britain and France should carry on full and extensive consultations with the principal political parties in the two territories and make every effort to bring about the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs -- a proposal first advanced by the Administering Authorities and later endorsed with some modifications by the Trusteeship Council in 1951 -- "on a basis which will enlist the cooperation of all major segments of the population so that it may be an effective and representative organ for the consideration of the common problems of the two territories." The resolution also urged all of the

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principal parties in the two Togolands to make every effort to assist constructively in these consultations. It further recommended that the Joint Council be given sufficiently broad advisory responsibilities to enable it to function on all matters of common concern -- political, economic, social and educational, "including the question of the unification of the two territories," and that its members be selected "by direct elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage exercised by secret ballot." The Assembly resolution further asked for a special report from the Trusteeship Council on all steps taken by the administering authorities pursuant to the Council resolution and the Assembly resolution on the Ewe question, including "a full account of all factors affecting the unification question." In accordance with this request, the Trusteeship Council prepared at its twelfth session a special report (Doc. A/2424) which will be placed before the Assembly at its coming session.]

32. Information from Non-self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

(a) Information on educational conditions.

[NOTE: The Assembly, at its fourth session, invited the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to give each year special attention to one of the three functional fields mentioned in Article 73 e of the Charter. Accordingly, the Committee examined educational conditions in 1950, economic conditions in 1951 and social conditions in 1952. This year, the Committee, which began its session on 18 August, will make a further study of educational developments, with particular reference to the question of equality of opportunity for all racial, religious and cultural groups in dependent territories. The Committee had before it studies prepared by the Secretariat on this and other major aspects of education in non-self-governing territories, as well as studies prepared by the specialized agencies. The Committee will submit a separate report on educational conditions in the territories as part of its general report to the eighth General Assembly.]

(b) Information on other conditions

[NOTE: When the Assembly recommended that the Committee should devote special attention each year to a given field within its province, it also asked that this should be "without prejudice to the annual consideration of all the functional fields enumerated in Article 73 e of the Charter," which are economic, social and educational.]

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(c) Transmission of Information

[NOTE: On 16 December 1952, the General Assembly adopted a resolution recommending that Members administering non-self-governing territories should include voluntarily in the information transmitted by them under Article 73 e of the Charter details regarding the extent to which the right of peoples and nations to self-determination is exercised by the peoples of those territories. The Assembly also decided to place the resolution on this year's agenda of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.]

(d) Participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: recommendations of the Committee (resolution 647 (VII) of 10 December 1952).

[NOTE: Closer links between the indigenous peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Committee were envisaged in a proposal adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth session. This invited the Committee to consider the possibility of associating the territories "more closely in its work" and to report on the results of its study to the seventh Assembly session. The Assembly examined the report at the last session and adopted on 10 December 1952 a resolution which considered it desirable that qualified indigenous representatives from non-self-governing territories be associated in the work of the Committee and invited the Administering Members to make such participation possible. The resolution also invited the Administering Members to transmit copies of the Committee's reports on economic, social and educational conditions, together with the relevant Assembly resolutions, to the executive and legislative branches of the territories. Last, it invited the Committee "to study further" the question of the direct participation, in its discussions on economic, social and educational conditions, of representatives of those territories the inhabitants of which have attained a wide measure of responsibility for economic, social and educational policies, "and to include recommendations on this question in its report to the General Assembly at its eighth session."]

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33. Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (resolution 648 (VII) of 10 December 1952).

[NOTE: What considerations should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government? This question, which has been debated by the Assembly's Fourth Committee at several sessions, has a bearing on one of the obligations which Member states administering non-self-governing territories have accepted under Chapter XI of the Charter: to transmit each year to the Secretary-General information on economic, social and educational conditions in their respective territories. At the seventh session, the General Assembly provisionally approved a list of factors, prepared by an ad hoc committee, which might serve as a guide, both for itself and for UN members, in deciding whether or not a territory has reached full measure of self-government. By the same resolution, the Assembly also set up a ten-member committee, consisting of Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Guatemala, Iraq, Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States and Venezuela, to continue the work of the previous committee. It was asked to carry out "a more thorough study" of the factors and to take into account the views of member governments on the subject, which the resolution requested should be submitted by 1 May 1953. The new Committee met 17-30 July, and approved a slightly modified list of factors divided under three headings. The first part lists factors indicative of the attainment of independence; the second, factors indicative of the attainment of other systems of self-government in continuing association with the metropolitan country or in other forms; and the third, factors indicative of the free association of a territory with the metropolitan or other country as an integral part of that country.]

34. Cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter: reports of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (non-self-governing territories) and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

(a) Netherlands Antilles and Surinam (resolution 650 (VII) of 20 December 1952)

[NOTE: When the Assembly set up the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors, it also instructed the Committee to study and report on the documents submitted by the Government of the Netherlands when it informed the Secretary-General

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that it would no longer transmit information on the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam since these areas were, in its opinion, no longer non-self-governing within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. The documents in question were supplied in compliance with an Assembly resolution requiring Members considering it unnecessary to continue to transmit information on a particular territory because of a change in the territory's status to send full information on the change to the Secretary-General, including the constitution, legislative act or executive order providing for the territory's government in its relation to the metropolitan government. The Ad Hoc Committee, after examining the question, decided to refer the matter to the eight Assembly without recommendation.]

(b) Puerto Rico (resolution 448 (V) of 12 December 1950).

[NOTE: By letter dated 20 March 1953, the United States Mission to the United Nations, referring to General Assembly resolution 222 (III) of 3 November 1948, informed the Secretary-General of the decision of the United States Government to cease to transmit information on Puerto Rico under Article 73 e of the Charter, in view of the fact that a change had taken place in the constitutional status of the Territory when a new constitution establishing the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico went into force in July 1952. The communication, together with the texts of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the explanatory memorandum by the United States Government and a letter from the Governor of Puerto Rico to the President of the United States, was placed before the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 448 (V) of 12 December 1950, the Committee will incorporate in its report to the eighth Assembly the results of its consideration of the communications transmitted by the United States Government concerning Puerto Rico.]

35. Election of two members of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (resolution 646 (VII) of 10 December 1952.

[NOTE: The Committee consists of the eight Member States transmitting information under Article 73 e of the Charter relating to dependent territories under their administration, and an equal number of non-administering Members elected by the General Assembly's Fourth Committee. The Committee at present is composed of: Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States (Members transmitting information) and Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, India, Indonesia,

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Iraq and Pakistan (Members elected). The terms of Cuba and Pakistan will expire at the end of 1953 and the Fourth Committee, on behalf of the Assembly, will elect two members to replace them.]

36. Question of South West Africa: report of the Ad Hoc Committee on South West Africa (resolution 651 (VII) of 20 December 1952).

[NOTE: The General Assembly, at its sixth session, adopted a resolution which made a "solemn appeal" to the Government of the Union of South Africa to "reconsider its position" with respect to the question of South West Africa and urged it to resume negotiations with an ad hoc committee, set up under the same resolution, for an agreement on implementing the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the question:--the opinion that the Union Government continues to have international obligations with respect to the former-mandated territory. The Assembly resolution also urged the Union to submit reports on its administration of the territory and to transmit petitions to the United Nations from communities or sections of the population. It further declared that the United Nations cannot recognize as valid any measures taken unilaterally by the Union Government which would modify the international status of South West Africa. As an interim measure, the resolution authorized the ad hoc committee to examine any report on the administration of the territory, petitions or other matters "as far as possible in accordance with the procedure of the former Mandates System."

The ad hoc committee, composed of Norway, Syria, Thailand, United States and Uruguay, held a series of meetings during 1952 with the Union Government's representatives. In its report to the Seventh Assembly session (Doc. A/2261 and Press Release GA/918), the committee reported that agreement in principle on several points had been reached with the Union representatives; however basic divergencies towards a solution of the question still remained.

The Assembly, on 20 December 1952, adopted a resolution by which it decided to postpone consideration of the question until the eighth session. In the meantime, it requested the ad hoc committee, previously set up, to continue negotiations on the same basis as before. The Committee will report to the Assembly at the coming session.]

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37. Financial reports and accounts, and reports of the Board of Auditors:

(a) United Nations, for the financial year ended 31 December 1952.

[NOTE: The report (Doc. A/2392) shows that obligations incurred for 1952 amounted to $50,270,173 compared with total appropriations of $50,547,660. The obligations incurred were less than income credited for the year, represented by Members' contributions and miscellaneous income earned, by $298,366. The balance on surplus account at 31 December 1952 was $1,313,853. Of this amount $260,797 was transferred to the Working Capital Fund in 1953; $340,380 was credited to Members' contributions for 1953 and $712,676 is the balance available for credit to Members against 1954 contributions.]

(b) United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, for the financial year ended 31 December 1952

[NOTE: This report will be issued as Doc. A/2396.]

(c) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, for the financial year ended 30 June 1953

[NOTE: This report has not yet been issued.]

(d) United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, for the financial year ended 31 June 1953

[NOTE: This report will be issued later.]

38. Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1953.

[NOTE: A report will be submitted during the Assembly session.]

39. Budget estimates for the financial year 1954.

[NOTE: The estimated gross budget (Doc. A/2383, summarized in Press Release GA/988/Rev.1) prepared by the Secretary-General totals $48,123,400. Income is estimated at $6,463,200, leaving a net budget of $41,660,200. The 1954 estimate is $429,300 less than the approved net budget for 1953 which was approved at a figure of $42,089,500.

The Secretary-General's estimates have been reviewed by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions which has submitted a report (Doc. A/2403, summarized in Press Release GA/991) recommending an overall reduction of $843,800 in the estimates proposed by the Secretary-General. These reductions would bring the gross budget figure down to $47,279,600.]

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40. Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:

(a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

[Note: Three of the nine members of this Committee retire each year. They are eligible for reappointment. The present members are: Thanassis Aghnides (Greece), Chairman; Rafik Asha (Syria); Carlos Blanco (Cuba); Eduardo Carrizosa (Colombia); I.V. Chechetkin (USSR); Arthur H. Clough (UK); Andre Ganem (France); William O. Hall (US); and Braj Kumar Nehru (India).

The terms of Mr. Asha, Mr. Ganem and Mr. Nehru expire at the end of 1953.]

(b) Committee on Contributions

[Note: This is a ten-member Committee. Members retire by rotation and are eligible for reappointment. The present members are: Maria Z.N. Witteveen (Netherlands), Chairman; S.M. Burke (Pakistan); Rene Charron (France); Arthur H.Clough (UK); Arthur Samuel Lall (India); Adolfo Nass (Venezuela); Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia); Stuart A. Rice (US); Josue Saenz (Mexico); and G.F. Saksin (USSR).

The terms of office of Miss Witteveen, Mr. Clough and Mr. Nass expire at the end of 1953.]

(c) Board of Auditors

[Note: The Board consists of three members. At each regular session, the Assembly appoints an auditor to take office from July 1 of the following year for a three-year term. The election this year will be to fill the vacancy created by the expiry on June 30, 1954 of the term of office of the Auditor-General of Colombia.]

(d) Investments Committee

[Note: The present members of the Investments Committee are: Ivar Rooth, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund; Jacques Rueff, Honorary Governor of the Bank of France; and Leslie Rounds, First Vice-President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Expiry of the three-year term of Mr. Rueff creates the vacancy on the Investments Committee to be filled.]

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40. (cont'd)

(e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal

[Note: The Tribunal is composed of seven members appointed by the Assembly for three-year terms. The present members are: Madame Paul Bastid (France); Lord Crook (UK); Bror Arvid Sture Petren (Sweden); Vladimir Outrata Czechoslovakia); Homero Viteri-Lafronte (Equador); Omar Loutfi (Egypt); and Djalal Abdoh (Iran).

The terms of Lord Crook and Mr. Vladimir Outrata expire at the end of 1953.]

41. Headquarters of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General (resolution 663 (VII) of 25 November 1952)

[Note: An interim report by the Secretary-General (not yet issued) will contain information on progress during the past year of construction and landscaping of the Permanent Headquarters and adjacent areas.]

42. Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (resolution 665 (VII) of 5 December 1952)

[Note: The costs of the UN are borne by all Members. Each regular Assembly session determines, on the basis of a report from its Committee on Contributions, the scale of assessments—expressed in percentages of the cost—for all the Members. The report of the Committee on Contributions to the coming Assembly has not yet been issued. However, last year the Assembly decided that "as from 1 January 1954 the assessment of the largest contributor shall not exceed one-third of total assessments against Members." The effect of this will be to reduce the assessment of the United States from 35.12 per cent in 1953 to 33-1/3 per cent for 1954.]

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43. Review of audit procedures of the United Nations and the specialized agencies: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (resolution 672 B (VII) of 20 December 1952).

/NOTE: The reports referred to in this agenda item have not yet been issued. They were requested by a resolution of the last Assembly which noted the increased activities of the UN and the specialized agencies and the related increase in their financial responsibilities and which stated that the present system for the audit of their accounts might not be the most suitable and efficient to meet the increased requirements. The Administrative Committee on Coordination of the UN and specialized agencies was invited to review present procedures and recommend any changes it considered desirable. The Advisory Committee was requested to report to the Assembly on any such recommendations./

44. Report of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds (resolution 693 (VII) of 25 October 1952).

/NOTE: Certain of the activities of the UN and the specialized agencies are financed by voluntary contributions of Member governments. Such activities include: UN International Children's Emergency Fund, the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency, and the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. To assist in obtaining funds for these special programs not provided for in the regular budget of the United Nations, the Assembly requested the President to appoint a Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds. The President accordingly appointed a Negotiating Committee composed of Australia, Canada, Colombia, France, Haiti, Lebanon, Pakistan, United Kingdom and United States.

This Committee's report has not yet been issued./

45. Administrative and budgetary coordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

/NOTE: These reports will be issued later./

46. Audit reports relating to expenditure by specialized agencies of technical assistance funds allocated from the Special Account (resolution 519 A (VI) of 12 January 1952).

/NOTE: By resolution 519 A (VI), the Assembly approved financial arrangements agreed to by the Economic and Social Council for the allocation of funds contributed for the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance. Under these arrangements $10,000,000 of contributions received for the second

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financial period were allocated on an agreed basis to the various participating organizations. The balance was placed in a Special Account for allocation by the Technical Assistance Board.

The audit reports called for by this agenda item relate to expenditure by specialized agencies of funds from this Special Account. The reports will be issued later.]

47. United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund:

(a) Annual report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board for the year ended 31 December 1952.

[NOTE: This report (Doc. A/2421) shows that the total value of the Fund at the end of 1952 amounted to $29,153,966. The excess of income over expenditure for the year was $7,830,526. Income from investments amounted to $683,988. The total value of benefits paid during the year was $726,733, of which withdrawal benefits amounted to $634,744.]

(b) Acceptance by the specialized agencies of the jurisdiction of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal in matters involving applications alleging non-observance of Pension Fund regulations: report of the Secretary-General (resolution 678 (VII) of 21 December 1952).

[NOTE: At its last session, in taking note of the annual report of the UN Joint Staff Pension Board, the General Assembly recommended that the governing organs of specialized agencies which are members of the Fund, accept the jurisdiction of the UN Administrative Tribunal in matters involving applications alleging non-observance of Pension Fund regulations. The Secretary-General was asked to report to the eighth Assembly session on action taken on this recommendation. His report will be issued later.]

(c) Amendments to the regulations for the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund: report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board (resolution 680 (VII) of 21 December 1952).

[NOTE: In approving amendments and additions to the Pension Fund regulations, the Assembly last year referred back to the Pension Fund Board for further consideration of proposals relating to Article XI ("Summary dismissal for serious misconduct") and Article XVI ("Contributions on account of participants"). The Assembly also referred to the Pension Fund Board for consideration of a proposal that administrative expenses of the Fund be charged to the Fund instead of being met, as at present, out of the general budget of the UN.

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The report of the UN Joint Staff Pension Board (Doc. A/2422) submits revised texts for Articles XI and XVI. On the question of administrative costs, the Board reports its intention to reconsider the proposal, that these should be charged to the Fund, after the next actuarial valuation of the Fund has been received. The Board is of the opinion that it would be premature to decide this question on the basis of the valuation at December 1951.]

48. Organization of the Secretariat: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (resolution 681 A (VII) of 21 December 1952).

[NOTE: The last session of the General Assembly, after discussing a report by the First Secretary-General (Doc. A/2214) on organization of the Secretariat, decided that the problems or reorganization required further study and requested the Secretary-General to prepare a full report on the problems of reorganization including the relationship between the Departments of Economic and Affairs and of Social Affairs and the Technical Assistance Administration. This report of the Secretary-General with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, was to be circulated to Members four weeks before the opening of the eighth regular session.

Dag Hammarskjold succeeded Trygve Lie as Secretary-General on 7 April 1953. His report on the organization of the Secretariat will be issued shortly.]

49. Report of the Committee on Special Administrative Questions (resolution 681 B(VII) of 21 December 1952.)

[NOTE: Last year, the General Assembly set up a committee consisting of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China, Dominican Republic, Greece, Iraq, Norway, Pakistan and Poland to consider certain paragraphs of a memorandum of the first Secretary-General on UN administration (Doc. A/2214) which dealt with possible administrative changes affecting the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Administrative Tribunal. When the Committee met, it had before it a memorandum by the new Secretary-General stating:

(1) He found himself unable to maintain the suggestion, made in the original memorandum, that membership of the Advisory Committee should disqualify a person from service on the Assembly's Fifth Committee, and that membership of the Administrative Tribunal should disqualify a person from service as a governmental representative on legislative committees of the Assembly.

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(2) He had no suggestions to make on the rules of procedure of the Assembly regarding the Advisory Committee.

(3) He believed it premature to consider amendments to the statute of the Administrative Tribunal and neither he nor the President of the Tribunal had any major or urgent suggestions to make.

The Committee's report to the Assembly notes that no proposal has been submitted by the Secretary-General or by Member governments on the matters referred to it and the Committee therefore makes no recommendation at this stage to the Assembly,but decides to allow Members and the Secretary-General time for further study.]

50. Staff Regulations of the United Nations. Question of a probationary period: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (resolution 682 (VII) of 21 December 1952).

[NOTE: The Assembly resolution of last December requested the Secretary-General to submit through the Advisory Committee, a "final proposal" on the question of a probationary period for UN staff members. The Secretary-General's report on this question will be issued later.]

51. Personnel policy: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (resolution 708 (VII) of 1 April 1953).

[NOTE: After considerable debate on UN personnel policy which included reference to the problem of alleged subversive activities by staff members, the Assembly at its last session adopted a resolution which expressed confidence that the Secretary-General would conduct his personnel policy with the provisions of Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter in mind and which requested him to submit to this coming session, a report on the progress made in the conduct and development of personnel policy. This report has not yet been issued.]

52. Question of a change in the opening date of regular sessions of the General Assembly: report of the Secretary-General (resolution 692 (VII) of 18 December 1952).

[NOTE: Under its present rules, regular sessions of the General Assembly begin on the third Tuesday in September. In his report to the eighth session, the Secretary-General points out (Doc. A/2436) that the Assembly found it necessary to postpone the second part of its first session and the opening of its sixth and seventh sessions. In addition, the third and fifth sessions which opened at the normal time, continued into the following year after adjournments. The report goes on to suggest that an opening date in the first half of the year, such as 20 April, would reduce

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the risk of postponements followed by disruption of the Assembly's work

A change in the opening date of the Assembly would involve adjustments in the pattern of sessions of other bodies such as the Economic and Social Council, the report points out. Opening the Assembly in April would also have financial implications such as its effect on the budget, contributions of Members and the Working Capital Fund.

The Secretary-General's report examines what would be the position (1) if the opening date were changed while the financial year were left unchanged; (2) if both the opening date and the financial year were changed. It stresses that a change in the financial year could not be decided until agreement had been obtained from a sufficiently large group of Members whose contributions represent a major part of the annual assessment as to the time of payment of their contributions.]

53. Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its fifth session.

[NOTE: The fifth session of the International Law Commission was held in Geneva from 1 June to 14 August of this year. Its agenda included the following items: arbitral procedure; regime of the high seas; regime of the territorial sea; law of treaties; nationality including statelessness; draft code of offences against the peace and security of mankind; request of the General Assembly concerning the codification of the topic "Diplomatic intercourse and immunities."

The report of the Commission's fifth session will be issued as Doc. A/CN.4/76.]

54. Measures to limit the duration of regular sessions of the General Assembly: report of the Special Committee (resolution 689 A (VII) of 21 December 1952).

[NOTE: The Special Committee appointed by the last session and consisting of Afghanistan, Australia, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, France, Iran, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, USSR, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay, has submitted a report (Doc. A/2402). This states that "the best interest of the General Assembly, not the length of the sessions as such, must remain the over-riding consideration in any study of measures designed to limit the duration of the regular sessions." Difficulties related to the duration of the regular sessions should not be resolved at the expense either of the effectiveness of the General Assembly or of the right of any representative freely to explain his government's attitude on the problems before the Assembly. "It is felt," says the report, "that the Assembly, through the co-operation of

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its members, can initiate or strengthen certain practices so as to expedite and simplify the conduct of business."

The report then reviews Assembly practice with regard to such matters as: the agenda; reports of Councils; debate in Committees; limitation of debate; points of order; consideration of items in plenary meetings without reference to Committees; times of opening and closing meetings; etc. It recommends that an outline of its various suggestions should be included in a consolidated annex to the rules of procedure.

It makes a specific recommendation that the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Political Committee should participate in the General Committee with the right to vote. It also proposes an amendment to Rules 73 and 113 on procedure to limit the time allowed to each speaker and the number of times each representative may speak on any question.]

55. Question of the continuation of the functions of the United Nations Tribunal in Libya: item proposed by the Secretary-General.

[NOTE: By its resolution on "Economic and Financial Provisions Relating to Libya" which was adopted during the fifth regular session on 15 December 1950, the General Assembly set up a United Nations Tribunal in Libya composed of three persons selected by the Secretary-General, with the task of

(1) giving, upon request, to the Administering Powers, the Libyan Government and the Italian Government, such instruction as might be required to give effect to the economic and financial provisions set out elsewhere in the resolution; and

(2) deciding all disputes arising between the authorities concerning the interpretation and application of those provisions.

Members of the Tribunal are: Dr. Vicente Sanchez Gavito (Mexico), Hugo Georg Ludvig Wickstrom (Sweden) and Faiz Yorukoglu (Turkey).

A memorandum on the continuation of the Tribunal will be submitted to the Assembly by the Secretary-General.]

56. The Tunisian Question: item proposed by Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen.

[NOTE: In the explanatory memorandum accompanying their request for the inclusion of this item on the Assembly agenda, the 15 sponsoring nations declare that "the French Government has taken no effective measures to implement the clear recommendations" of the Assembly's resolution of 17 December 1952. This expressed confidence that the Government of France

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would "endeavor to further the effective development of free institutions of the Tunisian people;" hoped that the parties would continue negotiations on an urgent basis with a view to bringing about self-government for Tunisians; and appealed to the parties concerned to conduct their relations and settle their disputes in accordance with the spirit of the Charter and to refrain from any acts or measures likely to aggravate the present tension.

The 15-nation memorandum (Doc. A/2405 Add.1) asserts that the French Government "...has created and continues to maintain a permanent state of unsettlement which if allowed to continue may dangerously threaten international peace and security." The document concludes: "In view of these circumstances, the Tunisian question is again brought to the attention of the General Assembly so that the Assembly may consider steps necessary to prevent a further deterioration of the situation and make recommendations for its peaceful settlement."]

57. <u>The question of Morocco: item proposed by Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen.</u>

[NOTE: The explanatory memorandum submitted jointly by the 15 nations sponsoring this item (Doc. A/2406/Add.1) declares that in spite of the Assembly's recommendation, contained in a resolution adopted on 19 December 1952 and similar in terms to the one dealing with Tunisia (see note to item No. 56 above), "France has not taken any steps to further the fundamental liberties and to develop the free political institutions of the people of Morocco. In fact, the policies pursued by France since the adoption of the Assembly resolution have only helped to aggravate the serious situation that existed in Morocco." The United Nations, the memorandum states, cannot afford to ignore the situation "without risking serious consequences." The signatories express the hope that the Assembly will again consider the question of Morocco "with a view to recommending to the French Government necessary steps to be taken to remedy the situation and to bring about peace in that part of the world."]

58. <u>Publications of documents concerning the drafting and application of the Charter: item proposed by Argentina.</u>

[NOTE: The explanatory memorandum submitted by Argentina on this item (Doc. A/2415) points out that some provisions of the Charter have sometimes given rise to varying interpretations and this has made it necessary to refer to the preparatory work. But this is difficult, the memorandum

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continues, because part of the official documents of the San Francisco Conference are not, in practice, available for consultation; the voluminous documentation needs a complete index and even when all the San Francisco documents on a certain subject are available, it is a very lengthy task to trace the history of the drafting of a given passage.

The Argentine Government proposes that the Secretary-General be given the means to prepare and publish (a) a systematic compilation of the San Francisco documents not yet published; (b) a complete index of all the San Francisco documents; (c) a systematic and comprehensive study of the legislative history of the Charter; and (d) a repertory of the practice followed by the main organs of the UN on given subjects.]

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EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY
ANNOTATED AGENDA

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST

Press Release GA/1010
4 September 1953

1. Election of a member of the International Court of Justice to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge Sergei Aleksandrovich Golunsky.

[NOTE: One of the 15 members of the International Court of Justice, Judge Sergei Aleksandrovich Golunsky of the USSR, has submitted his resignation owing to ill health. Judge Golunsky had been elected on 6 December 1951 for a term to expire on 5 February 1961. An election to fill the vacancy for the remainder of his term of office is to take place, by decision of the Security Council taken on 12 August 1953, during the eighth regular session of the Assembly. To be elected, candidates have to obtain an absolute majority in both the Security Council and General Assembly meeting separately. The Secretary-General has invited nominations from the competent national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, to be submitted by 10 October 1953 (Doc. A/2439). A memorandum containing a list of all persons nominated will be issued later by the Secretary-General.]

2. Question of assistance to Libya: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council: ECOSOC resolution 493 (XVI) of 3 August 1953.

[NOTE: By this resolution (Doc. E/Resolution (XVI)/21), the Economic and Social Council recommends the General Assembly to invite all governments which are in a position to do so to provide financial and technical assistance to Libya to assist its economic development; that if and when further means become available for assisting in the financing of development of underdeveloped areas, to recommend due consideration be given by the UN and specialized agencies to specific development needs of Libya; and to request the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies concerned to continue to waive local costs and to give favorable consideration to requests of Libya for technical assistance.]

3. Technical Assistance in Public Administration: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council: ECOSOC resolution 492 B (XVI) of 4 August 1953.

[NOTE: The Council's resolution (Doc. E/RESOLUTION (XVI)/28) recommends the General Assembly to approve a revised United Nations program in public administration comprising: (a) provision, at the request of governments, of technical assistance related to public administration including training for public service through advisory services of experts, fellowships and scholarships, training institutes, seminars, etc., provision of technical publications and the collection, analysis and exchange of technical information in the field of public administration.

The resolution would also authorize the Secretary-General to include in the UN budget the funds for carrying out an effective program based on the provision of these services and, in addition, to finance such activities from the expanded program of technical assistance where they are related to the economic development

(More)

of under-developed countries.]

4. Technical assistance in promoting and safeguarding the rights of women: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 504 J II (XVI) of 23 July 1953)

[NOTE: This ECOSOC resolution is one of a number adopted by the Council at its last session in connection with the report of the Commission on the Status of Women. The resolution would authorize the Secretary-General, subject to approval by the General Assembly, to render at the request of Member states "services which do not fall within the scope of existing technical assistance programs, in order to assist these states in promoting and safeguarding the rights of women."]

5. Technical assistance in the fields of prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 502 G (XVI) of 3 August 1953).

[NOTE: This resolution, one of a number adopted by ECOSOC in connection with the report of the Commission on Human Rights (Doc. E/RESOLUTION (XVI)/24) recommend the Assembly to authorize the Secretary-General to render, at the request of Member states, expert technical advice and other services in order to assist those states "in the eradication of prejudice or discrimination or in the protection of minorities." The resolution also recommends that such services should include, but need not be reduced to, technical expert advice in the drafting of legislation and the establishment of administrative and judicial machinery.]

6. Invitation to non-member States to become Parties to the Convention on the Political Rights of Women: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 504 E (XVI) of 23 July 1953)

[NOTE: The Convention on the Political Rights of Women was approved by the General Assembly on 20 December 1952. Under the resolution submitted by ECOSOC for Assembly approval, (Doc. E/RESOLUTION (XVI)/16) the Assembly would invite signature and ratification or accession by non-member states which are or become members of one or more of the specialized agencies of the United Nations or become parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The resolution would also request states which are parties to the Convention to report every two years on the measures taken by them to implement the provisions of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women.]

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7. Development of political rights of women in territories where these rights are not fully enjoyed: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 504 F (XVI) of 23 July 1953)

[NOTE: This ECOSOC resolution (Doc. E/RESOLUTION (XVI)/16) was another of those adopted during the 16th session of the Council on the basis of the report of the Commission on the Status of Women. It invites the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, in collaboration with the governments of all states which administer territories where women do not enjoy full political rights, to take all necessary measures leading to the development of political rights of women in such territories, in particular by means of education. It also invites the Secretary-General to report to the Commission on the Status of Women on steps taken to implement this resolution.]

8. Program of concerted practical action in the social field of the United Nations and the specialized agencies: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 496 (XVI) of 31 July 1953)

[NOTE: In the preamble to this ECOSOC resolution (Doc. E/RESOLUTION (XVI)/18) the Council calls the Assembly's attention to the fact that progress has been made in dealing with the age-old problems of ignorance, poverty and disease, but that in spite of all efforts, the need is so great that resources available are still inadequate.

The resolution expresses agreement with the views of the UN Secretary-General and the Directors-General of the specialized agencies that in the program of activities in the social field now being undertaken there is need for "reorientation, further concentration of effort, wider geographical coverage, improvement of methods and techniques, additional resources and for achieving full governmental and popular co-operation."

Special attention to the exploration for broader sources for international financing of social and economic development is urged, as well as special attention to the needs of under-developed areas.

The resolution then sets out general principles to be applied in matters of assistance to governments and lists eight kinds of projects on which a concerted program of practical action in the social field should concentrate. As an immediate objective, the resolution considers that particular attention should be given to the following methods for assisting governments: (a) promotion and implementation of community development projects; (b) rapid development of training programs for professional and technical personnel and auxiliary and community workers; (c) develment and strengthening of national and local organizations for administering social programs.]

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9. Appeal to States to accelerate their notifications or adherences to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and measures designed to ensure the widest possible diffusion of the nature, contents and purposes of the Convention: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 502 E (XVI) of 3 August 1953

/NOTE: The Convention on Genocide was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December 1948. It came into force 90 days after 20 countries hah ratified or acceded to it; this was on 12 January 1951.

The ECOSOC resolution which comes before the Assembly (Doc. E/RESOLUTION (XVI)/24) requests the Assembly to reiterate its appeal to states to accelerate their ratifications or adherence to the Convention, and to undertake all measures to give the widest possible diffusion of the nature, contents and purposes of the Convention. The Assembly is asked, in particular, to make known the list of states having voted for, signed, ratified or adhered to the Convention./

10. Narcotic Drugs

(a) Assumption by organs of the United Nations of functions and responsibilities assigned to them under the terms of the Protocol for limiting and regulating the cultivation of the poppy plant, the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium, 1953, and of the financial burdens resulting therefrom: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 505 I (XVI) of 28 July 1953

/NOTE: The United Nations Opium Conference, which met at United Nations Headquarters 11 May to 18 June 1953, adopted a protocol for limiting and regulating the cultivation of the poppy plant, the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium. The Protocol which was opened for signature on 23 June 1953, specified that estimates of opium production and requirements and opium statistics should be submitted to the Permanent Central Opium Board, and that the Board and the Drug Supervisory Body should exercise a control over opium throughout the world similar to that which they exercise over manufactured drugs in accordance with the Conventions of 1925 and 1931.

The ECOSOC, by its resolution (Doc. E/RESOLUTION (XVI)/17), recommends the Assembly to approve the assumption of functions and responsibilities assigned to UN organs by the Protocol and to include it among the multilateral treaties relating to the control of narcotic drugs for the purpose of assessing non-Member states, parties to such treaties, for their share of the expenses borne by the UN in the international control of narcotics./

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(b) Question of the remuneration of members of the Permanent Central Opium Board and the Drug Supervisory Body: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 505 F III (XVI) of 28 July 1953)

[NOTE: The Central Opium Board consisting of eight experts and originally created under the 1925 Convention, and the Drug Supervisory Body, consisting of four experts and originally created under the 1931 Convention, now operate as subsidiary bodies of the Economic and Social Council.

At its last session the Council adopted a resolution in which it recognized both the importance and increasing amount of the work of these two bodies and in which it agreed that the time had come when the whole question of the remuneration of the members of these bodies should be reviewed. The Council recommends the Assembly to give the question favorable consideration "with a view to appropriate budgetary provisions being made."]

11. Evidence of existence of forced labor: item proposed by the United States of America.

[Note: Under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the International Labor Organization an Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor was established consisting of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar (India), Paal Berg (Norway) and Enrique Garcia Sayan (Peru). The Committee began its work in 1951 and submitted its final report (Doc. E/2431, summarized in Press Release ILO/712) on 22 June 1953.

The Committee's report was to have been discussed at the 16th session of the Economic and Social Council, but this item was among a number which the Council decided to defer.

Requesting inclusion of the item "Evidence of Existence of Forced Labor" in the agenda of the General Assembly, the United States, in a memorandum (Doc. A/2438), refers to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee and quotes its concluding paragraph that its inquiry "has revealed the existence of facts relating to systems of forced labor of so grave a nature that they seriously threaten fundamental human rights and jeopardize the freedom and status of workers in contravention of the obligations and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations."

The United States memorandum also refers to the Committee's findings that forced labor for political purposes exists in four countries, and that in other countries, existing laws and regulations can be applied so as to create

(more)

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST

conditions of forced labor; also that forced labor for economic purposes exists in seven countries and that in a number of other countries such conditions might exist.

The United States, continues the memorandum "believes that consideration of these grave conditions of forced labor cannot be further postponed by the United Nations." It also urges that the Assembly, at its eighth regular session, record "the seriousness with which it regards the situation and its determination that forced labor should be abolished...."]

12. Preparatory work with regard to the possible holding of a General Conference of the Members of the United Nations in accordance with Article 109 of the Charter: item proposed by the Netherlands.

[Note: Article 109 provides that a General Conference of the Members of the UN to review the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of the tenth session.

In proposing this item on the preparatory work for a possible general conference, the Netherlands Government in an explanatory memorandum (Doc. A/2442) says it had Article 109 in mind and considers that "examination by the tenth annual session of the question of a General Conference could be facilitated by preparatory work to be undertaken by the Secretary-General and by individual Member States." It suggests that the preparatory work could include (a) the preparation by the Secretary-General of the study proposed by the Argentine Government (see item no. 58 of the Provisional Agenda on page of this release) and (b) an invitation to Member States to submit prior to the tenth annual session their preliminary views on possible revision of the Charter and tentative proposals and suggestions.]

13. Measures for the peaceful solution of the problem of prisoners of war: item proposed by the Secretary-General.

[Note: The memorandum of the Secretary-General on this item has not yet been issued.

An Ad Hoc Commission on Prisoners of War was set up by the Assembly at its fifth regular session. Members of this Commission are: Countess Bernadotte, Jose Gustavo Guerrero and Judge Aung Khine. The Commission opened its fourth session in Geneva on 24 August.]

# # #

UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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Southern Regional Council

Eighth session
THIRD COMMITTEE
Agenda item 12

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Ecuador, Egypt, Guatemala, Philippines and Uruguay: draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 421 F (V) and 547 (VI),

Considering that the individual is the party primarily interested in the respect of human rights and the first to be affected by failure to respect the said rights,

Considering that the most elementary rule of justice requires that the victim be given the right to appeal either directly or through an intermediary against any injury,

Requests the Commission on Human Rights to include, in the draft International Covenants on Human Rights, provisions recognizing the right of petition of every natural person, every duly constituted group of individuals and every non-governmental organization.

53-30504

1953

FOUR BIG ISSUES FACING THE U. N.

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Sept. 12—Although overshadowed by the proposed Far Eastern political conference, the 1953 session of the General Assembly will confront the Eisenhower Administration with a major test of its capacity to regain the leadership of the non-Communist members of the United Nations.

The Assembly, which will convene Tuesday, and the conference, which is supposed to start a month later, will both have to deal with two of the outstanding problems: Korea and Chinese representation in the United Nations.

In addition, the Assembly will be confronted with two others: an Asian-African attack on the colonial powers, and the complex issues created by Congressional attacks on the loyalty of some United States employes of the organization.

A few days ago the United States was not able to prevent the supporters of Indian participation in the Far Eastern conference from getting a simple majority, and only by strenuous diplomatic activity did it muster enough Latin-American votes to block the two-thirds majority required for an Assembly invitation.

A New Development

This was a troublesome development, for never in the history of the United Nations has the United States been on the losing side in a two-thirds vote, and only once before has it been in any kind of minority on a major political issue.

A repetition of this setback can probably be avoided at the coming session. But it will still be necessary to re-establish a common front with our principal allies—the nations of Western Europe and the British Commonwealth. And it would certainly be useful if we could also improve relations with the Asian and African countries who, with two exceptions, favored inviting India to the conference despite all the arguments we could muster.

In an attempt to conciliate India and her supporters, the United States has agreed to vote for Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, sister of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, for president of the Assembly.

But the effect of this gesture may be small in view of the simultaneous decision to support Turkey for a seat on the Security Council, which, in the opinion of most of the Asian and African countries, belongs to a member of the Soviet bloc.

In any event, the disposition of jobs is much less important than the decision on the four principal political issues. These issues, and the expected line-ups on them, are as follows:

I—KOREA

Since the General Assembly has already designated the participants at the conference from the United Nations side, it will not have to take up the Korean question again until after the conference unless Communist China and North Korea try to bring about the participation of Indian and other Asian or African "neutrals." Nobody here knows how hard the Communists would insist on such a demand, but it is generally anticipated that the Soviet Union will try to force another debate in the Assembly on the composition of the conference.

The United States position is

Korea, China, Colonial Questions, Loyalty Come to the Fore

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Endless unfinished business."

that the Assembly has made its choice and that it is up to the Communists to make theirs. Accordingly, the United States will oppose reopening the debate in the Assembly and will make it clear that it is now up to the Communists to decide whether they want a conference or not.

The Western European and British Commonwealth powers are expected to side with the United States in opposing another Assembly debate on Korea. But most of them, including Britain, are not ready to say what they would do if the Communists served a flat notice that there would simply be no conference unless India—and perhaps others—were present.

II—COMMUNIST CHINA

The question of seating representatives of Communist China in the U. N. Assembly is certain to come up this session, for Andrei Y. Vishinsky, the Soviet delegate, already has said so. There is no veto in the Assembly and some authorities believe that only a simple majority would be required.

The opposition of the United States has been stated again and again, and, as far as anybody here knows, will continue regardless of the results of the conference. In fact, the United States is trying to get enough support for a resolution shelving the issue for the duration of the 1953 session.

Most of the Western European and British Commonwealth countries will side with the United States in opposing the admission of Peiping representatives for the time being.

But a majority of the two groups are not willing to commit themselves beyond that. If the armistice goes off smoothly, and Communist China does not turn against Indo-China or some other neighbor, there will be a strong movement after the conference in favor of seating its representatives.

The Soviet position is that the Communist Government should have had China's seat years ago, and that whatever arguments there were against this have been nullified by the Korean armistice. This stand will have the support of India and an undisclosed number of Asian and African countries.

The chances are that the Soviet move will be defeated at the start of the Assembly, but the outlook afterward, if the Peiping Government behaves itself, is uncertain.

III—COLONIAL ISSUES

The principal colonial issues will be the Arab countries' renewed attack on the French administration of Morocco and Tunisia. It will concentrate on Morocco as a result of the recent deposition of the Sultan, who had emerged as a supporter of Moroccan nationalism.

But India will also renew her attack, first made in 1946, on South Africa's racial policies, including discrimination against Indian residents of the Union. In fact, one remark going the rounds is that, aside from the Korea-China question, the only two issues before the Assembly will be North Africa and South Africa.

In the past the United States has tried to act as an honest broker in these colonial issues, using its influence to support gradual concessions to nationalism. However, the United States recently joined France and other colonial powers in keeping the Moroccan question off the agenda of the Security Council, and it may side this time with the colonial powers.

The other Western European and British Commonwealth countries are expected to side with France and South Africa. The Soviet Union will, of course, side with the Asians and Africans in accordance with the Kremlin's opposition to any kind of imperialism except its own.

IV—U. N. PERSONNEL

The U. N.'s loyalty problem will emerge as a result of a recent decision by the United Nations Administrative Tribunal upsetting the dismissal of eleven United States employes by Trygve Lie, the former Secretary General.

Of the eleven, seven said they did not want to come back, and the tribunal awarded them compensation. Dag Hammarskjold, Mr. Lie's successor, refused to take back the other four, so they also would be entitled to payment.

The money will have to be voted by the Assembly; and it is anticipated that the United States will oppose paying, or at least will try to cut down the amount. This belief results from the fact that such powerful Republican Senators as Alexander Wiley and Joseph R. McCarthy, have demanded that no compensation be paid.

Most of the Western European and British Commonwealth countries are strongly opposed to what they call "McCarthyism" in the United Nations, and think that compensation must be paid.

THE UNITED NATIONS
The First Eight Years

What It Is . . .

What It Is Not . . .

What It Does . . .

What It Costs . . .

UNITED NATIONS

Department of Public Information

New York

December 1953

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 83d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

American Legion Report on UNESCO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1954

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I enclose a report on UNESCO. This report was prepared for the May 2, 3, and 4 meetings in Indianapolis, Ind., of the national executive committee of the American Legion by the American Legion special committee on covenant of human rights and United Nations. This distinguished committee is headed by a former national commander of the American Legion, Mr. Ray Murphy.

Included in this extension of remarks is section 2 of the report, which deals with UNESCO. A careful study of this factual report will clarify the purposes, aims, and the work of UNESCO:

LEGION CONDUCTED STUDY

The special committee on covenant of human rights and United Nations last reported to the national executive committee at the April-May 1953 meeting. Since that time, the committee has held 2 meetings—1 at New York City on December 21, 1953, the other at New York City on April 27, 1954.

SEC. 2. UNESCO: On August 25, 1953, a subcommittee of this committee, consisting of Robert R. Sugarman, William G. McKinley, and the chairman, met with representatives of the State Department and of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, at the offices of the United States Mission to the United Nations, 2 Park Avenue, New York City. A very thorough discussion ensued pertaining to the origin, purposes, and work of UNESCO. Since that meeting, members of the committee have given a very great deal of study to the subject of UNESCO, and have read and studied almost innumerable documents and publications relating thereto, including controversial subject matter emanating from various groups and localities within the United States.

NEEDS TO BE BETTER UNDERSTOOD

As a result of such study, it is fair to say that UNESCO is little understood by the very great majority of the people of this country. Accordingly, your committee believes it advisable to devote some space in this report to a discussion of UNESCO, what it is, how it is organized, what it costs, what is its membership, and what is the United States representation therein, and what are its purposes, programs, and methods, etc., etc.

UNESCO is 1 of 10 specialized agencies affiliated with, but not directly controlled by, the United Nations. It originated at a conference held in London in 1942, which was attended by the ministers of education of nine allied countries. Its present authority is found in article 55 of the United Nations Charter, which states that the members of the organization shall promote "international cultural and educational cooperation." The quoted phrase was recommended by American consultants who were representatives of business, agriculture, civic, labor, religious, and educational groups. On May 22, 1945, prior to the adoption of the United Nations Charter, the United States Congress unanimously adopted resolutions favoring the creation of a permanent international agency to promote educational and cultural relations. Members of the United States Senate attended a conference in November 1945, as members of a United States delegation. At this conference the Constitution of UNESCO was drawn. Authority for United States membership and participation in UNESCO, and for the establishment of a United States National Commission was approved by joint congressional resolution on July 30, 1946, by a vote of 264 to 41 in the House, and without dissent in the Senate (Public Law 565, 79th Cong., 2d sess.).

UNITED STATES CITIZENS EMPLOYED

UNESCO consists of a General Conference, an Executive Board, and a Secretariat. The General Conference meets at least once each year. Its functions are to determine the policies and main lines of work of the organization, and to make decisions on programs drawn up by the Executive Board.

The Executive Board consists of 18 members, and the United States has been represented continuously thereon.

The Secretariat is a permanent staff appointed by the Director-General, as chief administrative officer, who in turn is appointed by the General Conference on nomination of the Executive Board. Headquarters are in Paris. Some 67 United States nationals work at UNESCO headquarters, and about 35 with UNESCO missions throughout the world, including about half a dozen in New York.

THEY HAVE SECURITY CLEARANCE

The United States Government has a security clearance with UNESCO's Director-General, regarding the employment of Americans by the international agency. This action parallels the agreement worked out by the United States and the United Nations in this regard.

The current budget of UNESCO is about $8½ million, of which the United States pays about one-third, or $2.8 million. Any United States contribution is authorized and appropriated by the United States Congress, year by year, and is included in the appropriations for the Department of State. In addition, approximately $3 million is allocated for UNESCO use from the United Nations Technical Assistance Program. This is used for technical assistance principally in the field of education.

UNDER COMMUNIST ATTACK

UNESCO has some 67 member states at this time. The Soviet Union joined UNESCO only within the past 2 weeks or so. Three Communist satellite states, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, have resigned from UNESCO—each in substance stating in its letter of resignation to the Director-General that UNESCO "has joined the camp that preaches hatred and war among peoples." Had placed itself at the service of the "American warmongers" and "had raised no protest against the shameful Anglo-American aggression in Korea." They charged UNESCO with being a "tool of the United States policy of aggression" and with having "become a refuge for all that is the negation of culture and science, a refuge of fascist barbarism." They deplored what they termed "the flood of worthless American films, broadcasts, publications, and other materials with gangsterism, worship of force, and glorification of war" imposed, as Poland said, on the culture of the people of the world. It will be noted that membership in the United Nations carries with it the right to membership in UNESCO, and that it is by virtue of such right that Russia has now joined UNESCO, where it appears she has already begun her usual obstructive tactics.

The United States National Commission for UNESCO consists of a group of 100 United States citizens, including 60 representatives of nongovernmental organizations, 10 Federal Government representatives, 15 representing State and local governments, and 15 members at large. This Commission meets twice annually. Its purposes are to advise the Government of the United States in matters relating to UNESCO, to act in consultative capacity with regard to the appointment of United States delegates to the General Conference of UNESCO, to advise with the delegations of the United States to the General Conference of UNESCO, to serve as an agency of liaison with organizations, institutions, and individuals in the United States interested in matters relating to UNESCO, and to promote an understanding of the general objectives of UNESCO with the people of the United States. The chief purposes of UNESCO are as follows:

CONTRIBUTES TO BETTER UNDERSTANDING

1. To eliminate illiteracy and encourage fundamental education;

2. To obtain for each person an education conforming to his aptitudes and to the needs of society, including technological training and higher education;

3. To promote through education respect for human rights throughout all nations;

4. To overcome the obstacles to the free flow of persons, ideas, and knowledge between the countries of the world;

5. To promote the progress and utilization of science for mankind;

6. To study the causes of tensions that may lead to war and to fight them through education;

7. To demonstrate world cultural interdependence;

8. To advance through the press, radio, and motion pictures the cause of truth, freedom, and peace;

9. To bring about better understanding among the peoples of the world and to convince them of the necessity of cooperating loyally with one another in the framework of the United Nations;

10. To render clearinghouse and exchange services in all its fields of action, together with services in reconstruction and relief assistance.

WE BENEFIT FROM UNESCO

The program centers around efforts to raise levels of education; the improvement of health, nutrition, and literacy; assisting in scientific research to improve living conditions; the exchange of students and teachers among nations; and, together with other international agencies, to aid in the development of healthy productive communities and citizens with a sense of self-direction and responsibility.

In carrying out its program UNESCO has evolved a number of methods, including meetings of experts, missions, seminars, pilot projects, the calling of international conferences and the submission of recommendations or international conventions to member States.

UNESCO canont operate in the United States without the aproval of our own National Commission. Its programs of educational and technical asistance, which are designed and fitting for less developed areas, are not conducted in this country. UNESCO supporters, however, believe that we benefit directly from UNESCO operations in three ways:

HELPS PRESERVE THE PEACE

1. In teaching the inhabitants of the underdeveloped areas modern techniques in science, education, and technology, it helps draw these regions closer to American ideas, standards and trade.

2. It benefits American science, education, and culture by facilitating the exchange of ideas and methods between American and foreign scientists and educators.

3. Any organization which helps to preserve the peace is to the interest of the United States which has the most to lose through war. In addition, however, in encouraging the idea of collective responsibility it increases the chances that we will not have to fight alone if we are again forced to fight against Communist aggression.

ATTACKS NOT JUSTIFIED

As is well known to the National Executive Committee, UNESCO has become involved in local controversies in some areas. There can be no doubt that some overzealous supporters of UNESCO have gone overboard in ascribing benefits to and from UNESCO which cannot be realized in fact. Such may have been the case in Los Angeles where a booklet called the E in UNESCO was attributed to UNESCO itself, when in fact the booklet was a production of the Los Angeles school system itself, and the controversy was local, involving the question of what should and should not be taught in Los Angeles schools pertaining to UNESCO and its programs and work. Similar situations have existed elsewhere. The public misunderstanding of UNESCO may be attributed in large part of the fact that few people, indeed, know what UNESCO is all about. This is not the fault of UNESCO itself, which is not of itself a propaganda organization. While Communist countries have criticized UNESCO as the tool of the United States, on the other hand, individuals and groups in the United States have attacked UNESCO on the basis that it has reflected ideals and philosophies alien to the American tradition. Among the attacks on UNESCO is one to the effect that UNESCO advocates world government. As a matter of fact, the constitution of UNESCO expressly forbids it "from intervening in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction" of the member states, and the United States National Commission for UNESCO states in substance that such charges have no basis in fact. President Eisenhower's committee to examine into UNESCO concluded, after an examination of a series of publications, Toward World Understanding, that "a careful study of them fails to reveal that this terminology connotes world government in any political sense." UNESCO has been attacked as atheistic, although none of its member nations except Yugoslavia is officially atheistic, and membership on our own national commission includes representatives of the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Council, and the Synagogue Council of America. The Vatican has a permanent representative at UNESCO. The Catholic Church, which is hardly atheistic or communistic, has actively fought what it considers unwarranted attacks on UNESCO as atheistic.

OPPOSED BY GERALD L. K. SMITH

A principal charge against UNESCO is that it is subversive; that it is influenced or controlled by Communists, with the intention of undermining through its influence on American education, respect for the capitalistic system and private ownership of property in the minds of American schoolchildren; that it seeks to pervert the American teaching profession, and to destroy the worth and integrity of our public schools.

It may and should be said that the origin of at least a great deal of these charges is the American Flag Committee, and that due to such charges and to certain material issued by that group, and allegedly substantiating them, a small number of patriotic organizations, as well as the National Committee for the Abolition of the United Nations, headed by Gerald L. K. Smith, have taken stands in support of such charges. If true, the charges would certainly warrant the actions and positions taken by such groups.

This reporting committee holds no brief for UNESCO, but it is charged with the duty of reporting facts as it finds them. It reports certain facts in relation to charges of subversion by UNESCO of our public school system and of the minds of our schoolchildren as follows:

CONGRESSMAN CARNAHAN CORRECT

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 1, 1952, contains a statement by Congressman A. S. J. CARNAHAN, of Missouri, denouncing one of the supporting charges of the American Flag Committee, on which the positions taken by various other groups heretofore referred to have been based, as a complete fabrication, not to be found in any report, publication, or statement of UNESCO. The Congressman's statement of record further points out that the American Flag Committee has given as a literal quotation from a UNESCO publication consisting in fact of sentences lifted from context, whereby certain sentences from a certain page (58) are followed by phrases from another page (60), then joined to words from another page (58), then followed by more material from another page (59) then by other material from another page (60)—all put together as though it were one direct quote. It is this material on which the national executive committee apparently based its Resolution 33, at its meeting of April 29–May 1, 1953.

This reporting committee has given most careful study to this particular matter, and it finds that the charges of Congressman CARNAHAN in this respect are correct, this after thorough study of the publications of UNESCO involved. It should be pointed out that UNESCO issues many publications which are available for purchase, but which do not necessarily represent any policy view or program of UNESCO itself, and may be contrary or irrelevant thereto, as, for example, reports of educational seminars in which individual educators participate and express their own views, perhaps different from or even conflicting with views expressed by other educators at the same or like seminars or elsewhere. This reporting committee will continue observation and study of UNESCO as it has done with the Covenants of Human Rights.

INCREASES OUR KNOWLEDGE

It is the view of those who favor UNESCO that—

1. Any organization which by encouraging ideas of cooperation and understanding among the nations of the world, thus helping preserve the peace of the world, is to the interest of the United States.

2. Any organization that contributes to raising living standards throughout the world also contributes to the growth of the democratic way of life, and that in making known to the inhabitants of the underdeveloped areas the modern techniques of science, education, and technology contributes to the growth of democracy throughout the world.

3. UNESCO, in facilitating the exchange of ideas and methods between the United States and foreign scientists and educators, works directly toward increasing the knowledge and competency of our own scientists and educators.

LEGION SHOULD BE ACTIVE

Officials of the United States National Commission have indicated their desire that the American Legion be represented on the United States National Commission for UNESCO, as one of the 60 nongovernmental organizations comprising a part of the United States National Commission. This reporting committee believes that the National Organization should give serious consideration to the informal invitation extended to the American Legion to have representation on the United States National Commission. Other national organizations, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, have taken an increasing interest in UNESCO for the purpose of knowing what it is and does, and this without any limitation on such organizations to criticize or disagree with any policy or program of UNESCO. Membership of the National Organization of the American Legion on the United States National Commission for UNESCO would in no way limit the right of the American Legion to express its views either for or against UNESCO, but would permit of a much closer observation of the work of UNESCO than is now possible. Such participation should not involve any substantial expense to the national organization.

As in the case of the Covenants of Human Rights, our first report on UNESCO is somewhat lengthy, and yet it is by no means fully exhaustive of the subject matter involved. It would be quite impossible in this report to cover all the study made by this committee and the material which it has examined.

Respectfully submitted.

WILLIAM G. MCKINLEY,
PAUL M. HERBERT,
REV. GORDON L. KIDD,
JACOB ARK,
MRS. HAROLD S. BURDETT,
Vice Chairman.
RAY MURPHY,
Chairman.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF PUBLICATIONS

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Recent Publications of the Department of State

Report of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO. 1946. 27 pp. United States-United Nations Report Series 4. Pub. 2635. 10 cents. (A report of the U. S. National Commission to the Secretary of State on the Commission's meeting in Washington from September 23 to 26, 1946, together with the text of a letter of transmittal from Assistant Secretary of State Benton dated September 27.)

"The Defenses of Peace"; Documents Relating to UNESCO, The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization:

Part I. 1946. 31 pp. Conference Series 80. Pub. 2457. 10 cents. (A collection of documents including the Final Act of the United Nations Conference for the Establishment of UNESCO, the Constitution of UNESCO, and the Instrument Establishing a Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission.)

Part II. 1946. 58 pp. Conference Series 81. Pub. 2475. 15 cents. (A pamphlet containing information on the development of UNESCO and explaining the provisions of the Constitution and the status of UNESCO.)

Is UNESCO the Key to International Understanding? 1946. 23 pp. United States-United Nations Information Series 7. Pub. 2590. (A radio broadcast by the Department of State, June 1, 1946.)

Department of State Bulletin. (Beginning with the January 5, 1947 issue the price is 15 cents a copy for individual weekly issues and $5.00 for a year's subscription. Available issues bearing a date prior to January 1947 may be obtained at the rate of 10 cents each or $3.50 a year.)

Vol. XVI, No. 392, January 5, 1947, Pub. 2720. (Contains on pages 20-22 the text of a radio report on the First General Conference of UNESCO by Assistant Secretary of State Benton, Chairman of the American Delegation, December 23, 1946.

Vol. XV, No. 387, December 1, 1946, Pub. 2701. (Contains on pages 995-998 the text of an address at the First General Conference of UNESCO at Paris November 23, 1946 by Assistant Secretary of State Benton, Chairman of the American Delegation.

United States National Commission for UNESCO--Report of the First Meeting. September 1946. (This report is expected to be released during February 1947. It includes ten appendixes of basic documents.) United States-United Nations Information Series 14. Pub. 2726.

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Publications for which a price is given may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. The publications which are listed as "Free" may be obtained from the Division of Publications, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

INFORMATION CENTER

REGISTRATION AND VOTING STATISTICS

Washington, D.C.
March 19, 1965

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

TABLE

Percentage of voting age population voting in 1964 Presidential election indicating states with literacy tests and poll taxes.

REGISTRATION FIGURES BY STATE AND COUNTY

Alabama	North Carolina
Arkansas	South Carolina
Florida	Tennessee
Georgia	Texas
Louisiana	Virginia
Mississippi	

GRAPH

Estimated Negro voter registration in 11 southern States in 1956 and 1964.

INTRODUCTION

This compilation of registration and voting statistics is being published by the Information Center of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights pursuant to the Commission's statutory function as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information. The figures reproduced here are those currently available in Commission files from official and unofficial sources. Since most states do not keep registration figures by race, more extensive information is not presently available.

In using or comparing these registration figures, the following should be observed:

The date of the registration figures must be taken into consideration. Such figures may change markedly between spring primary elections and the fall general election.

Current county population figures by race are not available. Accordingly, the county registration percentages given here are based on 1960 Census population figures. In general, the use of the 1960 population base leads to an overstatement of the registration percentage. In most cases the overstatement is relatively small. Census Bureau estimates of total statewide populations are available for November 1, 1964, and a comparative figure using this estimate is shown for each state.

Registration figures themselves vary widely in their accuracy. Even where official figures are available, registrars frequently fail to remove the names of dead or emigrated voters and thus, ~~report~~ figures which exceed the actual registration. Unofficial figures which come from a variety of sources are subject to even greater inaccuracies.

PERCENTAGE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION
VOTING IN 1964 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

	Estimated Voting Age Population November 1, 1964[1]	Total Presidential Vote, November 3, 1964[2]	Percent
Alabama[3][4]	1,915,000	689,818	36.0
Alaska[3]	138,000	67,259	48.7
Arizona[3]	879,000	480,770	54.7
Arkansas[4]	1,124,000	560,426	49.9
California[3]	10,916,000	7,057,586	64.7
Colorado	1,142,000	776,986	68.0
Connecticut[3]	1,698,000	1,218,578	71.8
Delaware[3]	283,000	201,320	71.1
Florida	3,516,000	1,854,481	52.7
Georgia[3]	2,636,000	1,139,352	43.2
Hawaii[3]	395,000	207,271	52.5
Idaho	386,000	292,477	75.8
Illinois	6,358,000	4,702,841	74.0
Indiana	2,826,000	2,091,606	74.0
Iowa	1,638,000	1,184,539	72.3
Kansas	1,323,000	857,901	64.8
Kentucky	1,976,000	1,046,105	52.9
Louisiana[3]	1,893,000	896,293	47.3
Maine[3]	581,000	380,965	65.6
Maryland	1,995,000	1,116,457	56.0
Massachusetts[3]	3,290,000	2,344,798	71.3
Michigan	4,647,000	3,203,102	68.9

PERCENTAGE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION VOTING IN 1964 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (Con't)

	Estimated Voting Age Population November 1, 1964[1]	Total Presidential Vote, November 3, 1964[2]	Percent
Minnesota	2,024,000	1,554,462	76.8
Mississippi[3] [4]	1,243,000	409,146	32.9
Missouri	2,696,000	1,817,879	67.4
Montana	399,000	278,628	69.8
Nebraska	877,000	584,154	66.6
Nevada	244,000	135,433	55.5
New Hampshire[3]	396,000	288,093	72.8
New Jersey	4,147,000	2,846,770	68.6
New Mexico	514,000	327,615	63.7
New York[3]	11,330,000	7,166,203	63.2
North Carolina[3]	2,753,000	1,424,983	51.8
North Dakota	358,000	258,389	72.2
Ohio	5,960,000	3,969,196	66.6
Oklahoma	1,493,000	932,499	62.5
Oregon[3]	1,130,000	786,305	69.6
Pennsylvania	7,080,000	4,822,690	68.1
Rhode Island	568,000	390,078	68.7
South Carolina[3]	1,380,000	524,756	38.0
South Dakota	404,000	293,118	72.6
Tennessee	2,239,000	1,144,046	51.1
Texas[4]	5,922,000	2,626,811	44.4
Utah	522,000	401,413	76.9
Vermont	240,000	163,089	68.0
Virginia[3] [4]	2,541,000	1,042,267	41.0
Washington[3]	1,759,000	1,258,374	71.5

PERCENTAGE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION VOTING IN 1964 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (Con't)

	Estimated Voting Age Population November 1, 1964[1]	Total Presidential Vote, November 3, 1964[2]	Percent
West Virginia	1,053,000	792,040	75.2
Wisconsin	2,391,000	1,691,815	70.8
Wyoming[3]	195,000	142,716	73.2
District of Columbia	517,000	198,597	38.4

[1] U.S. Census Bureau news release dated September 8, 1964.

[2] Based on official vote totals reported to Congressional Quarterly by state government sources. Provided by Congressional Quarterly, Inc.

[3] Literacy test required for registration. Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Voting Laws of the 50 States and the District of Columbia, 287-97 (May 18, 1964).

[4] Poll tax required for voting in State elections. Ibid.

ALABAMA (1964)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Autauga				50.4
White	6,353	4,991	78.6	
Nonwhite	3,651	50	1.4	
Baldwin				78.9
White	22,236	20,021	90.0	
Nonwhite	4,527	1,100	24.3	
Barbour				57.6
White	7,338	7,107	96.9	
Nonwhite	5,787	450	7.8	
Bibb				98.3
White	5,807	7,192	100.4	
Nonwhite	1,990	475	23.9	
Blount				86.5
White	14,368	12,600	87.7	
Nonwhite	378	150	39.7	
Bullock				51.2
White	2,387	2,300	96.4	
Nonwhite	4,450	1,200	27.0	
Butler				56.8
White	8,363	7,239	86.6	
Nonwhite	4,820	248	5.1	
Calhoun				58.0
White	44,739	29,000	64.8	
Nonwhite	9,036	2,200	24.3	
Chambers				50.0
White	15,369	10,083	65.6	
Nonwhite	6,497	850	13.1	

ALABAMA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Cherokee				72.2
White	8,537	6,438	75.4	
Nonwhite	782	288	36.8	
Chilton				59.7
White	12,861	8,139	63.3	
Nonwhite	1,947	700	36.0	
Choctaw				59.0
White	5,192	5,163	99.4	
Nonwhite	3,982	252	6.3	
Clarke				65.5
White	7,899	8,350	100.+	
Nonwhite	5,833	650	11.1	
Clay				90.1
White	6,470	6,342	98.0	
Nonwhite	926	320	34.6	
Cleburne				85.0
White	5,870	5,235	89.2	
Nonwhite	385	80	20.8	
Coffee				57.0
White	14,221	9,310	65.5	
Nonwhite	2,985	503	16.9	
Colbert				63.7
White	21,680	16,229	74.9	
Nonwhite	4,575	500	10.9	
Conecuh				50.1
White	5,907	4,385	74.2	
Nonwhite	3,635	400	11.0	

ALABAMA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Coosa				69.2
White	4,201	3,800	90.5	
Nonwhite	1,794	350	19.5	
Covington				61.0
White	18,446	12,330	66.8	
Nonwhite	2,876	685	23.8	
Crenshaw				69.8
White	6,310	5,452	86.4	
Nonwhite	2,207	492	22.3	
Cullman				76.9
White	25,848	19,850	76.8	
Nonwhite	285	250	87.7	
Dale				54.9
White	14,861	8,864	59.6	
Nonwhite	2,743	794	28.9	
Dallas				33.1
White	14,400	9,463	65.7	
Nonwhite	15,115	320	2.1	
De Kalb				95.4
White	23,878	22,950	96.1	
Nonwhite	441	250	56.6	
Elmore				70.0
White	12,510	11,728	93.7	
Nonwhite	4,808	400	8.3	
Escambia				70.4
White	12,779	11,843	92.6	
Nonwhite	5,685	1,150	20.2	

ALABAMA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Etowah				65.8
White	48,563	35,200	72.4	
Nonwhite	7,661	1,800	23.4	
Fayette				100.+
White	8,277	9,432	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,291	360	27.9	
Franklin				96.4
White	12,412	11,787	95.0	
Nonwhite	645	800	100.+	
Geneva				62.6
White	11,357	8,043	70.8	
Nonwhite	1,606	75	4.4	
Greene				38.8
White	1,649	2,305	100.+	
Nonwhite	5,001	275	5.5	
Hale				52.7
White	3,594	4,824	100.+	
Nonwhite	5,999	236	3.9	
Henry				65.5
White	5,165	4,958	96.1	
Nonwhite	3,168	503	15.9	
Houston				45.2
White	22,095	12,106	54.8	
Nonwhite	6,899	1,000	14.5	
Jackson				65.4
White	19,298	13,034	67.5	
Nonwhite	1,175	350	29.8	

ALABAMA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Jefferson				41.6
White	256,319	130,804	50.9	
Nonwhite	116,160	23,992	20.7	
Lamar				100.+
White	7,503	8,580	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,027	300	29.2	
Lauderdale				65.5
White	31,089	21,600	69.5	
Nonwhite	3,726	1,200	32.2	
Lawrence				92.7
White	10,509	11,227	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,471	800	32.4	
Lee				50.6
White	17,547	11,384	64.9	
Nonwhite	8,913	1,995	22.5	
Limestone				60.6
White	16,173	11,221	69.4	
Nonwhite	3,579	750	20.9	
Lowndes				33.0
White	1,900	2,314	100.+	
Nonwhite	5,122	0	0.0	
Macon				49.0
White	2,818	3,733	100.+	
Nonwhite	11,886	3,479	29.2	
Madison				52.2
White	54,516	32,000	58.7	
Nonwhite	10,666	2,000	18.7	

ALABAMA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Marengo				47.3
White	6,104	6,280	100.+	
Nonwhite	7,791	295	3.8	
Marion				57.0
White	12,656	7,050	55.7	
Nonwhite	403	400	99.2	
Marshall				79.8
White	26,997	21,925	81.2	
Nonwhite	637	125	19.6	
Mobile				48.0
White	121,589	69,795	57.4	
Nonwhite	50,793	12,917	25.4	
Monroe				63.7
White	6,631	7,017	100.+	
Nonwhite	4,894	325	6.6	
Montgomery				40.1
White	62,911	33,000	52.5	
Nonwhite	33,056	5,500	16.6	
Morgan				54.7
White	30,955	18,000	59.8	
Nonwhite	4,159	1,200	28.9	
Perry				38.1
White	3,441	3,006	87.4	
Nonwhite	5,202	289	5.7	
Pickens				59.3
White	7,336	6,511	88.7	
Nonwhite	4,373	438	10.0	

ALABAMA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Pike				73.9
White	9,126	10,356	100.0	
Nonwhite	5,259	273	5.1	
Randolph				95.1
White	9,196	9,900	100.0	
Nonwhite	2,366	1,100	46.4	
Russell				34.2
White	13,761	7,520	54.6	
Nonwhite	10,531	800	7.6	
St. Clair				60.0
White	12,244	7,726	63.1	
Nonwhite	2,035	850	41.8	
Shelby				73.6
White	14,771	12,500	84.6	
Nonwhite	2,889	500	17.2	
Sumter				37.0
White	3,061	3,275	100.4	
Nonwhite	6,814	375	5.5	
Talladega				62.9
White	25,635	19,000	74.1	
Nonwhite	9,333	3,000	32.1	
Tallapoosa				77.7
White	15,310	14,880	97.2	
Nonwhite	4,999	903	18.0	
Tuscaloosa				51.3
White	47,076	26,000	55.2	
Nonwhite	15,332	6,000	39.1	

ALABAMA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Walker				75.1
White	28,148	21,602	76.7	
Nonwhite	2,890	1,710	59.2	
Washington				89.2
White	5,293	6,068	100.+	
Nonwhite (94.7% Negro)	2,297	700	30.5	
Wilcox				34.1
White	2,624	2,974	100.+	
Nonwhite	6,085	0	0.0	
Winston				100.+
White	8,559	10,354	100.+	
Nonwhite (94.8% Negro)	47	15	31.9	
Total by Color				
White	1,353,038	935,695	69.2	
Nonwhite	481,320	92,737	19.2	
TOTAL	1,834,358	1,028,432		56.0[3]

1. 1960 Census

2. Unofficial figures from the Birmingham News, May 3, 1964.

3. If the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964 (published by U.S. Census Bureau in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 53.7.

ARKANSAS (1963)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Arkansas				64.1
White	10,589	7,316	69.1	
Nonwhite	2,809	1,271	45.2	
Ashley				63.8
White	9,012	6,822	75.7	
Nonwhite	4,258	1,650	38.8	
Baxter				77.1
White	6,584	5,080	77.2	
Nonwhite (0.0% Negro)	3	0	0.0	
Benton				59.4
White	23,309	13,872	59.5	
Nonwhite (19.3% Negro)	63	10	16.9	
Boone				67.4
White	10,414	7,022	67.4	
Nonwhite (50% Negro)	4	0	0.0	
Bradley				65.6
White	5,837	4,323	74.1	
Nonwhite	2,372	1,059	44.6	
Calhoun				90.9
White	2,496	2,442	97.8	
Nonwhite	1,056	785	74.3	
Carroll (60% Negro)				65.3
White	7,533	4,926	65.4	
Nonwhite	8	0	0.0	
Chicot				65.9
White	4,817	3,913	81.2	
Nonwhite	5,555	2,919	52.5	

ARKANSAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Clark				58.8
White	9,419	6,048	64.2	
Nonwhite	2,725	1,095	40.2	
Clay				54.9
White	12,645	6,950	55.0	
Nonwhite (75% Negro)	3	0	0.0	
Cleburne				68.6
White	5,697	3,907	68.6	
Nonwhite	1	0	0.0	
Cleveland				77.1
White	3,246	2,699	83.1	
Nonwhite	832	445	53.5	
Columbia				54.5
White	10,646	6,907	64.9	
Nonwhite	4,808	1,509	31.4	
Conway				91.8
White	7,323	6,813	93.0	
Nonwhite	1,674	1,444	86.3	
Craighead				56.9
White	26,047	15,019	57.6	
Nonwhite	881	301	34.2	
Crawford				60.2
White	12,505	7,547	60.4	
Nonwhite	340	181	53.2	
Crittenden				38.7
White	10,569	7,299	69.0	
Nonwhite	12,871	1,777	13.8	

ARKANSAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Cross				51.3
White	7,608	4,648	61.1	
Nonwhite	2,640	611	23.1	
Dallas				69.4
White	4,122	3,276	79.5	
Nonwhite	2,049	1,004	49.0	
Desha				65.2
White	6,103	4,670	76.5	
Nonwhite	4,802	2,445	50.9	
Drew				61.4
White	5,926	3,987	67.3	
Nonwhite	2,506	1,190	47.5	
Faulkner				80.1
White	12,850	10,731	83.5	
Nonwhite	1,246	560	44.9	
Franklin				73.8
White	6,368	4,691	73.7	
Nonwhite	63	48	76.2	
Fulton (0.0% Negro)				84.8
White	4,237	3,595	84.8	
Nonwhite	4	0	0.0	
Garland				70.9
White	27,811	19,495	70.1	
Nonwhite	2,964	2,317	78.2	
Grant				75.9
White	4,794	3,738	77.9	
Nonwhite	256	94	36.7	

ARKANSAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Greene				60.8
White	14,835	9,022	60.8	
Nonwhite (82.4% Negro)	11	4	36.4	
Hempstead				62.7
White	8,333	5,970	71.6	
Nonwhite	3,717	1,581	42.5	
Hot Springs				68.7
White	11,267	8,110	72.0	
Nonwhite	1,584	720	45.5	
Howard				66.9
White	5,667	3,983	70.3	
Nonwhite	1,210	621	51.3	
Independence				62.3
White	12,386	7,840	63.3	
Nonwhite	321	75	23.4	
Izard				80.1
White	4,349	3,498	80.4	
Nonwhite	36	14	38.9	
Jackson				65.3
White	11,117	7,357	66.2	
Nonwhite	1,736	1,031	59.4	
Jefferson				56.3
White	27,284	17,462	64.0	
Nonwhite	17,505	7,733	44.2	
Johnson				69.5
White	7,715	5,373	69.6	
Nonwhite	137	82	59.9	
Lafayette				60.2
White	3,839	2,756	71.8	
Nonwhite	2,447	1,031	42.1	

ARKANSAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Lawrence				70.2
White	10,016	7,074	70.6	
Nonwhite (94.8% Negro)	112	40	35.7	
Lee				40.3
White	4,545	2,792	61.4	
Nonwhite	5,957	1,434	24.1	
Lincoln				56.8
White	4,619	3,114	67.4	
Nonwhite	3,579	1,541	43.1	
Little River				76.4
White	3,923	3,296	84.0	
Nonwhite	1,415	781	55.2	
Logan				62.8
White	10,290	6,518	63.3	
Nonwhite	163	45	27.6	
Lonoke				64.5
White	11,121	7,874	70.8	
Nonwhite	2,518	918	36.5	
Madison				70.2
White	5,552	3,900	70.2	
Nonwhite (37.5% Negro)	7	0	0.0	
Marion				79.4
White	3,938	3,129	79.4	
Nonwhite (33.3% Negro)	2	0	0.0	
Miller				59.8
White	14,327	9,290	64.8	
Nonwhite	4,290	1,848	43.1	

ARKANSAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Mississippi				42.6
White	26,739	12,366	46.2	
Nonwhite	9,638	3,134	32.5	
Monroe				55.6
White	5,101	3,728	73.1	
Nonwhite	3,914	1,281	32.7	
Montgomery				81.1
White	3,372	2,750	81.5	
Nonwhite (87% Negro)	20	0	0.0	
Nevada				67.2
White	4,619	3,360	72.7	
Nonwhite	1,940	1,047	53.9	
Newton				78.7
White	3,403	2,680	78.8	
Nonwhite (12.5% Negro)	2	0	0.0	
Ouachita				66.3
White	12,021	8,756	72.8	
Nonwhite	6,163	3,298	53.5	
Perry				92.2
White	2,892	2,685	92.8	
Nonwhite	82	57	69.5	
Phillips				45.7
White	10,431	6,381	61.2	
Nonwhite	12,208	3,963	32.5	
Pike				70.2
White	4,786	3,395	70.9	
Nonwhite	188	98	52.1	

ARKANSAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Poinsett				57.5
White	14,636	8,905	60.8	
Nonwhite	1,446	337	23.3	
Polk				66.5
White	7,686	5,116	66.6	
Nonwhite (0% Negro)	8	0	0.0	
Pope				67.8
White	12,431	8,584	69.0	
Nonwhite	370	90	24.3	
Prairie				68.0
White	5,179	3,728	71.9	
Nonwhite	938	429	45.7	
Pulaski				55.2
White	118,811	67,918	57.2	
Nonwhite	27,822	12,960	46.6	
Randolph				63.5
White	7,427	4,751	64.0	
Nonwhite	94	25	26.6	
St. Francis				52.1
White	7,963	5,613	70.5	
Nonwhite	8,403	2,920	34.8	
Saline				57.6
White	16,990	10,175	59.8	
Nonwhite	1,340	388	29.0	
Scott				72.7
White	4,625	3,320	71.8	
Nonwhite (28.6% Negro)	3	45	100.+	

ARKANSAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Searcy				69.8
White	4,942	3,451	69.8	
Nonwhite (0% Negro)	1	0	0.0	
Sebastian				59.4
White	38,180	23,355	61.1	
Nonwhite	2,485	750	30.2	
Sevier				62.1
White	5,910	3,751	63.5	
Nonwhite	499	231	46.3	
Sharp				85.8
White	4,104	3,520	85.8	
Nonwhite (0% Negro)	0	0	0.0	
Stone				92.5
White	3,718	3,441	92.5	
Nonwhite (0% Negro)	1	0	0.0	
Union				61.2
White	21,725	15,133	69.7	
Nonwhite	7,590	2,799	36.9	
Van Buren				78.6
White	4,565	3,608	79.0	
Nonwhite	56	22	39.3	
Washington				51.9
White	33,359	17,448	52.3	
Nonwhite (82% Negro)	311	12	3.9	
White				66.4
White	19,172	12,782	66.7	
Nonwhite	659	381	57.8	

ARKANSAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Woodruff				61.6
White	4,836	3,528	73.0	
Nonwhite	2,652	1,083	40.8	
Yell				75.5
White	7,395	5,622	76.0	
Nonwhite	253	150	59.3	
Total by Color				
White	850,643	555,944	65.4	
Nonwhite	192,626	77,714	40.3	
TOTAL	1,043,269	633,658		60.7[3]

1. 1960 Census

2. Official figures. Arkansas had no permanent registration prior to 1965. County registration figures represent sales of poll tax receipts, as reported by the State Auditor, as of October 1963.

3. 1964 figures show 63.8% of the voting age population registered. This is based on 1,124,000, the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964 (published by U.S. Census Bureau in news release dated September 8, 1964), and 717,537, the official 1964 registration figures reported by the State Auditor as of October, 1964.

FLORIDA (1964)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Alachua				64.2
White	30,555	21,534	70.5	
Nonwhite	9,898	4,421	44.7	
Baker				100.+
White	3,203	3,439	100.+	
Nonwhite	807	569	70.5	
Bay				68.0
White	31,940	21,634	67.7	
Nonwhite	4,964	3,473	70.0	
Bradford				79.2
White	5,580	4,714	84.5	
Nonwhite	1,345	772	57.4	
Brevard				80.9
White	58,433	49,977	85.5	
Nonwhite	6,494	2,570	39.6	
Broward				76.9
White	189,517	153,175	80.8	
Nonwhite	27,009	13,430	49.7	
Calhoun				100.+
White	3,434	4,606	100.+	
Nonwhite	582	440	75.6	
Charlotte				100.+
White	8,659	9,652	100.+	
Nonwhite	427	294	68.9	
Citrus				100.+
White	5,174	5,598	100.+	
Nonwhite	829	548	66.1	

FLORIDA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Clay				84.3
White	9,508	8,084	85.0	
Nonwhite	1,276	1,008	79.0	
Collier				78.3
White	8,163	6,970	85.4	
Nonwhite (92.8% Negro)	1,364	489	35.9	
Columbia				96.9
White	8,092	8,552	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,122	2,309	74.0	
Dade				69.3
White	537,448	383,304	71.3	
Nonwhite	75,573	41,634	55.1	
De Soto				62.0
White	6,239	4,123	65.0	
Nonwhite	1,343	640	47.7	
Dixie				100.+
White	2,138	2,861	100.+	
Nonwhite	363	375	100.+	
Duval				63.8
White	203,804	130,285	63.9	
Nonwhite	58,430	36,972	63.3	
Escambia				68.9
White	76,688	54,151	70.6	
Nonwhite	18,041	11,075	61.4	
Flagler				81.7
White	1,789	1,860	100.+	
Nonwhite	846	294	34.8	

FLORIDA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Franklin				100.+
White	3,186	3,510	100.+	
Nonwhite	779	585	75.1	
Gadsden				39.4
White	11,711	8,015	68.4	
Nonwhite	12,261	1,425	11.6	
Gilchrist				100.+
White	1,513	1,721	100.+	
Nonwhite	154	97	62.9	
Glades				79.3
White	1,061	1,142	100.+	
Nonwhite (82.8% Negro)	741	287	38.7	
Gulf				90.0
White	4,196	4,063	96.8	
Nonwhite	1,138	737	64.7	
Hamilton				92.2
White	2,486	2,729	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,621	1,056	65.1	
Hardee				82.1
White	6,734	5,635	83.7	
Nonwhite	552	348	63.0	
Hendry				93.1
White	3,430	3,499	100.+	
Nonwhite(90.3% Negro)	1,180	794	67.3	
Hernando				88.7
White	5,689	5,387	94.7	
Nonwhite	1,151	679	59.0	

FLORIDA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Highlands				90.1
White	10,997	10,591	96.3	
Nonwhite	2,251	1,352	60.1	
Hillsborough				67.8
White	213,950	147,270	68.8	
Nonwhite	31,114	18,876	60.7	
Holmes				100.+
White	6,131	6,511	100.+	
Nonwhite	249	185	74.3	
Indian River				75.6
White	13,182	10,672	80.9	
Nonwhite	2,637	1,292	49.0	
Jackson				76.5
White	14,087	11,518	81.7	
Nonwhite	5,390	3,382	62.7	
Jefferson				61.8
White	2,383	2,443	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,600	638	24.5	
Lafayette				100.+
White	1,536	1,889	100.+	
Nonwhite	152	-0-	-0-	
Lake				67.4
White	30,535	22,972	75.2	
Nonwhite	6,438	1,948	30.3	
Lee				77.8
White	30,363	25,979	85.6	
Nonwhite	4,677	1,270	27.2	

FLORIDA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Leon				66.9
White	28,241	20,783	73.6	
Nonwhite	12,322	6,334	51.4	
Levy				89.2
White	4,483	4,857	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,568	543	34.6	
Liberty				100.+
White	1,525	2,104	100.+	
Nonwhite	240	-0-	-0-	
Madison				83.7
White	4,380	4,632	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,067	1,602	52.2	
Manatee				71.8
White	42,291	31,696	74.9	
Nonwhite	5,278	2,444	46.3	
Marion				81.2
White	21,001	18,215	86.7	
Nonwhite	9,283	6,377	68.7	
Martin				88.9
White	9,291	8,752	94.2	
Nonwhite	1,753	1,062	60.6	
Monroe				63.7
White	25,512	15,922	62.4	
Nonwhite	2,919	2,189	75.0	
Nassau				82.3
White	7,054	6,039	85.6	
Nonwhite	2,076	1,474	71.0	

FLORIDA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Okaloosa				74.4
White	30,816	23,334	75.7	
Nonwhite (94.7% Negro)	2,097	1,138	54.3	
Okeechobee				100.+
White	2,870	3,063	100.+	
Nonwhite	533	394	73.9	
Orange				61.4
White	137,780	89,582	65.0	
Nonwhite	21,771	8,381	38.5	
Osceola				80.7
White	11,697	9,836	84.1	
Nonwhite	1,122	508	45.3	
Palm Beach				74.0
White	119,342	99,123	83.1	
Nonwhite	29,541	11,035	37.4	
Pasco				88.5
White	22,329	20,820	93.2	
Nonwhite	2,391	1,052	44.0	
Pinellas				72.2
White	255,369	189,134	74.1	
Nonwhite	18,121	8,462	46.7	
Polk				65.5
White	97,314	67,362	69.2	
Nonwhite	19,224	9,010	46.9	
Putnam				59.3
White	13,095	9,054	69.1	
Nonwhite	5,089	1,722	33.8	

FLORIDA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
St. Johns				73.2
White	13,771	10,919	79.3	
Nonwhite	4,331	2,329	53.7	
St. Lucie				67.9
White	17,238	13,791	80.0	
Nonwhite	6,527	2,338	35.8	
Santa Rosa				80.00
White	14,710	12,322	83.8	
Nonwhite (93.3% Negro)	1,082	789	72.9	
Sarasota				70.4
White	49,533	36,620	73.9	
Nonwhite	4,125	1,161	28.1	
Seminole				58.5
White	24,372	16,017	65.7	
Nonwhite	7,050	2,377	33.7	
Sumter				87.5
White	5,396	5,168	95.8	
Nonwhite	1,523	889	58.4	
Suwannee				93.7
White	6,409	6,970	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,149	1,046	48.7	
Taylor				94.6
White	5,454	5,911	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,724	876	50.8	
Union				60.1
White	2,880	2,254	78.3	
Nonwhite	1,082	128	11.8	

FLORIDA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Volusia				74.7
White	74,209	57,701	77.8	
Nonwhite	11,615	6,428	55.3	
Wakulla				100.+
White	2,120	2,603	100.+	
Nonwhite	753	552	73.3	
Walton				98.1
White	7,958	8,050	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,086	820	75.5	
Washington				100.+
White	5,364	5,800	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,021	892	87.4	
TOTAL BY COLOR				
White	2,617,438	1,958,499	74.8	
Nonwhite	470,306	240,616	51.2	
TOTAL	3,087,744	2,199,115		71.2[3]

1. 1960 Census

2. Official figures. Official publication of the Secretary of State of Florida, In the Capitol, May, 1964. Figures are listed as white and colored.

3. If the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964 (published by U.S. Census Bureau in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 62.5.

GEORGIA (1962)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Appling				100.+
White	5,862	7,705	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,401	1,359	97.0	
Atkinson				96.7
White	2,486	2,498	100.+	
Nonwhite	812	692	85.2	
Bacon				100.+
White	4,203	6,184	100.+	
Nonwhite	536	101	18.8	
Baker				68.3
White	1,139	1,631	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,285	24	1.9	
Baldwin				26.9
White	16,109	5,353	33.3	
Nonwhite	9,235	1,477	16.0	
Banks				91.7
White	3,850	3,696	96.0	
Nonwhite	213	30	14.1	
Barrow				67.0
White	7,865	5,848	74.4	
Nonwhite	1,332	312	23.4	
Bartow				71.8
White	14,942	11,239	75.2	
Nonwhite	2,393	1,208	50.5	
Ben Hill				48.2
White	5,931	3,292	55.5	
Nonwhite	2,436	740	30.4	
Berrien				78.9
White	6,179	5,078	82.2	
Nonwhite	964	561	58.2	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Bibb				86.5
White	60,429	26,827	44.4	
Nonwhite	26,812	5,042	18.8	
Bleckley				57.4
White	4,528	3,346	73.9	
Nonwhite	1,380	45	3.3	
Brantley				100.+
White	2,854	3,500	100.+	
Nonwhite	384	265	69.0	
Brooks				40.4
White	5,059	3,097	61.2	
Nonwhite	3,711	445	12.0	
Bryan				82.0
White	2,289	1,972	86.2	
Nonwhite	1,111	817	73.5	
Bulloch				63.6
White	10,101	7,780	77.0	
Nonwhite	4,337	1,403	32.3	
Burke				37.3
White	4,358	3,664	84.1	
Nonwhite	6,600	427	6.5	
Butts				100.+
White	3,195	4,086	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,099	1,582	75.4	
Calhoun				45.2
White	1,654	1,685	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,393	145	6.0	
Camden				65.5
White	3,447	2,428	70.4	
Nonwhite	2,059	1,176	57.1	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Candler				100.+
White	2,714	2,989	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,200	1,066	88.8	
Carroll				55.1
White	19,234	11,789	61.3	
Nonwhite	3,595	797	22.2	
Catoosa				63.4
White	12,370	7,876	63.7	
Nonwhite	172	73	42.4	
Charlton				45.0
White	2,077	1,096	52.8	
Nonwhite	810	204	25.2	
Chatham				39.9
White	78,118	36,072	46.2	
Nonwhite	37,563	10,068	26.8	
Chattahoochee				3.6
White	8,061	338	4.2	
Nonwhite (94.2% Negro)	1,830	17	0.9	
Chattooga				77.2
White	11,460	8,733	76.2	
Nonwhite	1,025	906	88.4	
Cherokee				100.+
White	13,964	14,300	100.+	
Nonwhite	517	325	62.9	
Clarke				33.8
White	23,895	8,907	37.3	
Nonwhite	6,740	1,451	21.5	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Clay				40.8
White	1,130	900	79.6	
Nonwhite	1,441	150	10.4	
Clayton				59.1
White	23,996	15,094	62.9	
Nonwhite	2,456	544	22.1	
Clinch				72.5
White	2,373	2,293	96.6	
Nonwhite	1,256	339	27.0	
Cobb				46.3
White	63,291	29,622	46.8	
Nonwhite	4,568	1,808	39.6	
Coffee				79.0
White	9,682	8,000	82.6	
Nonwhite	2,977	2,000	67.2	
Colquitt				62.2
White	15,982	11,362	71.1	
Nonwhite	4,081	1,117	27.4	
Columbia				63.3
White	5,096	4,061	79.7	
Nonwhite	2,364	659	27.9	
Cook				86.1
White	5,213	5,400	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,755	600	34.2	
Coweta				61.3
White	11,891	9,108	76.6	
Nonwhite	5,579	1,594	28.6	
Crawford				52.6
White	1,596	1,403	87.9	
Nonwhite	1,611	284	17.6	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Crisp				58.9
White	6,451	5,179	80.3	
Nonwhite	3,858	890	23.1	
Dade				84.7
White	4,803	4,100	85.4	
Nonwhite	70	26	37.1	
Dawson				85.4
White	2,148	1,835	85.4	
Nonwhite	1	0	0.0	
Decatur				60.7
White	9,070	7,841	86.4	
Nonwhite	5,515	1,016	18.4	
De Kalb				41.5
White	148,167	64,450	43.5	
Nonwhite	12,407	2,153	17.4	
Dodge				100.+
White	7,392	8,794	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,328	2,180	93.6	
Dooly				77.2
White	3,581	4,252	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,866	722	25.2	
Dougherty				42.0
White	29,897	13,700	45.8	
Nonwhite	14,163	4,800	33.9	
Douglas				95.4
White	8,595	8,489	98.8	
Nonwhite	1,268	916	72.2	
Early				54.7
White	4,013	3,729	92.9	
Nonwhite	3,277	261	8.0	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Echols				79.5
White	832	838	100.+	
Nonwhite	246	19	7.7	
Effingham				48.7
White	4,008	2,618	65.3	
Nonwhite	1,756	188	10.7	
Elbert				89.4
White	7,752	8,787	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,127	934	29.9	
Emanuel				93.7
White	7,627	7,864	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,005	2,098	69.8	
Evans				66.5
White	2,738	2,206	80.6	
Nonwhite	1,308	483	36.9	
Fannin				100.+
White	8,111	8,649	100.+	
Nonwhite	31	18	58.1	
Fayette				58.3
White	3,585	2,760	77.0	
Nonwhite	1,190	26	2.2	
Floyd				51.4
White	38,230	21,045	55.0	
Nonwhite	5,949	1,653	27.8	
Forsyth				73.9
White	7,328	5,418	73.9	
Nonwhite	4	0	0.0	
Franklin				90.6
White	7,611	7,500	98.5	
Nonwhite	776	100	12.9	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Fulton				39.8
White	247,892	109,262	44.1	
Nonwhite	117,049	35,834	30.6	
Gilmer				75.6
White	5,431	4,106	75.6	
Nonwhite (88.9% Negro)	7	4	57.1	
Glascock				78.7
White	1,281	1,283	100.+	
Nonwhite	351	1	0.3	
Glynn				38.5
White	18,750	7,701	41.1	
Nonwhite	6,762	2,133	31.5	
Gordon				72.2
White	11,441	8,423	73.6	
Nonwhite	669	321	48.0	
Grady				44.6
White	7,205	4,080	56.6	
Nonwhite	3,364	629	18.7	
Greene				64.0
White	3,565	2,665	74.8	
Nonwhite	2,998	1,538	51.3	
Gwinnett				83.9
White	24,299	20,628	84.9	
Nonwhite	1,841	1,301	70.7	
Habersham				75.2
White	10,676	8,223	77.0	
Nonwhite	518	200	38.6	
Hall				45.6
White	27,726	13,174	47.5	
Nonwhite	2,789	733	26.3	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Hancock				42.8
White	1,727	1,409	81.6	
Nonwhite	3,576	853	24.0	
Haralson				81.9
White	8,571	7,162	83.6	
Nonwhite	642	384	59.8	
Harris				56.2
White	3,310	3,340	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,102	263	8.5	
Hart				67.9
White	7,382	5,978	81.0	
Nonwhite	1,832	281	15.3	
Heard				81.4
White	2,661	2,321	87.2	
Nonwhite	590	325	55.1	
Henry				96.3
White	6,429	7,225	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,539	2,377	67.2	
Houston				37.4
White	17,742	7,799	44.0	
Nonwhite	4,228	413	9.8	
Irwin				89.5
White	3,759	3,500	93.1	
Nonwhite	1,602	1,300	81.1	
Jackson				61.4
White	10,228	6,679	65.3	
Nonwhite	1,309	408	31.2	
Jasper				74.3
White	1,925	2,044	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,705	653	38.3	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Jeff Davis	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	100.+
White	4,116	6,130	100.+	
Nonwhite	[illegible]909	56	6.2	
Jefferson				44.6
White	4,937	4,050	82.0	
Nonwhite	4,780	283	5.9	
Jenkins				68.2
White	2,985	2,837	95.0	
Nonwhite	2,210	704	32.0	
Johnson				73.6
White	3,455	3,208	92.9	
Nonwhite	1,261	262	20.8	
Jones				72.2
White	2,655	2,570	96.8	
Nonwhite	2,185	923	42.2	
Lamar				74.0
White	4,078	3,590	88.0	
Nonwhite	2,118	992	46.8	
Lanier				73.9
White	2,158	1,794	83.1	
Nonwhite	756	359	47.5	
Laurens				60.7
White	13,178	9,590	72.8	
Nonwhite	6,248	2,231	35.5	
Lee				38.5
White	1,427	1,210	84.8	
Nonwhite	1,795	29	1.6	
Liberty				47.3
White	5,310	2,000	37.7	
Nonwhite	3,176	2,014	63.1	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Lincoln	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	73.7
White	1,974	2,437	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,336	3	0.2	
Long				100.+
White	1,527	2,201	100.+	
Nonwhite	635	1,061	100.+	
Lowndes				36.2
White	20,746	8,943	43.1	
Nonwhite	8,459	1,637	19.4	
Lumpkin				64.0
White	4,500	2,886	64.1	
Nonwhite	79	43	54.4	
McDuffie				58.3
White	4,625	4,046	87.5	
Nonwhite	2,740	251	9.2	
McIntosh				75.4
White	1,643	1,396	85.0	
Nonwhite	1,823	1,219	66.9	
Macon				48.2
White	3,171	3,052	96.2	
Nonwhite	4,077	443	10.9	
Madison				66.8
White	5,962	4,588	77.0	
Nonwhite	989	55	5.6	
Marion				52.8
White	1,353	1,508	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,609	55	3.4	
Meriwether				47.3
White	6,547	4,508	68.9	
Nonwhite	4,990	950	19.0	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Miller				79.8
White	3,095	3,220	100.+	
Nonwhite	946	6	0.6	
Mitchell				75.3
White	6,055	7,928	100.+	
Nonwhite	4,971	375	7.5	
Monroe				74.7
White	3,607	3,938	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,652	738	27.8	
Montgomery				81.4
White	2,520	2,385	94.6	
Nonwhite	1,288	715	55.5	
Morgan				41.9
White	3,415	1,576	46.1	
Nonwhite	2,469	892	36.1	
Murray				72.6
White	6,209	4,520	72.8	
Nonwhite	51	27	52.9	
Muscogee				33.3
White	74,662	27,595	37.0	
Nonwhite	22,549	4,801	21.3	
Newton				53.0
White	9,045	5,883	65.0	
Nonwhite	3,767	901	23.9	
Oconee				61.6
White	3,228	2,317	71.8	
Nonwhite	681	89	13.1	
Oglethorpe				64.7
White	2,964	2,763	93.2	
Nonwhite	1,709	259	15.2	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Paulding				100.+
White	7,353	7,626	100.+	
Nonwhite	603	543	90.0	
Peach				39.2
White	3,650	2,539	69.6	
Nonwhite	4,562	679	14.9	
Pickens				95.4
White	5,264	5,124	97.3	
Nonwhite	251	140	55.8	
Pierce				76.5
White	4,432	3,876	87.5	
Nonwhite	1,135	380	33.5	
Pike				71.4
White	2,584	2,520	97.5	
Nonwhite	1,643	496	30.2	
Polk				67.9
White	15,065	10,490	69.6	
Nonwhite	2,443	1,395	57.1	
Pulaski				67.0
White	3,018	3,020	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,843	235	12.8	
Putnam				63.7
White	2,297	2,303	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,204	563	25.5	
Quitman				64.5
White	581	793	100.+	
Nonwhite	707	38	5.3	
Rabun				100.+
White	4,392	5,089	100.+	
Nonwhite	43	29	67.4	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Randolph				44.6
White	2,878	2,495	86.7	
Nonwhite	3,663	423	11.6	
Richmond				38.1
White	61,315	26,097	42.6	
Nonwhite	24,785	6,747	27.2	
Rockdale				86.4
White	4,708	4,641	98.6	
Nonwhite	1,512	731	48.3	
Schley				55.1
White	961	893	92.9	
Nonwhite	903	134	14.8	
Screven				53.0
White	4,557	3,530	77.5	
Nonwhite	3,729	863	23.1	
Seminole				90.0
White	2,648	3,500	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,255	11	0.9	
Spalding				49.1
White	16,657	9,370	56.3	
Nonwhite	5,252	1,391	26.5	
Stephens				78.3
White	9,975	8,242	82.6	
Nonwhite	1,355	627	46.3	
Stewart				43.2
White	1,465	1,656	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,681	136	5.1	
Sumter				43.1
White	7,730	5,681	73.5	
Nonwhite	6,710	548	8.2	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Talbot				42.3
White	1,437	1,448	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,507	219	8.7	
Taliaferro				89.1
White	917	946	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,073	828	77.2	
Tattnall				75.5
White	7,377	6,630	89.9	
Nonwhite	3,135	1,310	41.8	
Taylor				69.8
White	2,767	2,940	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,004	389	19.4	
Telfair				61.0
White	4,938	3,959	80.2	
Nonwhite	2,087	325	15.6	
Terrell				42.7
White	3,038	2,935	96.6	
Nonwhite	4,057	98	2.4	
Thomas				48.0
White	13,179	8,422	63.9	
Nonwhite	7,644	1,579	20.7	
Tift				56.8
White	10,211	6,681	65.4	
Nonwhite	3,513	1,113	31.7	
Toombs				64.2
White	7,513	5,962	79.4	
Nonwhite	2,444	431	17.6	
Towns				100.+
White	2,942	3,514	100.+	
Nonwhite	1	0	0.0	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Treutlen				78.0
White	2,473	2,638	100.+	
Nonwhite	968	45	4.6	
Troup				46.3
White	20,579	11,759	57.1	
Nonwhite	8,577	1,732	20.2	
Turner				80.6
White	3,422	3,530	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,535	464	30.2	
Twiggs				46.0
White	1,969	1,698	86.2	
Nonwhite	2,255	246	10.9	
Union				100.+
White	3,957	5,662	100.+	
Nonwhite	1	0	0.0	
Upson				47.8
White	11,159	6,404	57.4	
Nonwhite	3,615	655	18.1	
Walker				93.0
White	26,511	24,928	94.0	
Nonwhite	1,388	1,019	73.4	
Walton				54.9
White	9,392	6,381	67.9	
Nonwhite	3,076	458	14.9	
Ware				72.2
White	15,671	12,365	78.9	
Nonwhite	4,763	2,391	50.2	
Warren				44.2
White	1,911	1,640	85.8	
Nonwhite	2,224	188	8.4	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Washington				62.9
White	5,373	5,269	98.1	
Nonwhite	5,451	1,542	28.3	
Wayne				79.2
White	8,204	7.171	87.4	
Nonwhite	1,878	809	43.1	
Webster				44.3
White	775	766	98.8	
Nonwhite	975	9	0.9	
Wheeler				90.7
White	2,236	2,302	100.+	
Nonwhite	824	474	57.5	
White				100.+
White	4,047	4,220	100.+	
Nonwhite	169	242	100.+	
Whitfield				71.1
White	24,437	17,259	70.6	
Nonwhite	1,085	898	82.7	
Wilcox				71.6
White	3,309	3,059	92.4	
Nonwhite	1,282	230	17.9	
Wilkes				59.8
White	3,621	3,529	97.5	
Nonwhite	3,101	493	15.9	
Wilkinson				63.8
White	3,135	3,041	97.0	
Nonwhite	2,279	411	18.0	

GEORGIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Worth				67.6
White	5,324	5,855	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,776	296	7.8	
TOTAL BY COLOR				
White	1,797,062	1,124,415	62.6	
Nonwhite	612,910	167,663	27.4	
TOTAL	2,409,972	1,292,078	53.6[3]	

1. 1960 Census.

2. Unofficial figures. Published by Atlanta Journal and Constitution, April 28, 1963 representing registration as of December 1962.

3. If the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964, (published by U. S. Bureau of Census in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 49.0.

LOUISIANA (1964)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Acadia				88.2
White	22,399	20,187	90.1	
Nonwhite	4,557	3,580	78.6	
Allen				95.9
White	8,357	8,343	99.8	
Nonwhite	2,310	1,884	81.6	
Ascension				78.8
White	10,110	8,808	87.1	
Nonwhite	4,171	2,448	58.7	
Assumption				77.6
White	5,877	5,141	87.5	
Nonwhite	3,237	1,933	59.7	
Avoyelles				72.5
White	15,845	13,157	83.0	
Nonwhite	4,717	1,756	37.2	
Beauregard				83.0
White	8,682	7,936	91.4	
Nonwhite	2,145	1,048	48.9	
Bienville				57.7
White	5,617	5,007	89.1	
Nonwhite	4,077	584	14.3	
Bossier				50.9
White	23,696	14,934	63.0	
Nonwhite	6,847	599	8.7	
Caddo				52.0
White	87,774	62,362	71.0	
Nonwhite	41,749	4,954	11.9	

LOUISIANA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Calcasieu				70.8
White	62,987	46,918	74.5	
Nonwhite	14,924	8,213	55.0	
Caldwell				82.9
White	3,843	3,786	98.5	
Nonwhite	1,161	361	31.1	
Cameron				92.5
White	3,642	3,400	93.4	
Nonwhite	239	190	79.5	
Catahoula				71.6
White	4,110	4,080	99.3	
Nonwhite	1,919	236	12.3	
Claiborne				46.5
White	6,415	5,229	81.5	
Nonwhite	5,032	96	1.9	
Concordia				57.5
White	5,963	5,505	92.3	
Nonwhite	4,582	563	12.3	
De Soto				50.2
White	6,543	5,830	89.1	
Nonwhite	6,753	849	12.6	
East Baton Rouge				70.3
White	87,985	75,773	86.1	
Nonwhite	36,908	11,990	32.5	
East Carroll				28.9
White	2,990	1,939	64.8	
Nonwhite	4,183	136	3.3	

LOUISIANA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
East Feliciana				22.2
White	7,043	2,726	38.7	
Nonwhite	6,081	182	3.0	
Evangeline				100.+
White	13,652	14,055	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,342	3,136	93.8	
Franklin				58.4
White	8,954	7,540	84.2	
Nonwhite	4,433	284	6.4	
Grant				86.3
White	6,080	5,966	98.1	
Nonwhite	1,553	618	39.8	
Iberia				80.4
White	20,200	17,670	87.5	
Nonwhite	7,165	4,336	60.5	
Iberville				65.8
White	8,733	7,422	85.0	
Nonwhite	7,060	2,971	42.1	
Jackson				80.1
White	6,607	6,078	91.9	
Nonwhite	2,535	1,244	49.1	
Jefferson				83.7
White	98,103	86,430	88.1	
Nonwhite	14,970	8,177	54.6	
Jefferson Davis				73.6
White	12,892	10,056	78.0	
Nonwhite	2,881	1,549	53.7	

LOUISIANA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Lafayette				84.7
White	35,513	32,253	90.8	
Nonwhite	9,473	5,863	61.9	
La Fourche				92.8
White	25,737	24,788	96.3	
Nonwhite	3,078	1,963	63.8	
La Salle				94.6
White	6,799	6,961	100.+	
Nonwhite	849	272	32.0	
Lincoln				53.8
White	9,611	6,937	72.2	
Nonwhite	5,723	1,314	23.0	
Livingston				100.+
White	12,306	13,156	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,818	1,419	78.1	
Madison				32.4
White	3,334	2,467	74.0	
Nonwhite	5,181	294	5.7	
Morehouse				46.7
White	10,311	7,690	74.6	
Nonwhite	7,208	491	6.8	
Natchitoches				62.5
White	11,328	9,743	86.0	
Nonwhite	7,444	1,983	26.6	
Orleans				51.7
White	257,495	162,215	63.0	
Nonwhite	125,752	35,736	28.4	

LOUISIANA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Ouachita				55.4
White	40,185	29,587	73.6	
Nonwhite	16,377	1,744	10.6	
Plaquemines				67.0
White	8,633	7,627	88.3	
Nonwhite	2,897	96	3.3	
Pointe Coupee				52.0
White	6,085	4,384	72.0	
Nonwhite	5,273	1,515	28.7	
Rapides				57.5
White	44,823	32,456	72.4	
Nonwhite	18,141	3,792	20.9	
Red River				66.2
White	3,294	3,530	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,181	96	4.4	
Richland				49.8
White	7,601	5,688	74.8	
Nonwhite	4,608	381	8.3	
Sabine				97.2
White	8,251	8,735	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,143	1,366	63.7	
St. Bernard				100.+
White	15,836	18,425	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,105	682	61.7	
St. Charles				96.0
White	8,117	7,969	98.2	
Nonwhite	2,621	2,342	89.4	

LOUISIANA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
St. Helena				58.9
White	2,363	2,059	87.1	
Nonwhite	2,082	560	26.9	
St. James				80.7
White	4,892	4,611	94.3	
Nonwhite	3,964	2,537	64.0	
St. John the Baptist				80.8
White	4,982	4,475	89.8	
Nonwhite	4,279	3,009	70.3	
St. Landry	[illegible]	[illegible]		80.2
White	25,550	22,131	86.6	
Nonwhite	14,982	10,325	68.9	
St. Martin				87.1
White	9,781	9,397	96.1	
Nonwhite	4,664	3,182	68.2	
St. Mary				71.5
White	17,991	14,782	82.2	
Nonwhite	7,176	3,214	44.8	
St. Tammany				100.+
White	16,032	18,350	100.+	
Nonwhite	5,038	2,807	55.7	
Tangipahoa				73.0
White	22,311	19,918	89.3	
Nonwhite	9,401	3,247	34.5	
Tensas				38.0
White	2,287	2,154	94.2	
Nonwhite	3,533	60	1.7	

LOUISIANA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Terrebonne[3]				69.6
White	24,393	19,132	78.4	
Nonwhite	5,464	1,645	30.1	
Union				73.8
White	7,021	6,534	93.1	
Nonwhite	3,006	864	28.7	
Vermilion				95.6
White	19,710	18,972	96.3	
Nonwhite	2,429	2,183	89.9	
Vernon				95.6
White	9,279	9,971	100.+	
Nonwhite	1,268	684	53.9	
Washington				73.8
White	16,804	15,795	94.0	
Nonwhite	6,821	1,634	24.0	
Webster				56.3
White	15,713	12,002	76.4	
Nonwhite	7,045	803	11.4	
West Baton Rouge				65.4
White	3,974	3,642	91.6	
Nonwhite	3,502	1,245	35.6	
West Carroll				54.9
White	6,171	4,078	66.1	
Nonwhite	1,389	76	5.5	

LOUISIANA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
West Feliciana				19.4
White	2,814	1,345	47.8	
Nonwhite	4,553	85	1.9	
Winn				86.6
White	6,790	6,947	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,590	1,175	45.4	
TOTAL BY COLOR				
White	1,289,216	1,037,184	80.5	
Nonwhite	514,589	164,601	32.0	
TOTAL	1,803,805	1,201,785		66.6[3]

1. 1960 Census.

2. Official figures. Data furnished by Secretary of State of Louisiana showing registration as of October 3, 1964.

3. If the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964 (published by U.S. Census Bureau in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 63.5.

MISSISSIPPI (1964)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Adams				
White	10,888			
Nonwhite	9,340			
Alcorn				
White	13,347			
Nonwhite	1,756			
Amite				
White	4,449			
Nonwhite	3,560			
Attala				
White	7,522			
Nonwhite	4,262			
Benton				58.0
White	2,514	2,226	88.5	
Nonwhite	1,419	55	3.9	
Bolivar				
White	10,031			
Nonwhite	15,939			
Calhoun				
White	7,188			
Nonwhite	1,767			
Carroll				
White	2,969			
Nonwhite	2,704			
Chickasaw				48.2
White	6,388	4,548	71.2	
Nonwhite	3,054	1	0.03	
Choctaw				
White	3,728			
Nonwhite	1,105			

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Claiborne				27.5
White	1,688	1,528	90.5	
Nonwhite	3,969	26	0.7	
Clarke				54.0
White	6,072	4,829	79.5	
Nonwhite	2,988	64	2.1	
Clay				
White	5,547			
Nonwhite	4,444			
Coahoma				
White	8,708			
Nonwhite	14,604			
Copiah				51.9
White	8,153	7,533	92.4	
Nonwhite	6,407	25	0.4	
Covington				
White	5,329			
Nonwhite	2,032			
De Soto				
White	5,338			
Nonwhite	6,246			
Forrest				45.1
White	22,431	13,253	59.1	
Nonwhite	7,495	236	3.1	
Franklin				
White	3,403			
Nonwhite	1,842			
George				72.0
White	5,276	4,200	79.6	
Nonwhite	580	14	2.4	

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Greene				
White	3,518			
Nonwhite	859			
Grenada				
White	5,792			
Nonwhite	4,323			
Hancock				
White	6,813			
Nonwhite	1,129			
Harrison				
White	55,094			
Nonwhite	9,670			
Hinds				65.4
White	67,836	62,410	92.0	
Nonwhite	36,138	5,616	15.5	
Holmes				35.6
White	4,773	4,800	100.+	
Nonwhite	8,757	20	0.2	
Humphreys				28.5
White	3,344	2,538	75.9	
Nonwhite	5,561	0	0.0	
Issaquena				37.5
White	640	640	100.0	
Nonwhite	1,081	5	0.5	
Itawamba				
White	8,523			
Nonwhite	463			
Jackson				
White	24,447			
Nonwhite	5,133			

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Jasper				50.1
White	5,327	4,500	84.5	
Nonwhite	3,675	10	0.3	
Jefferson				
White	1,666			
Nonwhite	3,540			
Jefferson Davis				49.1
White	3,629	3,236	89.2	
Nonwhite	3,222	126	3.9	
Jones				
White	25,943			
Nonwhite	7,427			
Kemper				
White	3,113			
Nonwhite	3,221			
Lafayette				
White	8,074			
Nonwhite	3,239			
Lamar				76.1
White	6,489	5,752	88.6	
Nonwhite	1,071	0	0.0	
Lauderdale				49.6
White	27,806	18,000	64.7	
Nonwhite	11,924	1,700	14.3	
Lawrence				
White	3,878			
Nonwhite	1,720			
Leake				61.3
White	6,754	6,000	88.8	
Nonwhite (93.6% Negro)	3,397	220	6.5	

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Lee				
White	18,709			
Nonwhite	5,130			
Leflore				32.0
White	10,274	7,348	71.5	
Nonwhite	13,567	281	2.1	
Lincoln				
White	11,072			
Nonwhite	3,913			
Lowndes				35.4
White	16,460	8,687	52.8	
Nonwhite	8,362	99	1.2	
Madison				40.5
White	5,622	6,256	100.+	
Nonwhite	10,366	218	2.1	
Marion				83.2
White	8,997	10,123	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,630	383	10.6	
Marshall				38.3
White	4,342	4,229	97.4	
Nonwhite	7,168	177	2.5	
Monroe				
White	13,426			
Nonwhite	5,610			
Montgomery				
White	4,700			
Nonwhite	2,627			
Neshoba				
White	9,143			
Nonwhite (79.4% Negro)	2,565			

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Newton				
White	8,014			
Nonwhite (94.2% Negro)	3,018			
Noxubee				
White	2,997			
Nonwhite	5,172			
Oktibbeha				34.0
White	8,423	4,413	52.4	
Nonwhite	4,952	128	2.6	
Panola				45.7
White	7,639	5,922	77.5	
Nonwhite	7,250	878	12.1	
Pearl River				
White	9,765			
Nonwhite	2,473			
Perry				
White	3,515			
Nonwhite	1,140			
Pike				
White	12,163			
Nonwhite	6,936			
Pontotoc				
White	8,772			
Nonwhite	1,519			
Prentiss				
White	9,535			
Nonwhite	1,070			
Quitman				
White	4,176			
Nonwhite	5,673			

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Rankin				
White	13,246			
Nonwhite	6,944			
Scott				47.1
White	7,742	5,400	69.7	
Nonwhite	3,752	16	0.4	
Sharkey				
White	1,882			
Nonwhite	3,152			
Simpson				
White	8,073			
Nonwhite	3,186			
Smith				
White	6,597			
Nonwhite	1,293			
Stone				
White	2,965			
Nonwhite	868			
Sunflower				32.6
White	8,785	7,082	80.6	
Nonwhite	13,524	185	1.4	
Tallahatchie				38.7
White	5,099	4,464	87.5	
Nonwhite	6,483	17	0.3	
Tate				
White	4,506			
Nonwhite	4,326			
Tippah				
White	7,513			
Nonwhite	1,281			

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Tishomingo				
White	8,068			
Nonwhite	359			
Tunica				18.4
White	2,011	1,407	70.0	
Nonwhite	5,822	38	0.7	
Union				
White	9,512			
Nonwhite	1,626			
Walthall				64.6
White	4,536	4,536	100.0	
Nonwhite	2,490	4	0.2	
Warren				58.1
White	13,530	11,654	86.1	
Nonwhite	10,726	2,433	22.7	
Washington				
White	19,837			
Nonwhite	20,619			
Wayne				
White	5,881			
Nonwhite	2,556			
Webster				
White	4,993			
Nonwhite	1,174			
Wilkinson				
White	2,340			
Nonwhite	4,120			
Winston				
White	6,808			
Nonwhite	3,611			

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Yalobusha				
White	4,572			
Nonwhite	2,441			
Yazoo				
White	7,598			
Nonwhite	8,719			
STATEWIDE FIGURES				
Total by Color				
White	748,266	525,000[3]	70.2	
Nonwhite	422,256	28,500[3]	6.7	
TOTAL	1,170,522	553,500		47.3[4]

1. 1960 Census.

2. Unofficial figures. Furnished by Department of Justice showing registration as of a median date, January 1, 1964.

3. Unofficial statewide registration figures as of November 1, 1964, furnished by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

4. If the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964 (published by U.S. Census Bureau in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 44.5.

NORTH CAROLINA (1964)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Alamance				
White	42,755			
Nonwhite	7,429	5,177	69.7	
Buncombe				42.8
White	72,249	28,894	39.9	
Nonwhite	8,510	5,695	66.9	
Cleveland				60.2
White	30,356	19,827	65.3	
Nonwhite	6,474	2,353	36.3	
Forsyth				70.2
White	87,219	66,800	76.6	
Nonwhite	24,952	12,000	48.1	
Guilford				71.2
White	116,748	85,689	73.4	
Nonwhite	27,292	16,796	61.5	
Halifax				63.2
White	16,496	15,469	93.7	
Nonwhite	13,766	3,644	26.5	
Mecklenburg				55.8
White	123,787	72,840	58.8	
Nonwhite	34,150	15,284	44.6	
Wake				56.7
White	76,799	43,869	57.1	
Nonwhite	22,856	12,586	55.1	

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Wayne				51.9
White	29,349	18,187	62.0	
Nonwhite	15,754	5,218	33.1	
STATEWIDE FIGURES[3]				
Total by Color				
White	2,005,955	1,942,000	96.8	
Nonwhite	550,929	258,000	46.8	
TOTAL	2,556,884	2,200,000		86.0[4]

1. 1960 Census.

2. Unofficial figures. Furnished by Voter Education Project of Southern Regional Council showing registration as of 1964. Registration figures for other counties are not available.

3. Unofficial statewide estimates as of November 1, 1964, furnished by Voter Education Project of Southern Regional Council.

4. If the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964 (published by U.S. Bureau of Census in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 79.9.

SOUTH CAROLINA (1964)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Abbeville				58.6
White	8,733	6,100	69.8	
Nonwhite	3,215	900	28.0	
Aiken				68.7
White	33,646	26,000	77.3	
Nonwhite	10,040	4,000	39.8	
Allendale				59.3
White	2,531	2,900	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,205	504	15.7	
Anderson				65.6
White	47,542	30,000	63.1	
Nonwhite	9,598	7,500	78.1	
Bamberg				68.1
White	4,371	4,169	95.4	
Nonwhite	3,807	1,400	36.8	
Barnwell				93.3
White	5,652	6,800	100.+	
Nonwhite	3,242	1,500	46.3	
Beaufort				51.7
White	12,098	6,500	53.7	
Nonwhite	7,247	3,500	48.3	
Berkeley				78.9
White	10,122	10,000	98.8	
Nonwhite	7,619	4,000	52.5	
Calhoun				48.8
White	2,623	2,415	92.1	
Nonwhite	3,318	487	14.7	

SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Charleston				56.7
White	77,909	50,310	64.6	
Nonwhite	35,499	13,976	39.4	
Cherokee				80.9
White	16,037	14,245	88.8	
Nonwhite	3,360	1,438	42.8	
Chester				77.7
White	11,172	10,088	90.3	
Nonwhite	5,664	3,000	53.0	
Chesterfield				77.0
White	12,099	10,936	90.4	
Nonwhite	5,219	2,400	46.0	
Clarendon				40.4
White	5,223	4,708	90.1	
Nonwhite	7,735	523	6.8	
Colleton				68.9
White	8,203	8,045	98.1	
Nonwhite	6,180	1,870	30.3	
Darlington				67.7
White	16,706	13,000	77.8	
Nonwhite	9,900	5,000	50.5	
Dillon				63.1
White	8,725	6,500	74.5	
Nonwhite	5,529	2,500	45.2	
Dorchester				77.0
White	7,121	7,864	100.+	
Nonwhite	5,370	1,750	32.6	
Edgefield				58.5
White	4,103	3,950	96.3	
Nonwhite	3,764	650	17.3	

SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Fairfield				63.7
White	4,975	5,050	100.+	
Nonwhite	5,536	1,650	29.8	
Florence				65.9
White	27,047	23,881	88.3	
Nonwhite	15,951	4,458	28.0	
Georgetown				71.8
White	8,855	6,907	78.0	
Nonwhite	7,173	4,604	64.2	
Greenville				61.5
White	102,365	66.040	64.5	
Nonwhite	18,605	8,368	45.0	
Greenwood				69.3
White	19,218	15,714	81.8	
Nonwhite	6,764	2,300	34.0	
Hampton				65.3
White	4,711	4,696	99.7	
Nonwhite	4,052	1,025	25.3	
Horry				65.8
White	27,518	20,700	75.2	
Nonwhite	7,429	2,300	31.0	
Jasper				62.8
White	2,689	2,580	96.0	
Nonwhite	3,333	1,200	36.0	
Kershaw				76.5
White	11,258	10,862	96.5	
Nonwhite	5,903	2,266	38.4	

SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Lancaster				86.1
White	16,213	16,265	100.+	
Nonwhite	4,762	1,800	37.8	
Laurens				60.3
White	19,775	9,637	48.7	
Nonwhite	6,818	6,400	93.9	
Lee				55.9
White	4,394	4,354	99.1	
Nonwhite	5,446	1,150	21.1	
Lexington				71.5
White	28,774	20,500	71.3	
Nonwhite	4,782	3,500	73.2	
McCormick				50.7
White	1,915	1,900	99.2	
Nonwhite	2,248	210	9.3	
Marion				48.6
White	8,103	6,470	79.8	
Nonwhite	7,684	1,200	15.6	
Marlboro				63.6
White	8,230	7,800	94.8	
Nonwhite	5,932	1,200	20.2	
Newberry				71.1
White	12,204	11,200	91.8	
Nonwhite	4,954	1,000	20.2	
Oconee				61.4
White	19,762	12,100	61.2	
Nonwhite	2,230	1,400	62.8	

SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Orangeburg				65.5
White	16,381	15,619	95.3	
Nonwhite	17,355	6,483	37.4	
Pickens				64.5
White	24,015	15,300	63.7	
Nonwhite	2,356	1,700	72.2	
Richland				60.4
White	79,050	58,750	74.3	
Nonwhite	32,670	8,750	26.8	
Saluda				79.5
White	5,573	5,840	100.+	
Nonwhite	2,327	440	18.9	
Spartanburg				71.2
White	73,317	57,129	77.9	
Nonwhite	17,047	7,171	42.1	
Sumter				37.4
White	22,004	9,800	44.5	
Nonwhite	15,380	4,200	27.3	
Union				87.7
White	12,826	13,423	100.+	
Nonwhite	4,125	1,438	34.9	
Williamsburg				55.3
White	7,560	8,067	100.+	
Nonwhite	10,535	1,933	18.3	

SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
York				62.6
White	31,799	22,300	71.7	
Nonwhite	10,196	3,500	34.3	
Total by Color				
White	895,147	677,914	75.7	
Nonwhite	371,104	138,544	37.3	
TOTAL	1,266,251	816,458		64.5[3]

1. 1960 Census

2. Unofficial figures. Published by Charleston News and Courier, November 1, 1964.

3. If the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964 (published by U.S. Census Bureau in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 59.2.

TENNESSEE (1964)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Anderson		27,788	82.8
White	32,520		
Nonwhite	1,034		
Bedford		7,123	49.7
White	12,716		
Nonwhite	1,603		
Benton		7,367	100+
White	6,619		
Nonwhite	171		
Bledsoe		4,742	100+
White	3,980		
Nonwhite	118		
Blount		26,091	79.4
White	31,329		
Nonwhite	1,520		
Bradley		18,549	84.8
White	20,834		
Nonwhite	1,047		
Campbell		13,890	90.1
White	15,274		
Nonwhite	140		
Cannon		5,806	100+
White	5,127		
Nonwhite	108		
Carroll		12,357	82.7
White	13,154		
Nonwhite	1,787		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Carter		25,282	100+
White	23,669		
Nonwhite	238		
Cheatham		5,166	92.5
White	5,238		
Nonwhite	344		
Chester		5,923	100+
White	4,879		
Nonwhite	685		
Claiborne		10,549	98.0
White	10,603		
Nonwhite	164		
Clay		4,548	100+
White	4,006		
Nonwhite	96		
Cocke		12,810	97.6
White	12,748		
Nonwhite	373		
Coffee		13,686	83.2
White	15,876		
Nonwhite	583		
Crockett		7,866	92.3
White	6,933		
Nonwhite	1,586		
Cumberland		8,358	80.8
White	10,343		
Nonwhite (33.3% Negro)	6		
Davidson		154,662	63.7
White	197,949		
Nonwhite	44,984		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Decatur		5,718	100+
White	4,979		
Nonwhite	251		
De Kalb		6,290	94.4
White	6,477		
Nonwhite	183		
Dickson		8,456	74.2
White	10,666		
Nonwhite	729		
Dyer		17,113	95.4
White	15,484		
Nonwhite	2,456		
Fayette		8,116	69.7
White	4,437		
Nonwhite	7,215		
Fentress		5,278	78.7
White	6,703		
Nonwhite	2		
Franklin		16,720	100+
White	13,328		
Nonwhite	1,130		
Gibson		19,283	69.4
White	22,888		
Nonwhite	4,903		
Giles		10,402	75.6
White	11,601		
Nonwhite	2,161		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Grainger		6,824	100+
White	7,045		
Nonwhite	100		
Greene		20,010	79.3
White	24,647		
Nonwhite	601		
Grundy		6,604	100+
White	6,191		
Nonwhite	10		
Hamblen		14,539	74.7
White	18,366		
Nonwhite	1,099		
Hamilton		91,476	64.0
White	116,321		
Nonwhite	26,658		
Hancock		5,216	100+
White	4,224		
Nonwhite	51		
Hardeman		7,265	57.1
White	8,653		
Nonwhite	4,072		
Hardin		9,768	94.7
White	9,734		
Nonwhite	578		
Hawkins		15,618	88.1
White	17,120		
Nonwhite	602		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Haywood		7,506	63.7
White	5,497		
Nonwhite	6,295		
Henderson		7,303	74.1
White	8,988		
Nonwhite	862		
Henry		12,450	86.4
White	12,429		
Nonwhite	1,977		
Hickman		6,375	89.5
White	6,796		
Nonwhite	324		
Houston		3,107	100+
White	2,705		
Nonwhite	197		
Humphreys		6,386	92.1
White	6,613		
Nonwhite	323		
Jackson		4,870	87.3
White	5,551		
Nonwhite	27		
Jefferson		10,281	81.1
White	12,159		
Nonwhite	516		
Johnson		5,652	89.9
White	6,198		
Nonwhite	86		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Knox		145,052	95.4
White	138,724		
Nonwhite	13,275		
Lake		5,082	98.5
White	4,047		
Nonwhite	1,108		
Lauderdale		10,486	85.3
White	8,152		
Nonwhite	4,137		
Lawrence		14,029	86.9
White	15,837		
Nonwhite	300		
Lewis		3,686	100+
White	3,561		
Nonwhite	59		
Lincoln		10,732	75.1
White	12,621		
Nonwhite	1,673		
Loudon		12,152	86.5
White	13,786		
Nonwhite	268		
Macon		5,721	76.0
White	7,458		
Nonwhite	69		
Madison		26,598	73.8
White	25,617		
Nonwhite	10,416		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Marion		12,006	100+
White	10,730		
Nonwhite	707		
Marshall		7,819	74.4
White	9,473		
Nonwhite	1,042		
Maury		17,228	68.8
White	20,323		
Nonwhite	4,710		
McMinn		15,070	76.5
White	18,738		
Nonwhite	958		
McNairy		9,438	86.9
White	10,235		
Nonwhite	631		
Meigs		2,676	97.0
White	2,642		
Nonwhite	117		
Monroe		13,930	100+
White	12,318		
Nonwhite	507		
Montgomery		15,497	50.9
White	24,503		
Nonwhite	5,916		
Moore		1,824	84.5
White	2,012		
Nonwhite	146		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Morgan		6,063	76.5
White	7,625		
Nonwhite	296		
Obion		13,260	77.0
White	15,362		
Nonwhite	1,849		
Overton		8,522	99.7
White	8,501		
Nonwhite	44		
Perry		3,207	98.1
White	3,183		
Nonwhite	85		
Pickett		2,819	100+
White	2,462		
Nonwhite	5		
Polk		7,418	100+
White	6,776		
Nonwhite	13		
Putnam		14,166	83.0
White	16,764		
Nonwhite	306		
Rhea		7,688	86.2
White	8,564		
Nonwhite	354		
Roane		16,580	75.5
White	21,079		
Nonwhite	878		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Robertson		10,499	64.0
White	13,748		
Nonwhite	2,656		
Rutherford		18,535	61.1
White	26,387		
Nonwhite	3,960		
Scott		8,259	100+
White	7,792		
Nonwhite	3		
Sequatchie		3,218	100+
White	3,176		
Nonwhite (0.0% Negro)	1		
Sevier		13,140	93.8
White	13,906		
Nonwhite	105		
Shelby		248,542	69.1
White	240,499		
Nonwhite	119,033		
Smith		5,895	77.0
White	7,321		
Nonwhite	333		
Stewart		4,813	100+
White	4,637		
Nonwhite	150		
Sullivan		51,266	76.4
White	65,683		
Nonwhite	1,438		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Sumner		20,756	95.3
White	19,472		
Nonwhite	2,304		
Tipton		12,734	85.4
White	9,864		
Nonwhite	5,048		
Trousdale		2,946	97.3
White	2,549		
Nonwhite	478		
Unicoi		7,170	82.0
White	8,737		
Nonwhite (71.4% Negro)	7		
Union		4,425	93.8
White	4,713		
Nonwhite	2		
Van Buren		2,359	100+
White	1,940		
Nonwhite	16		
Warren		10,616	76.5
White	13,251		
Nonwhite	630		
Washington		29,854	76.0
White	37,705		
Nonwhite	1,582		
Wayne		8,577	100+
White	6,521		
Nonwhite	124		

TENNESSEE (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Weakley		12,444	79.2
White	14,694		
Nonwhite	1,016		
White		7,209	77.4
White	9,033		
Nonwhite	275		
Williamson		12,226	84.1
White	11,919		
Nonwhite	2,616		
Wilson		13,404	78.8
White	14,781		
Nonwhite	2,231		

STATEWIDE FIGURES[3]

TOTAL BY COLOR			
White	1,779,018	1,297,000	72.9
Nonwhite	313,873	218,000	69.5
TOTAL	2,092,891	1,515,000	72.4[4]

1. 1960 Census

2. Official estimate. Furnished by Tennessee Department of State as of February 1964. County registration figures by race not available.

3. Unofficial statewide registration figures as of November 1, 1964, furnished by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

4. If the estimated total population as of November, 1964 (published by U.S. Census Bureau in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 67.7.

TEXAS (1964)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Anderson		10,351	59.0
White	13,114		
Nonwhite	4,430		
Andrews		2,045	28.6
White	7,011		
Nonwhite	138		
Angelina		19,904	83.6
White	20,049		
Nonwhite	3,762		
Arkansas		2,069	50.8
White	3,921		
Nonwhite	154		
Archer		1,891	51.0
White	3,692		
Nonwhite (67.9% Negro)	18		
Armstrong		811	63.1
White	1,283		
Nonwhite (60.0% Negro)	3		
Atascosa		5,183	52.0
White	9,876		
Nonwhite (94.7% Negro)	92		
Austin		3,407	37.8
White	7,450		
Nonwhite	1,566		
Bailey		2,593	50.8
White	4,930		
Nonwhite	179		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Bandera		1,373	52.9
White	2,577		
Nonwhite	19		
Bastrop		4,187	40.2
White	7,561		
Nonwhite	2,867		
Baylor		1,494	39.1
White	3,712		
Nonwhite	112		
Bee		5,909	48.2
White	11,895		
Nonwhite (83.9% Negro)	369		
Bell		20,348	36.9
White	48,932		
Nonwhite (93.4% Negro)	6,228		
Bexar		189,046	50.0
White	350,918		
Nonwhite	27,072		
Blanco		1,208	50.7
White	2,308		
Nonwhite	75		
Borden		425	69.4
White	612		
Nonwhite	0		
Bosque		2,877	38.3
White	7,313		
Nonwhite	196		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Bowie		19,637	54.2
White	28,576		
Nonwhite	7,684		
Brazoria		26,034	60.2
White	37,767		
Nonwhite	5,497		
Brazos		14,630	58.7
White	19,987		
Nonwhite	4,957		
Brewster		1,934	54.5
White	3,520		
Nonwhite	30		
Briscoe		1,224	60.0
White	1,976		
Nonwhite	65		
Brooks		3,385	75.8
White	4,456		
Nonwhite (91.7% Negro)	9		
Brown		8,840	54.0
White	15,924		
Nonwhite	456		
Burleson		2,855	42.0
White	4,926		
Nonwhite	1,871		
Burnet		2,755	47.1
White	5,753		
Nonwhite	95		

TEXAS (Continued

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Caldwell		3,863	37.7
White	8,732		
Nonwhite	1,504		
Calhoun		5,264	62.1
White	8,059		
Nonwhite	421		
Callahan		2,324	44.0
White	5,274		
Nonwhite **(25.0% Negro)**	3		
Cameron		33,222	44.7
White	73,664		
Nonwhite **(75.5% Negro)**	725		
Camp		2,199	46.0
White	3,196		
Nonwhite	1,586		
Carson		2,477	57.2
White	4,314		
Nonwhite **(81.5% Negro)**	20		
Cass		5,230	37.3
White	10,511		
Nonwhite	3,509		
Castro		2,635	58.3
White	4,360		
Nonwhite	156		
Chambers		3,740	63.5
White	4,750		
Nonwhite	1,144		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Cherokee		8,129	38.1
White	16,480		
Nonwhite	4,839		
Childress		2,502	45.8
White	5,176		
Nonwhite	284		
Clay		2,398	44.7
White	5,318		
Nonwhite	51		
Cochran		1,837	53.9
White	3,280		
Nonwhite	131		
Coke		1,104	50.0
White	2,206		
Nonwhite (80.0% Negro)	4		
Coleman		3,151	37.8
White	8,169		
Nonwhite	178		
Collin		11,767	45.7
White	23,448		
Nonwhite	2,275		
Collingsworth		1,591	41.0
White	3,632		
Nonwhite	244		
Colorado		5,142	46.7
White	8,493		
Nonwhite	2,529		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Comal		6,892	59.6
White	11,368		
Nonwhite	205		
Comanche		2,987	35.8
White	8,330		
Nonwhite (11.8% Negro)	9		
Concho		1,086	46.5
White	2,331		
Nonwhite	3		
Cooke		8,396	61.6
White	13,143		
Nonwhite	488		
Coryell		3,983	28.6
White	13,190		
Nonwhite (88.9% Negro)	719		
Cottle		1,202	46.5
White	2,410		
Nonwhite	175		
Crane		1,753	65.9
White	2,565		
Nonwhite	95		
Crockett		1,296	56.3
White	2,221		
Nonwhite	80		
Crosby		2,669	47.4
White	5,234		
Nonwhite	395		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Culberson		884	60.3
White	1,459		
Nonwhite (50.0% Negro)	6		
Dallam		1,647	42.6
White	3,830		
Nonwhite	33		
Dallas		315,705	55.4
White	493,340		
Nonwhite	76,927		
Dawson		5,795	55.0
White	10,030		
Nonwhite	501		
Deaf Smith		3,935	55.8
White	6,955		
Nonwhite	99		
Delta		1,428	36.5
White	3,486		
Nonwhite	422		
Denton		14,849	53.8
White	26,011		
Nonwhite	1,594		
De Witt		4,645	36.5
White	11,013		
Nonwhite	1,699		
Dickens		1,479	47.1
White	3,002		
Nonwhite	137		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Dimmit		2,259	46.5
White	4,839		
Nonwhite	17		
Donley		1,525	52.3
White	2,806		
Nonwhite	108		
Duval		4,907	68.6
White	7,148		
Nonwhite	7		
Eastland		5,416	40.6
White	13,135		
Nonwhite	207		
Ector		28,336	57.3
White	46,903		
Nonwhite	2,591		
Edwards		719	51.0
White	1,405		
Nonwhite (87.5% Negro)	7		
Ellis		10,071	38.5
White	21,069		
Nonwhite	5,114		
El Paso		67,253	40.5
White	160,240		
Nonwhite (82.1% Negro)	5,861		
Erath		4,133	37.8
White	10,840		
Nonwhite (80.9% Negro)	108		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Falls		4,146	31.7
White	9,466		
Nonwhite	3,630		
Fannin		5,574	34.2
White	14,920		
Nonwhite	1,357		
Fayette		4,480	32.9
White	11,980		
Nonwhite	1,634		
Fisher		2,290	47.6
White	4,619		
Nonwhite	195		
Floyd		3,445	49.6
White	6,567		
Nonwhite	379		
Foard		847	42.4
White	1,861		
Nonwhite	138		
Fort Bend		10,693	48.1
White	17,879		
Nonwhite	4,373		
Franklin		1,662	48.6
White	3,218		
Nonwhite	199		
Freestone		3,259	41.8
White	5,272		
Nonwhite	2,531		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Frio		2,522	49.6
White	5,052		
Nonwhite	32		
Gaines		3,515	53.0
White	6,470		
Nonwhite	156		
Galveston		50,531	61.2
White	65,830		
Nonwhite	16,685		
Garza		1,873	50.6
White	3,524		
Nonwhite	179		
Gillespie		3,025	46.4
White	6,514		
Nonwhite (89.9% Negro)	12		
Glasscock		342	50.8
White	666		
Nonwhite	7		
Goliad		1,494	45.9
White	2,894		
Nonwhite	361		
Gonzales		3,799	35.2
White	9,006		
Nonwhite	1,752		
Gray		10,621	56.7
White	18,205		
Nonwhite	514		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Grayson		22,359	48.5
White	42,364		
Nonwhite	3,712		
Gregg		25,401	61.3
White	32,941		
Nonwhite	8,508		
Grimes		2,934	37.9
White	5,068		
Nonwhite	2,665		
Guadalupe		7,952	47.9
White	14,684		
Nonwhite	1,924		
Hale		11,084	55.3
White	19,158		
Nonwhite	898		
Hall		2,115	46.6
White	4,104		
Nonwhite	436		
Hamilton		2,364	39.7
White	5,954		
Nonwhite (15.4% Negro)	8		
Hansford		2,044	58.5
White	3,491		
Nonwhite (29.2% Negro)	11		
Hardeman		2,179	41.7
White	4,776		
Nonwhite	453		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Hardin		7,709	54.9
White	11,905		
Nonwhite	2,126		
Harris		463,290	64.1
White	586,839		
Nonwhite	136,118		
Harrison		12,851	48.9
White	15,994		
Nonwhite	10,287		
Hartley		905	70.1
White	1,290		
Nonwhite	1		
Haskell		2,970	43.2
White	6,554		
Nonwhite	321		
Hays		5,817	52.8
White	10,352		
Nonwhite	659		
Hemphill		1,105	57.1
White	1,934		
Nonwhite (0.0% Negro)	0		
Henderson		6,510	48.1
White	11,299		
Nonwhite	2,222		
Hidalgo		43,613	49.8
White	87,137		
Nonwhite (67.5% Negro)	396		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Hill		6,547	41.8
White	13,743		
Nonwhite	1,917		
Hockley		6,700	56.5
White	11,289		
Nonwhite	578		
Hood		1,572	43.4
White	3,590		
Nonwhite	34		
Hopkins		4,624	37.5
White	11,146		
Nonwhite	1,180		
Houston		4,740	38.7
White	8,341		
Nonwhite	3,906		
Howard		11,746	51.0
White	22,139		
Nonwhite (94.4% Negro)	889		
Hudspeth		769	42.4
White	1,806		
Nonwhite (92.9% Negro)	9		
Hunt		11,410	46.1
White	21,544		
Nonwhite	3,214		
Hutchinson		12,015	61.9
White	19,045		
Nonwhite (90.7% Negro)	371		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Irion		442	59.6
White	731		
Nonwhite(90.9% Negro)	10		
Jack		1,958	40.1
White	4,828		
Nonwhite	52		
Jackson		4,250	54.9
White	6,840		
Nonwhite	907		
Jasper		6,009	47.5
White	9,892		
Nonwhite	2,748		
Jeff Davis		448	50.3
White	889		
Nonwhite (50.0% Negro)	2		
Jefferson		89,613	62.5
White	112,761		
Nonwhite	30,672		
Jim Hogg		2,071	76.1
White	2,716		
Nonwhite (50.0% Negro)	5		
Jim Wells		12,401	71.2
White	17,287		
Nonwhite	128		
Johnson		11,224	51.4
White	20,908		
Nonwhite	915		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Jones		3,993	33.2
White	11,472		
Nonwhite	573		
Karnes		4,046	49.5
White	7,929		
Nonwhite	243		
Kaufman		7,533	39.5
White	14,411		
Nonwhite	4,637		
Kendall		1,871	49.8
White	3,721		
Nonwhite	35		
Kenedy		197	45.3
White	435		
Nonwhite	0		
Kent		680	62.6
White	1,063		
Nonwhite	24		
Kerr		5,492	47.6
White	11,065		
Nonwhite	476		
Kimble		1,234	49.2
White	2,497		
Nonwhite (88.9% Negro)	9		
King		230	61.0
White	347		
Nonwhite (75.9% Negro)	30		
Kinney		653	45.7
White	1,331		
Nonwhite	98		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Kleberg		7,812	50.7
White	14,748		
Nonwhite (89.2% Negro)	655		
Knox		1,915	39.9
White	4,526		
Nonwhite	273		
Lamar		10,726	48.9
White	18,342		
Nonwhite	3,576		
Lamb		6,076	49.9
White	11,434		
Nonwhite	747		
Lampasas		2,231	37.7
White	5,743		
Nonwhite	175		
La Salle		1,350	44.1
White	3,057		
Nonwhite	6		
Lavaca		4,534	35.6
White	11,559		
Nonwhite	1,173		
Lee		2,471	44.0
White	4,459		
Nonwhite	1,152		
Leon		2,799	45.4
White	4,128		
Nonwhite	2,040		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Liberty		8,236	45.7
White	4,216		
Nonwhite	3,796		
Limestone		4,271	32.1
White	10,187		
Nonwhite	3,120		
Lipscomb		1,218	57.2
White	2,102		
Nonwhite (3.6% Negro)	27		
Live Oak		2,359	56.3
White	4,176		
Nonwhite (94.7% Negro)	14		
Llano		1,718	47.4
White	3,592		
Nonwhite	35		
Loving		119	88.1
White	125		
Nonwhite	10		
Lubbock		47,256	55.7
White	78,842		
Nonwhite	5,989		
Lynn		2,865	48.1
White	5,642		
Nonwhite	310		
Madison		1,876	42.7
White	3,185		
Nonwhite	1,210		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Marion		2,065	44.1
White	2,463		
Nonwhite	2,218		
Martin		1,362	48.7
White	2,700		
Nonwhite	98		
Mason		1,210	48.5
White	2,485		
Nonwhite	10		
Matagorda		7,840	54.7
White	11,474		
Nonwhite	2,870		
Maverick		3,742	52.2
White	7,143		
Nonwhite (85.3% Negro)	21		
McCulloch		2,227	38.8
White	5,550		
Nonwhite	195		
McLennan		44,698	48.9
White	78,090		
Nonwhite	13,232		
McMullen		472	70.8
White	667		
Nonwhite	0		
Medina		4,754	46.5
White	10,106		
Nonwhite	108		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Menard		838	43.7
White	1,900		
Nonwhite	16		
Midland		24,459	65.7
White	33,970		
Nonwhite	3,283		
Milam		5,012	36.3
White	11,686		
Nonwhite	2,120		
Mills		1,518	48.3
White	3,144		
Nonwhite (25.0% Negro)	2		
Mitchell		2,837	43.6
White	6,107		
Nonwhite	403		
Montague		3,858	38.5
White	10,016		
Nonwhite	2		
Montgomery		8,977	57.4
White	12,398		
Nonwhite	3,246		
Moore		4,800	60.7
White	7,880		
Nonwhite (3.2% Negro)	25		
Morris		3,708	51.5
White	5,615		
Nonwhite	1,591		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Motley		867	48.2
White	1,667		
Nonwhite	132		
Nacogdoches		9,175	54.2
White	13,093		
Nonwhite	3,843		
Navarro		9,804	44.7
White	17,323		
Nonwhite	4,586		
Newton		2,886	50.2
White	4,047		
Nonwhite	1,703		
Nolan		6,802	59.3
White	11,076		
Nonwhite	400		
Nueces		65,129	56.3
White	109,917		
Nonwhite	5,780		
Ochiltree		2,772	52.7
White	5,244		
Nonwhite(0.0% Negro)	13		
Oldham		662	66.9
White	985		
Nonwhite	4		
Orange		18,586	56.8
White	29,595		
Nonwhite	3,111		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Palo Pinto		6,774	52.7
White	12,303		
Nonwhite	550		
Panola		5,399	54.2
White	7,483		
Nonwhite	2,470		
Parker		6,336	43.9
White	14,163		
Nonwhite (92.5% Negro)	268		
Parmer		2,862	55.6
White	5,038		
Nonwhite	106		
Pecos		4,005	62.2
White	6,390		
Nonwhite (84.4% Negro)	45		
Polk		4,032	49.5
White	5,958		
Nonwhite (91.5% Negro)	2,194		
Potter		30,183	46.4
White	61,007		
Nonwhite	4,054		
Presidio		1,687	55.8
White	3,021		
Nonwhite (20.0% Negro)	2		
Rains		907	45.4
White	1,839		
Nonwhite	158		
Randall		15,295	80.2
White	19,025		
Nonwhite (73.6% Negro)	54		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Reagan		1,195	56.7
White	1,989		
Nonwhite	117		
Real		417	33.3
White	1,249		
Nonwhite	4		
Red River		3,672	37.0
White	7,929		
Nonwhite	1,984		
Reeves		4,828	52.3
White	8,930		
Nonwhite	307		
Refugio		3,371	57.2
White	5,378		
Nonwhite	514		
Roberts		424	62.2
White	675		
Nonwhite (8.3% Negro)	7		
Robertson		3,418	35.7
White	6,173		
Nonwhite	3,413		
Rockwall		1,579	44.7
White	2,927		
Nonwhite	607		
Runnels		3,395	37.1
White	8,910		
Nonwhite	236		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Rusk		11,011	49.3
White	16,907		
Nonwhite	5,424		
Sabine		2,264	51.7
White	3,421		
Nonwhite	956		
San Augustine		2,234	50.3
White	3,002		
Nonwhite	1,437		
San Jacinto		1,931	54.3
White	1,878		
Nonwhite	1,678		
San Patricio		10,585	47.6
White	21,773		
Nonwhite	452		
San Saba		1,726	40.6
White	4,219		
Nonwhite (94.0% Negro)	37		
Schleicher		816	49.3
White	1,625		
Nonwhite	30		
Scurry		6,658	58.2
White	11,155		
Nonwhite	288		
Shackelford		1,236	45.8
White	2,618		
Nonwhite	78		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Shelby		5,592	44.8
White	9,838		
Nonwhite	2,655		
Sherman		1,049	68.5
White	1,531		
Nonwhite	1		
Smith		29,440	57.1
White	39,152		
Nonwhite	12,421		
Somervell		794	44.8
White	1,770		
Nonwhite	2		
Starr		6,166	73.6
White	8,374		
Nonwhite (0.0% Negro)	7		
Stephens		2,333	39.1
White	5,720		
Nonwhite	253		
Sterling		322	45.7
White	695		
Nonwhite (90.0% Negro)	10		
Stonewall		1,226	64.4
White	1,841		
Nonwhite	64		
Sutton		1,022	48.1
White	2,107		
Nonwhite	18		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Swisher		3,220	54.2
White	5,775		
Nonwhite	168		
Tarrant		180,975	56.5
White	287,360		
Nonwhite	32,995		
Taylor		28,263	48.6
White	55,618		
Nonwhite	2,548		
Terrell		772	52.3
White	1,469		
Nonwhite **(88.9% Negro)**	7		
Terry		5,877	66.6
White	8,518		
Nonwhite	301		
Throckmorton		1,024	54.2
White	1,876		
Nonwhite **(14.3% Negro)**	12		
Titus		4,891	46.5
White	8,922		
Nonwhite	1,592		
Tom Green		20,464	54.0
White	36,052		
Nonwhite	1,845		
Travis		76,975	62.4
White	108,111		
Nonwhite	15,284		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Trinity		2,652	54.8
White	3,665		
Nonwhite	1,178		
Tyler		2,682	42.7
White	5,187		
Nonwhite	1,099		
Upshur		6,135	52.2
White	9,161		
Nonwhite	2,600		
Upton		1,839	54.5
White	3,226		
Nonwhite	150		
Uvalde		5,514	59.6
White	9,151		
Nonwhite (91.6% Negro)	104		
Val Verde		6,179	47.8
White	12,488		
Nonwhite (90.9% Negro)	435		
Van Zandt		4,771	38.5
White	11,679		
Nonwhite	725		
Victoria		15,336	60.7
White	22,957		
Nonwhite	2,328		
Walker		5,352	39.8
White	9,127		
Nonwhite	4,308		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Waller		3,004	44.9
White	3,527		
Nonwhite	3,158		
Ward		4,309	52.6
White	7,969		
Nonwhite	222		
Washington		4,044	33.2
White	8,947		
Nonwhite	3,239		
Webb		16,318	49.5
White	32,843		
Nonwhite (84.0% Negro)	155		
Wharton		9,097	43.1
White	16,949		
Nonwhite	4,168		
Wheeler		2,166	43.1
White	4,857		
Nonwhite	164		
Wichita		31,824	44.2
White	67,002		
Nonwhite	5,055		
Wilbarger		6,066	53.7
White	10,446		
Nonwhite	856		
Willacy		4,195	44.4
White	9,383		
Nonwhite	60		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Williamson		7,741	36.4
White	18,673		
Nonwhite	2,575		
Wilson		4,123	55.4
White	7,306		
Nonwhite	132		
Winkler		4,731	64.0
White	7,183		
Nonwhite (95.0% Negro)	205		
Wise		4,311	40.3
White	10,628		
Nonwhite (92.4% Negro)	70		
Wood		4,643	40.7
White	9,899		
Nonwhite	1,504		
Yaokum		2,506	57.4
White	4,315		
Nonwhite	49		
Young		3,977	36.0
White	10,875		
Nonwhite (90.0% Negro)	165		
Zapata		1,649	70.9
White	2,315		
Nonwhite (89.5% Negro)	10		

TEXAS (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED
Zavala		2,807	47.1
White	5,932		
Nonwhite	32		
TOTAL BY COLOR			
White	4,884,769		
Nonwhite	649,412		
TOTAL	5,534,181	2,939,535	53.1[3]

1. 1960 Census

2. Official figures. Texas does not have permanent registration. The figures given were furnished by the Texas Secretary of State. They represent poll tax receipts, exemption certificates and tax-free Federal Election receipts, and show registration as of November 3, 1964.

3. If the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964, (published by U. S. Bureau of Census in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 49.6.

VIRGINIA (1964)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION	NUMBER REGISTERED	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Accomack				34.6
White	13,148	5,698	43.3	
Nonwhite	6,142	979	16.0	
Albemarle				42.2
White	15,670	6,485	41.4	
Nonwhite	2,576	1,215	47.2	
Alleghany				78.6
White	6,675	4,650	69.7	
Nonwhite	256	800	100.+	
Amelia				79.7
White	2,261	2,447	100+	
Nonwhite	1,924	888	46.2	
Amherst				60.4
White	10,523	6,702	63.7	
Nonwhite	2,693	1,275	47.3	
Appomattox				84.4
White	4,245	4,041	95.2	
Nonwhite	1,142	505	44.2	
Arlington				63.7
White	102,364	66,054	64.5	
Nonwhite(93% Negro)	5,214	2,525	48.4	
Augusta				47.4
White	21,314	10,163	47.7	
Nonwhite	864	339	39.2	
Bath				52.7
White	2,976	1,632	54.8	
Nonwhite	340	116	34.1	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Bedford				49.9
White	15,258	7,788	51.0	
Nonwhite	3,044	1,343	44.1	
Bland				53.5
White	3,504	1,947	55.6	
Nonwhite	146	7	4.8	
Botetourt				48.3
White	9,045	4,596	50.8	
Nonwhite	778	145	18.6	
Brunswick				48.9
White	4,637	3,671	79.1	
Nonwhite	4,734	914	19.3	
Buchanan				66.8
White	16,782	11,221	66.9	
Nonwhite	8	0	0.0	
Buckingham				42.2
White	3,776	1,700	45.0	
Nonwhite	2,208	825	37.4	
Campbell				38.5
White	15,518	6,103	39.3	
Nonwhite	3,291	1,132	34.4	
Caroline				60.0
White	3,793	2,602	68.6	
Nonwhite	3,210	1,601	49.9	
Carroll				48.6
White	13,614	6,627	48.7	
Nonwhite	41	11	26.8	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Charles City				52.9
White	582	490	84.2	
Nonwhite (91% Negro)	2,126	943	44.4	
Charlotte				70.8
White	5,014	4,514	90.0	
Nonwhite	2,500	808	32.2	
Chesterfield				76.1
White	35,855	29,200	81.4	
Nonwhite	4,862	1,794	36.9	
Clarke				72.6
White	4,016	3,137	78.1	
Nonwhite	786	348	44.3	
Craig				60.9
White	2,053	1,250	60.9	
Nonwhite	3	0	0.0	
Culpepper				64.9
White	6,964	5,054	72.6	
Nonwhite	2,068	807	39.0	
Cumberland				79.6
White	1,819	2,000	100+	
Nonwhite	1,647	759	46.1	
Dickenson				77.5
White	9,791	7,608	77.7	
Nonwhite	64	27	42.2	
Dinwiddie				32.8
White	5,212	3,241	62.2	
Nonwhite	8,587	1,284	15.0	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Essex				59.1
White	2,241	1,640	73.2	
Nonwhite	1,665	667	40.1	
Fairfax				59.6
White	140,605	87,261	62.1	
Nonwhite (93% Negro)	9,110	1,904	20.9	
Fauquier				59.5
White	10,726	6,734	62.8	
Nonwhite	3,093	1,492	48.2	
Floyd				73.3
White	6,017	4,483	74.5	
Nonwhite	308	155	50.3	
Fluvanna				38.1
White	2,790	1,366	49.0	
Nonwhite	1,378	222	16.1	
Franklin				39.2
White	12,801	5,249	41.0	
Nonwhite	1,728	451	26.2	
Frederick [3]				47.4
White	12,479	5,975	47.9	
Nonwhite	232	50	21.6	
Giles				61.9
White	9,629	6,020	62.5	
Nonwhite	232	84	36.2	
Gloucester				69.8
White	5,341	3,873	72.5	
Nonwhite	1,882	1,172	62.3	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Goochland				39.4
White	3,121	1,627	52.1	
Nonwhite	2,312	514	22.2	
Grayson				66.2
White	10,173	6,778	66.6	
Nonwhite	329	173	52.6	
Greene				69.6
White	2,331	1,726	74.1	
Nonwhite	328	125	38.1	
Greensville				63.9
White	4,499	3,467	77.1	
Nonwhite	3,885	1,890	48.7	
Halifax				43.3
White	11,377	6,155	54.1	
Nonwhite	6,769	1,700	25.1	
Hanover				66.2
White	12,432	8,784	70.1	
Nonwhite	3,302	1,639	49.6	
Henrico				69.3
White	66,822	47,112	70.5	
Nonwhite	3,397	1,527	45.0	
Henry				52.0
White	17,805	9,829	55.2	
Nonwhite	4,113	1,574	38.3	
Highland				73.3
White	2,040	1,497	73.4	
Nonwhite	16	10	62.5	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Isle of Wight				65.9
White	4,991	4,241	85.0	
Nonwhite	4,317	1,893	43.9	
James City				52.9
White	4,845	2,688	55.5	
Nonwhite	2,056	960	46.7	
King George				55.9
White	3,200	1,841	57.5	
Nonwhite	1,009	513	50.8	
King & Queen				57.8
White	1,735	1,156	66.6	
Nonwhite	1,617	780	48.2	
King William				58.6
White	2,491	1,870	75.1	
Nonwhite	1,864	683	36.6	
Lancaster				77.0
White	3,613	3,078	85.2	
Nonwhite	1,978	1,229	62.1	
Lee				84.6
White	14,072	11,931	84.8	
Nonwhite	100	59	59.0	
Loudoun				73.0
White	12,014	9,423	78.4	
Nonwhite	2,239	979	43.7	
Louisa				55.7
White	4,917	2,844	57.8	
Nonwhite	2,482	1,279	51.5	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Lunenburg				48.7
White	4,611	2,821	61.2	
Nonwhite	2,534	660	26.1	
Madison[3]				49.8
White	3,883	2,135	55.0	
Nonwhite	898	247	27.5	
Mathews				52.2
White	3,809	2,218	58.2	
Nonwhite	1,062	326	30.7	
Mecklenburg				30.9
White	10,474	4,670	44.6	
Nonwhite	6,624	620	9.4	
Middlesex				56.3
White	2,586	1,684	65.0	
Nonwhite	1,363	538	39.5	
Montgomery				50.4
White	18,091	9,610	53.1	
Nonwhite	960	0	0.0	
Nansemond				41.1
White	6,965	4,104	58.9	
Nonwhite	9,806	2,792	28.5	
Nelson				67.0
White	5,693	4,327	76.0	
Nonwhite	1,813	704	38.8	
New Kent				66.0
White	1,325	1,185	89.4	
Nonwhite	1,229	501	40.8	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Northampton				31.0
White	5,340	2,325	43.5	
Nonwhite	4,786	810	16.9	
Northumberland				72.2
White	3,965	3,376	85.1	
Nonwhite	2,123	1,021	48.1	
Nottoway				59.2
White	5,564	4,020	72.3	
Nonwhite	3,458	1,320	38.2	
Orange				46.6
White	6,269	3,025	48.3	
Nonwhite	1,429	561	39.3	
Page				75.6
White	9,121	7,015	76.9	
Nonwhite	271	85	31.4	
Patrick				59.9
White	8,076	4,980	61.7	
Nonwhite	616	229	37.2	
Pittsylvania				31.2
White	22,835	8,340	36.5	
Nonwhite	8,604	1,476	17.2	
Powhatan				68.2
White	2,376	1,820	76.6	
Nonwhite	1,563	867	55.5	
Prince Edward				52.3
White	5,125	3,085	60.2	
Nonwhite	2,896	1,112	38.4	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Prince George				38.4
White	8,860	3,343	37.7	
Nonwhite	2,420	986	40.7	
Prince William				37.6
White	24,477	9,617	39.3	
Nonwhite	2,217	438	19.8	
Pulaski[3]				43.2
White	14,802	6,470	43.7	
Nonwhite	1,030	366	35.5	
Rappahannock				50.6
White	2,608	1,379	52.9	
Nonwhite	540	213	39.4	
Richmond				51.9
White	2,713	1,644	60.6	
Nonwhite	1,132	353	31.2	
Roanoke				76.4
White	35,014	27,474	78.5	
Nonwhite	2,211	977	44.2	
Rockbridge				56.4
White	12,662	6,830	53.9	
Nonwhite	1,127	950	84.3	
Rockingham				37.2
White	22,976	8,630	37.6	
Nonwhite	427	70	16.4	
Russell				67.8
White	13,883	9,535	68.7	
Nonwhite	297	76	25.6	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Scott				71.8
White	14,626	10,557	72.2	
Nonwhite	193	84	43.5	
Shenandoah				70.2
White	13,416	9,436	70.3	
Nonwhite	188	115	61.2	
Smyth				46.7
White	18,191	8,578	47.2	
Nonwhite	327	70	21.4	
Southampton				45.1
White	7,239	4,575	63.2	
Nonwhite	7,435	2,045	27.5	
Spotsylvania				65.6
White	6,262	4,465	71.3	
Nonwhite	1,503	632	42.1	
Stafford				46.0
White	8,594	3,685	42.9	
Nonwhite	971	712	73.3	
Surry				83.1
White	1,479	1,621	100+	
Nonwhite	1,842	1,140	61.9	
Sussex				61.1
White	2,662	2,536	95.3	
Nonwhite	3,706	1,354	36.5	
Tazewell				59.7
White	23,237	13,716	59.0	
Nonwhite	1,071	768	71.7	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Warren				62.3
White	8,211	5,235	63.8	
Nonwhite	587	250	42.6	
Washington				43.5
White	21,146	9,188	43.5	
Nonwhite	546	249	45.6	
Westmoreland				60.8
White	3,836	3,320	86.6	
Nonwhite	2,352	441	18.8	
Wise				49.2
White	22,602	11,232	49.7	
Nonwhite	685	225	32.9	
Wythe				80.4
White	12,299	10,030	81.6	
Nonwhite	523	283	54.1	
York				68.0
White	9,596	6,552	68.3	
Nonwhite	2,428	1,623	66.9	
CITIES				
Alexandria				62.8
White	50,548	32,918	65.1	
Nonwhite	6,025	2,548	42.3	
Bristol				47.0
White	9,373	4,528	48.3	
Nonwhite	672	192	28.6	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

CITIES	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Buena Vista				29.4
White	3,390	1,018	30.0	
Nonwhite	156	23	14.7	
Charlottesville				70.8
White	15,904	11,462	72.1	
Nonwhite	3,369	2,181	64.7	
Chesapeake				--
White		21,514	--	
Nonwhite		3,672	--	
Clifton Forge				75.6
White	2,920	2,225	76.2	
Nonwhite	600	435	72.5	
Colonial Heights				71.5
White	6,049	4,337	71.7	
Nonwhite	17	0	0.0	
Covington				55.6
White	6,206	2,860	46.1	
Nonwhite	751	1,005	100.+	
Danville				59.5
White	22,404	13,879	62.0	
Nonwhite	6,388	3,246	50.8	
Fairfax				--
White		5,822	--	
Nonwhite		41	--	
Falls Church				76.4
White	5,720	4,386	76.7	
Nonwhite	114	69	60.5	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

CITIES	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Franklin				--
White		1,752	--	
Nonwhite		899	--	
Fredericksburg				52.9
White	6,717	3,713	55.3	
Nonwhite	1,471	621	42.2	
Galax				47.1
White	3,073	1,500	48.8	
Nonwhite	152	20	13.2	
Hampton				52.7
White	40,795	21,433	52.5	
Nonwhite	10,825	5,789	53.5	
Harrisonburg				56.6
White	6,747	3,875	57.4	
Nonwhite	436	190	43.6	
Hopewell				61.0
White	8,854	5,600	63.3	
Nonwhite	1,549	750	48.4	
Lynchburg				58.8
White	27,728	16,708	60.3	
Nonwhite	6,574	3,446	52.4	
Martinsville				67.0
White	8,084	6,172	76.4	
Nonwhite	2,972	1,233	41.5	
Newport News				51.8
White	44,258	25,489	57.6	
Nonwhite	20,974	8,307	39.6	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

CITIES	VOTING AGE POPULATION[1]	NUMBER REGISTERED[2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Norfolk				42.7
White	129,423	58,893	45.5	
Nonwhite	45,376	15,801	34.8	
Norton				48.1
White	2,764	1,220	44.1	
Nonwhite	188	200	100.+	
Petersburg				46.0
White	12,528	6,353	50.7	
Nonwhite	9,821	3,919	39.9	
Portsmouth				37.8
White	44,286	17,986	40.6	
Nonwhite	21,055	6,725	31.9	
Radford				90.6
White	5,032	4,565	90.7	
Nonwhite	333	296	88.9	
Richmond[5]				
White	90,508			
Nonwhite	53,719			
Roanoke				56.7
White	52,527	32,138	61.2	
Nonwhite	9,519	3,037	31.9	
South Boston				69.7
White	2,639	1,975	74.8	
Nonwhite	969	540	55.7	
Staunton				52.9
White	13,290	7,063	53.2	
Nonwhite	1,288	645	50.1	
Suffolk				44.7
White	5,272	2,779	52.7	
Nonwhite	2,769	817	29.5	

VIRGINIA (Continued)

CITIES	VOTING AGE POPULATION [1]	NUMBER REGISTERED [2]	PERCENT REGISTERED	PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
Virginia Beach				100.+
White	4,706	26,163	100.+	
Nonwhite	342	2,961	100.+	
Waynesboro				68.3
White	8,667	5,963	68.8	
Nonwhite	548	335	61.1	
Williamsburg				49.3
White	3,509	1,632	46.5	
Nonwhite	583	384	65.9	
Winchester				53.6
White	9,200	5,135	55.8	
Nonwhite	708	174	24.6	
Total by Color (Cities and Counties)				
White	1,812,154[4]	1,072,713[5]	59.2	
Nonwhite	421,051[4]	143,904[5]	34.2	
TOTAL	2,233,205	1,216,617[5]	54.5[6]	

1. 1960 Census.

2. Official figures. Furnished by State Board of Elections as an estimate of registration as of October 1964.

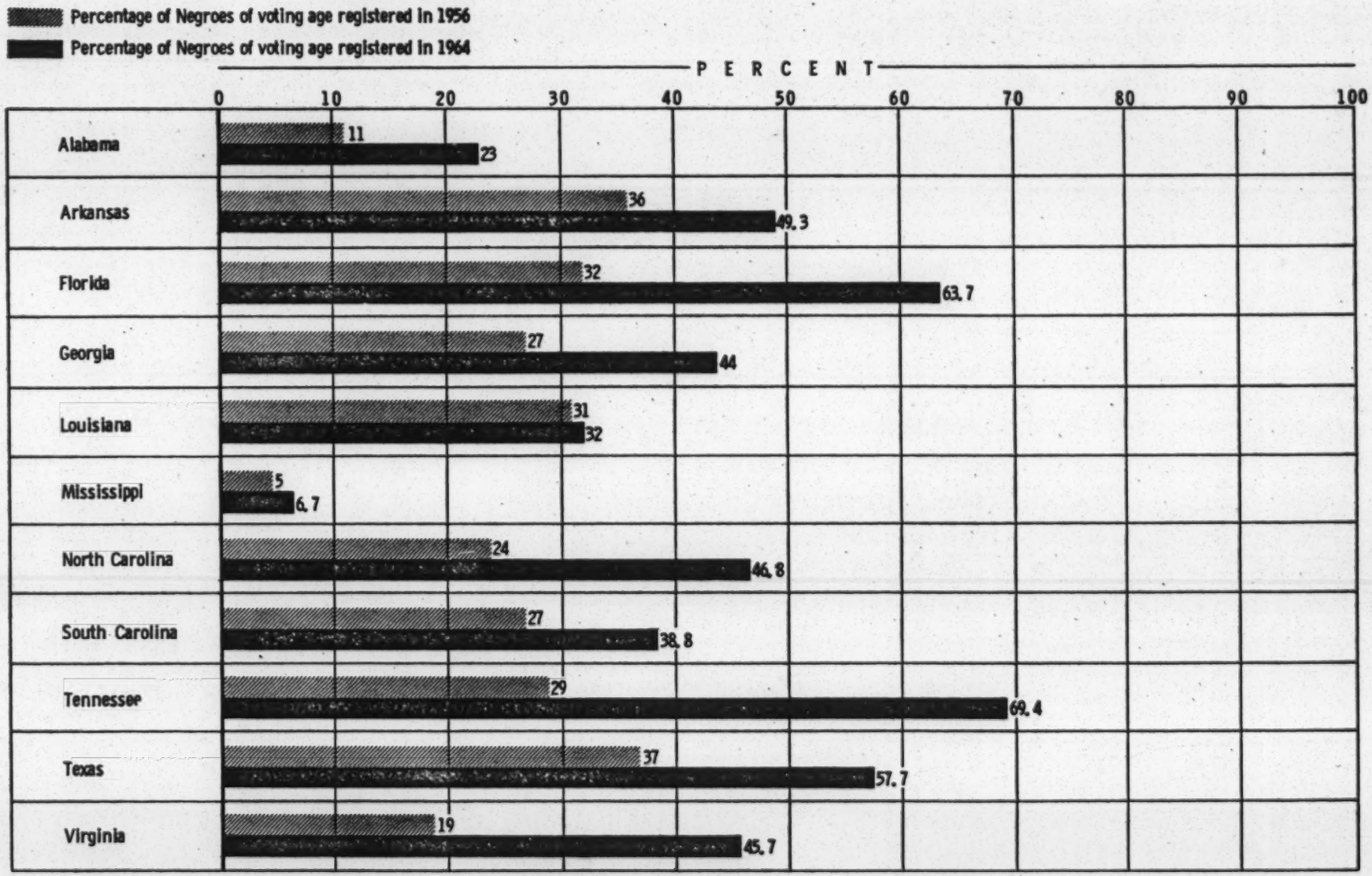
3. April 1964 figures.

4. Totals appearing here are exclusive of population of the cities of Chesapeake, Fairfax and Franklin, created after the 1960 Census.

5. Registration figures not furnished for City of Richmond.

6. If the estimated total population as of November 1, 1964, (published by U.S. Census Bureau in news release dated September 8, 1964) were used as a base, this percentage would be 47.9.

Estimated Negro Voter Registration in 11 Southern States in 1956 and 1964



Source:

1956 percentages - The Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights: 1959
1964 percentages - Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council

Health — V.D.

CONFIDENTIAL

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONFERENCE
November 22, 23, 1943
WITH NEGRO LEADERS ON
WARTIME PROBLEMS IN VENEREAL
DISEASE CONTROL

The Conference with Negro Leaders on Wartime Problems in Venereal Disease Control grew out of both governmental and voluntary discussions of next steps leading toward reducing the number of syphilis, gonorrhea and other venereal disease cases and preventing new infections so far as possible.

It was recognized that these diseases attack people without distinction as to race, creed, color or national origin, and must in turn be fought in the open by all the people. It was also recognized that limitations of economic, social, medical and educational opportunities and facilities conspired to give these diseases special opportunities for spread among certain population groups, including Negro groups. It was known, too, that the Negro citizens are eager to do their utmost to eradicate these diseases from the nation, as an aid in War and for community life when peace is restored.

With these views in mind, it was proposed that the American Social Hygiene Association arrange a Conference for consideration of what might be done by united action at federal, state and local levels, to reduce the venereal diseases as a serious handicap to Negro health and efficiency. Accordingly, this Conference was held in New York City, under the auspices of the Association in its national office, November 22 and 23, 1943. A list of those attending is attached. A Continuation Committee was appointed to follow-up the Conference recommendations. The Conference membership is being proposed as a temporary section of the General Advisory Committee of the American Social Hygiene Association.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, in general session at ten o'clock Monday, November 22, 1943. The following points were suggested for consideration as a general basis for the deliberation of the members:

I. The prevalence and incidence of venereal disease among Negroes and specific problems involved in the control program.

II. The part, in the solution of this problem, that Negroes themselves can undertake through their voluntary organizations on a national, state and local level.

III. The assistance that these voluntary groups will need from public and private agencies on the national, state and local level.

As an introduction to the section meetings which had been agreed upon, the Chairman called upon the following members of the Conference for general statements on current venereal disease problems and the status of these diseases in relation to the armed forces, industrial workers, and the civilian population generally. These speakers pointed out how the facts, procedures, and programs to which they alluded affected Negroes, and what the latter could do to advance the campaign for eradication of these diseases.

I. Opening statement - by Dr. Walter Clarke, Executive Director, American Social Hygiene Association.

II. A general statement concerning the prevalence of venereal diseases among Negroes - by Dr. James Heller, Assistant Surgeon General, Division of Venereal Disease Control, United States Public Health Service.

III. Some specific problems resulting from the high rejection rate of Negroes because of venereal diseases - by Colonel Campbell C. Johnson, Executive Assistant, Selective Service System.

IV. Current venereal disease infection rate among men in the Army - by Lt. Col. Thomas Turner, Chief, Venereal Disease Control Branch, Office of the Surgeon General, United States Army.

V. Current venereal disease rates among men in the Navy - by Commander W. Schwartz, Office of the Surgeon General, United States Navy.

VI. Law enforcement problems in Negro communities - by Eliot Ness, Director and Raymond F. Clapp, Associate Director, Social Protection Division, Federal Security Agency.

The Conference then divided into three sections:

A. Committee on Medical Facts

As a basis for Committee discussion, the following points were mentioned:

1. A statement of facts on the prevalence and incidence of venereal diseases among Negroes, suitable for release to Negro newspapers and organizations.

2. The medical aspects of the venereal disease control program, taking into consideration all phases of this problem specially relating to the Negro population - such as the quality, quantity, availability and use of medical facilities and personnel.

3. Financial resources available through federal, state and local agencies for the improvement of such medical facilities and services.

B. Committee on Social Facts

The following points were suggested as a basis for Committee discussion:

1. A statement of progress in dealing with community conditions favoring the spread of the venereal diseases.

2. Social Protection policies and procedures of value, especially relating to the Negro population.

3. Financial and administrative aids through federal, state and local agencies for improving related social welfare facilities.

C. Committee on Action

As a basis for Committee discussion, the following points were offered:

1. How Negro voluntary organizations can promote the venereal disease control program.

2. What can official and voluntary agencies do to help these groups on the federal, state and local levels.

The Sections met during the afternoon of November 22 and the morning of November 23. At two o'clock on November 23, the membership again met in general session to discuss and act upon the reports of the Sections.

The report of the Committee on Medical Facts was presented by the Chairman, Dr. T. K. Lawless, with the following introductory remarks:

The venereal diseases are as old as the Middle Ages. The most largely accepted history of the prevalence of syphilis is that it had appeared in Europe in epidemic form in the fifteenth century and was spread to other lands through military campaigns, explorations and trade routes. There are other theories, but all emphasize the distant origin of the disease.

From this period through succeeding centuries and years, syphilis has infected, disabled and killed many millions of people of all continents, nations, peoples and races. Gonorrhea, though less dramatic in its origin and history, also is a very prevalent, serious, disabling venereal disease. There are other serious venereal diseases though less well known, such as chancroid, granuloma inguinale, and lymphopathia venereum* which are also disabling to civilian and military population.

The experience of the Negro people with communicable diseases has been similar to that of the white people of the civilized world. The present unfavorable position of the Negro, in the progress of control and prevention of venereal diseases and rates of infection is one of degree rather than of kind, for these diseases are a serious problem in both races and in military as well as in civil life. In part, this is due to disadvantageous social and economic conditions, to limited opportunities for utilizing medical and public health services, and in the case of syphilis, possibly to differences in susceptibility and resistance to the infecting organism. However, the trend of experience and control in the Negro population is following the general pattern of the earlier experience of the white population.

The current prevalence of the venereal diseases in the nation, at large, is of immediate interest, particularly because of the war emergency and the military and industrial manpower needs, and much attention and service is being directed to the problem of venereal disease control and venereal disease education for all segments of the population and all sections of the country.

* Also frequently called lymphogranuloma venereum

Hence, it is considered timely, desirable, and judicious to direct an adequate share of attention and available personnel and facilities for prevention, treatment, and control, to the Negro population, which authoritatively and admittedly has at present a comparatively high rate of venereal disease infection. The Negro should accept the opportunity and assume responsibility of contributing help and influence from within the race to the solution of the problem and the removal of whatever measure of stigma there is associated with it. Obviously, the Negro cannot solve this problem alone. It can be solved only by the support and action of the community as a whole.

THE REPORT RECOMMENDED WITH REFERENCE TO MEDICAL ASPECTS

I. A MANUAL OF FACTS

a. A manual of facts should be developed which could be used by various organizations interested in the reduction of venereal diseases.

II. TRAINING OF PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL

Much progress has been made in the training of Negro professional personnel for venereal disease control. However, there is yet a great need for competently trained individuals, and every attempt should be made to increase their numbers and facilities for training. The following avenues of approach are suggested.

a. More Negro medical students should be admitted to the 75 medical schools in the United States, other than Howard and Meharry. Many of these schools have customarily received a few Negro students. The Army and Navy could be very helpful by encouraging this trend through assignment to these institutions, through their Specialized Training Program.

b. There should be continued improvement in the teaching of medical students at Howard and Meharry medical schools in matters pertaining to the venereal diseases.

c. The orientation courses which have been developed by the United States Public Health Service should be continued, and Negroes should continue to be enrolled as members of each course offered.

d. Post graduate courses for the training of Negro physicians, in practice, should be developed especially in the various southern states since their opportunities for intra-mural formal training are usually not available in this area.

The training of Negro personnel should not be limited to physicians only, but should apply to all personnel that may be connected with this program, such as nurses, health educators, social workers and laboratory technicians.

III. EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL

a. Negro physicians, nurses, and others are being employed to some extent in venereal disease control programs. It is the opinion of the committee that this should be continued and expanded as rapidly as possible. In the employment of Negro professional personnel, consideration should be given to their training, experience and interest. Where it exists, the Merit System should be used to govern all appointments.

IV. MEDICAL SERVICES

Intensive support should be given to the private practitioner:

a. Provide opportunities for post graduate training both on the level of refresher courses and more especially on the level of formal university matriculation and training.

b. Provide drugs and laboratory facilities for indigent people, irrespective of location.

c. Provide for expert advice and counsel in complicated cases.

d. Provide for adequate follow-up services.

Progress has been made toward the provision of adequate medical facilities for diagnosis and treatment for Negro and white patients so that today there are over 3800 treatment centers in this country. The major responsibility for developing comprehensive venereal disease programs rests with the state and local official agencies and therefore they should provide the best medical services, for all groups.

Health education opportunities for patients should be provided at all treatment sources.

V. FINANCIAL RESOURCES

The committee was informed that at present there is available a sum of approximately twenty-two million dollars yearly from public funds for the development of venereal disease control programs. It is suggested that the State Health Departments should be advised to re-evaluate their programs in terms of the various groups in the population, and that further allocation of funds should be made on the basis of needs rather than on any basis of population ratios and other less important factors.

VI. THE REPORT RECOMMENDED WITH REFERENCE TO SOCIAL ASPECTS

I. The committee concluded, from an overall standpoint, that not enough real progress has been made, with respect to controlling community conditions favoring the spread of venereal disease to justify any statement about such progress.

II. Basically, the high venereal disease rate among Negroes is due to socio-economic factors, the correction of which will require time and involves questions beyond the purview of this Conference. Nevertheless, there are more immediate causes, many of which are susceptible to remedial action at this time.

III. Among the more immediate causes of high venereal disease rates among Negroes are the following:

a. Low wage income in the Negro population group; the necessarily large employment of mothers; and the resulting heavy dislocation of the family group, exposing the children to unguarded adolescent relations.

b. The low level of educational advantages available to the Negro population, with resulting wide-spread illiteracy and near illiteracy, and a lack of specific information concerning the venereal diseases.

c. An attitude of defeatism toward the problems of venereal disease control on the part of many white community leaders and of frustration among leaders in the Negro community.

d. Failure to enlist the support of the intelligent and able Negroes in each community for venereal disease control, and failure to develop effective collaboration between white and Negro leaders.

e. Inadequate housing, recreational and other community facilities for Negroes; also inadequate recreational and temporary-lodging facilities for Negro members of the armed forces on leave or liberty.

f. Failure to enforce laws against commercialized prostitution and allied activities in Negro communities. This is caused largely by a failure of law enforcement officials to practice a single standard of law enforcement, and to give appropriate training to law-enforcement personnel, in the problems and methods of law enforcement as related to Negro communities.

g. Insufficient utilization of Negro personnel in medical, educational and law enforcement aspects of the venereal disease control program.

IV. Considerable money is now available, through Federal and voluntary agencies, with which to effect a substantial improvement in various factors mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, provided this money is allocated and used according to demonstrated need.

V. Improvement is needed in administrative practices in order to insure the most effective utilization of funds at the local level.

VI. There should be Negro representation on the Board and staff of organizations, both voluntary and official, which are concerned with planning and policy making in the field of venereal disease control.

LIST OF CONFERENCE MEMBERSHIP

1.**Bethune, Mrs. Mary, President
Council of Negro Women
Washington, D. C.

2. *Bray, Bishop James A.
President, Fraternal Council
of Negro Churches in America
Chicago, Illinois

3. Brown, Dr. Roscoe
Senior Health Education Specialist
U. S. Public Health Service
Washington, D. C.

4. Browning, Charles F
National Representative of
"Chicago Defender", Chairman
Board of Directors, P.E.P.
(Negro Press Trade Journal)
Chicago, Illinois

5. Cabot, Blake, Acting Director
Public Information Service
American Social Hygiene Association
New York, N. Y.

6. Caliver, Ambrose, Specialist
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

7. Clapp, Raymond F., Associate Director
Social Protection Division
Federal Security Agency
Washington, D. C.

8. Clarke, Dr. Walter
Executive Director
American Social Hygiene Association
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9.**Cornely, Dr. Paul B., Head
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Howard University
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10. Goldsmith, Judge John M.
Legal Consultant
Social Protection Division
Federal Security Agency, Chairman
Committee of Social Protection
American Bar Association
Washington, D. C.

11.**Guild, Dr. St. Clair
Director of Special Programs
National Tuberculosis Association
New York, N. Y.

12. Haynes, Dr. George, Secretary
Department of Race Relations
Federal Council of Churches
of Christ in America
New York, N. Y.

13. Hardy, Judson
Education Officer
U. S. Public Health Service
Washington, D. C.

14. Heller, Dr. James R.
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15. *Hinton, Dr. William A.
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16.**Johnson, Col. Campbell C.
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Selective Service System
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17. *Johnson, Dr. Charles, Director
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

18.**Johnson, Dr. Mordecai, President
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Washington, D. C.

19. Jones, Dr. Jesse, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
New York, N. Y.

20. Kenney, Dr. John, Superintendent
John A. Andrews Memorial Hospital
Editor of the N. M. A. Journal
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21. Kinsie, Paul M.
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22.**Lawless, Dr. T. K.
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23. Larremore, Thomas A.
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American Social Hygiene Association
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24. Lewis, Miss Vinita
Consultant in Social Services
U. S. Children's Bureau
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25. Love, Dr. Edgar, Director
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Board of Church Missions
of the Methodist Churches
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26. Mather, Philip R., Chairman
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American Social Hygiene Association
Boston, Massachusetts

27. Merrill, Mrs. Eleanor Brown
Executive Director, National Society
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New York, N. Y.

28 Ness, Eliot, Director
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Federal Security Agency
Washington, D. C.

29. *Paige, Judge Myles A.
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30. *Poston, Theodore, Consultant
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31. Price, Dr. Oma, Epidemeologist
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32. Ragland, John M.
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Social Protection Division
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33. *Riddle, Mrs. Estelle Massey
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34. Schwartz, Commander W. H.
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery
United States Navy
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35.**Sengstacke, John A., President
Negro Publishers Association
Managing Editor Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

36. Smith, Dr. T. M., President
National Medical Association
Chicago, Illinois

37.**Snow, Dr. William, Chairman
Executive Committee
American Social Hygiene Association
New York, N. Y.

38.**Staupers, Mrs. Mabel K., Executive
Secretary, National Association of
Colored Graduate Nurses
New York, N. Y.

39.**Turner, Lt. Col. Thomas, Chief
Venereal Disease Control Branch
United States Army
Washington, D. C.

40.**Washington, F. B., Director
Atlanta University School of Social
Work
Atlanta, Georgia

41.**Wright, Bishop R. R., Jr., Executive
Director, Fraternal Council of
Negro Churches in America
Wilberforce, Ohio

* Those who telegraphed inability to attend because of illness, travel difficulties or unexpected government orders.
** Those named to serve on the Continuation Committee.

ASSIGNMENT TO SECTIONS

Section A - Medical Facts

Chairman, Dr. T. K. Lawless; Secretary, Dr. Paul Cornely; Dr. Roscoe Brown, Dr. Walter Clarke, Dr. James Heller, Colonel C. Johnson, Dr. John Kenny, Dr. Oma Price, Dr. T. M. Smith, Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers

Section B - Social Facts

Chairman, Judge John M. Goldsmith; Secretary, Thomas Larremore; Dr. Roscoe Brown, Dr. George Haynes, Colonel Campbell C. Johnson, Paul Kinsie, Eliot Ness, Commander W. H. Schwartz, John Sengstacke, Lt. Col. Thomas Turner.

Section C - Action Facts

Chairman, F. B. Washington; Secretary, Blake Cabot; Mrs. Mary Bethune, Ambrose Caliver, Raymond F. Clapp, Judson Hardy, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Dr. Jesse Jones, Miss Vinita Lewis, Dr. Edgar Love, Philip Mather, Mrs. Eleanor Brown Merrill, John Ragland, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

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Dr. Paul Cornely, Secretary
Colonel Campbell C. Johnson
Dr. Mordecai Johnson
Dr. T. K. Lawless
Mr. John A. Sengstacke
Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers
Lt. Colonel Thomas Turner
Mr. F. B. Washington
Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

Dr. William F. Snow, chairman

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The eight items listed in this classification consist of leaflets designed for distribution among specific types or groups of people. The group in question is urged to coöperate with its local Health Department in disseminating information about the control and treatment of the venereal diseases. Brief statements of symptoms of both diseases are listed. The cover-page on each pamphlet is attractively illustrated in a manner applicable to the group in question. The following types are available:

VDgraphic 115. *Bellboy.* 4 p. $0.75 per C, $5.00 per M, local imprint extra.

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Here are three 16-page comic books done in four colors, intended to teach the facts about VD. They contain all the elements of the popular comics, such as suspense, rapid progression, and proper termination, together with a considerable amount of scientific information. These books have been widely and effectively used by public health agencies throughout the United States.

VDgraphic 71. *Doc Carter Comes to Carbiville,* deals with syphilis. $5.00 per C, $40.00 per M.

VDgraphic 74. *Little Willie* — about Southern rural Negroes and the Rapid Treatment Center. $5.00 per C, $40.00 per M.

VDgraphic 102. *Phil Mann Comes Home,* deals with gonorrhea. $5.00 per C, $40.00 per M.

POSTERS

Each of the posters listed below is a color reproduction of artwork designed to convey a VD message. The quality of the art and the reproduction are of the same general type which featured the posters used throughout the world by the Armed Forces during World War II.

VDgraphic 4. *America Needs Strong Men*, 15" x 20", $2.00 per C, $15.00 per M.

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VDgraphic 32. *Syphilis Could Have Ruined My Home*, 20" x 28", $3.50 per C, $30.00 per M.

VDgraphic 33. *Help Remove This Shadow*, 20" x 28", $4.00 per C, $30.00 per M.

VDgraphic 35. *Joe Cared for His Lathe So Tenderly*, 11" x 14", $2.50 per C, $20.00 per M.

VDgraphic 44. *Stamp out VD*, 15" x 20", $4.50 per C, $35.00 per M.

VDgraphic 88-95. Washroom sticker posters, four for men and four for women. $5.00 per M.

VDgraphic 96. *VD Saps Human Energy*, 20" x 28", $7.50 per C, $50.00 per M.

VDgraphic 97. *Happiness Ahead*, 20" x 28", $7.50 per C, $50.00 per M.

VDgraphic 98. *Venereal Diseases Destroy Home and Happiness*. 20" x 28", $7.50 per C, $50.00 per M.

VDgraphic 99. *Good News*, 20" x 28", $7.50 per C, $50.00 per M.

PROFESSIONAL MATERIALS

VDgraphic 73. *A VD Case-Finding Manual—Contact Investigation*. 56 p. $0.75 per copy, $60.00 per C, $500.00 per M.

VDgraphic 84. *Procedures for Isolation and Identification of the Gonococcus.* 32 p. $0.15 per copy, $10.00 per C.

VDgraphic 85. *Technics of Serodiagnostic Tests for Syphilis.* Revised edition soon to be released. Price as yet undetermined.

VDgraphic 87. *An Interviewer's Aid for Venereal Diseases.* 19 p. $0.20 per copy, $15.00 per C.

VDgraphic 112. *Diagnosis and Treatment of Syphilis,* A Handbook for Physicians. 24 p. $0.50 per copy, $40.00 per C.

VDgraphic 113. *The Undiscovered.* 15 p. $0.15 per copy, $10.00 per C.

VDgraphic 114. *Recent Advances in the Study of Venereal Diseases.* 341 p. $1.50 per copy, $150.00 per C.

The Status of Penicillin in the Treatment of Syphilis. Reprint from the March 27, 1948 Journal of the American Medical Association section on Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry. $4.00 per C, $35.00 per M.

MISCELLANEOUS

VDgraphic 125. *My Story* Magazine. A True Confessions type of magazine, giving the facts on venereal diseases in story form. $25.00 per C, $200.00 per M.

VDgraphic 126. Permanent type three-color metal washroom signs. Price to be announced.

HPI - 1. Radio Booklet — *Can Radio Find VD?* Describes eight radio transcribed dramas and six transcribed documentaries, including interviews with actual patients in hospitals, which are available for broadcast over local radio stations in cooperation with local public health offices. 16 p. $35.00 per C, $300.00 per M.

HPI - 2. Radio Booklet — *A Job That Needs You.* Contains photographs and biographical sketches of the radio stars who participate in the radio transcriptions described in HPI - 1. 12 p. $25.00 per C, $200.00 per M.

VDgraphic 128. *Bad Blood Blues.* A Phonograph record designed for juke boxes, and radio transcriptions. $0.60 each, $50.00 per C.

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State Department of Health,
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Radio talk delivered Thursday, January 27, 1949, at 1 P.M. over Station WCOV, Montgomery, Ala., and Station WGWC, Selma, Alabama

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NATIONAL SOCIAL HYGIENE DAY

By
John M. Gibson, Director
Division of Public Health Education

Next Wednesday, February 2, will be National Social Hygiene Day. This special day will be widely observed in Alabama. The venereal disease problem will also receive special emphasis on that day in all other parts of the country.

Every year has its own slogan for this annual observance. The 1949 slogan is: "Protect the Family.....Stamp Out VD." This year's observance comes soon after this country's launching of its peacetime military draft. It is natural that the problem of protecting our young people in uniform should have had a prominent place in the planning of this observance. A spokesman for the American Social Hygiene Association has this to say about it:

"Social Hygiene Day 1949 finds the country facing many problems and adjustments caused by the development of the peacetime military draft. In this period of national peacetime defense, the united efforts of all branches of the Armed Forces, the Federal Security Agency and the United States Public Health Service, the USO and the American Social Hygiene Association--every state and local social hygiene society as well as other cooperating agencies--must be geared to the common goal: the most constructive and developing experience for the young men and women in the armed forces.

"Preparation for citizenship and leadership in both the family life and community life of the country tomorrow is stressed in every aspect of training for the armed forces today. This goal cannot be achieved by the efforts of the Departments of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force alone. Only the strongest community action, involving the cooperative efforts of citizens with those of organized community health, welfare, education and religious agencies, can do the essential job of complementing and supplementing the character guidance and citizenship training of the armed forces."

Every community, therefore, has a responsibility to the peacetime wearers of the uniform. It is up to the leaders of each neighborhood to see that it measures fully up to that responsibility.

That responsibility can be discharged in many ways. It can be discharged, for example, by seeing that stringent laws are passed against vice. A community can see that those laws are strictly enforced after being passed. It can see that the community cooperates to the fullest possible extent with the public health agencies seeking to keep venereal disease incidence at the lowest possible level. It can show a similar attitude of cooperation and helpfulness toward the unofficial agencies working to this same end. No doubt all these means of helping to curb the venereal diseases will receive considerable emphasis on National Social Hygiene Day.

There is one agency of attack which can be used with even greater effect on that special observance, however. I refer to venereal disease education. National Social Hygiene Day should be made the occasion for a particularly active campaign against ignorance. For knowledge is the chief enemy of smugness and contentment with things as they are. And things as they are are nothing to be smug or satisfied about, as far as the venereal diseases are concerned.

It is estimated that more than three million people in the United States have syphilis at this very moment. If you think that is an insignificant figure, remember that those estimated three million syphilis victims equal approximately the present population of the State of Alabama. An even larger number, a much larger number, are victims of that other major venereal disease, gonorrhea. America's present-day gonorrhea victims are estimated at ten million. These estimates, I might explain, are by the United States Public Health Service. Thus, approximately one American out of every ten probably has venereal disease.

"In 1947," says the American Social Hygiene Association, "for every person hurt in an atuo accident another fell victim to gonorrhea. For every work injury of more than casual nature tabulated by the National Safety Council, the U. S. Public Health Service received four reports of positive syphilis diagnoses. And as many more persons with syphilis and still others with gonorrhea failed, primarily through ignorance, to report for tests and treatments.

One bit of knowledge which your State Department of Health wishes to emphasize, on National Social Hygiene Day and at other times too, is that the venereal diseases are messengers of tragedy. They can, and do, bring death. They produce blindness. They turn healthy, brilliant minds into diseased minds. They rob eager parents of the fulfillment of their dreams of having children. They turn normal, efficient men, women and children into helpless cripples. They reduce working efficiency. They play havoc with output. They ruthlessly cut off incomes when salary checks are the only bulwark against cruel want. They require huge outlays for the hospitalization and institutionalization of their victims. They add heavily to the burden of mounting doctors' bills.

It is not quite correct to say that the venereal diseases can be entirely prevented by a strict avoidance of prosmiscuity. The tragic fact is that babies inherit syphilis from their infected parents and contract gonorrhea from their mothers during the act of birth. It is well known, too, that it is possible to acquire venereal disease from using towels, razors, etc. which have just been used by victims. Several cases of syphilis were traced some years ago to a "kissing game" at a party. So prosmiscuity is not exclusively responsible for our staggering venereal disease problem. However, if it could be entirely eliminated as a factor in it, the problem itself would shrink to an almost unrecognizably small pattern of itself. The flood of venereal disease cases, new and old, would slow up to a mere trickle.

But, tragically, there is little hope of making an immediate frontal assault upon the venereal diseases in that way, highly desirable as it would be in many ways. There are too many who have vested interests in this sorry business. Society has too tolerant an attitude toward the moral offender. Temptation is too strong among a large segment of our population.

But progress has been made. It is still being made. The powerful force of education is doing its work. Many of those who are unresponsive to appeals on moral grounds are willing to listen to, and heed, warnings regarding their health. More and more people are becoming convinced that promiscuity costs them heavily in money, in a feeling of general well-being, in the respect of their neighbors, in their chances of having happy and successful marriages and in many other ways.

There is also progress to report on the legislative front. It is gratifying to Alabamians that this state has taken the lead in that part of the fight. It was Alabama, you will remember, that put into effect the first compulsory statewide syphilis blood-testing program ever undertaken by any state. This state has long

had numerous public health diagnostic and treatment clinics. It has long distributed free drugs generously to physicians treating such cases. One of the first intensive case-finding programs ever to be undertaken among Negores was conducted in Macon County in cooperation with the Rosenwald Fund. A little more than a year ago, Alabama began enforcing a strict premarital law. This requires both prospective bride and prospective bridegroom to submit blood samples for laboratory testing to determine whether they have syphilis. And Alabama has one of the first rapid treatment centers for venereal disease victims to be established on the American continent.

Other states of course have also been active on the legislative front against the venereal diseases. Let us take a brief glance at the legislative picture as it is presented by the American Social Hygiene Association:

Nineteen of the 48 states have what the Association considers adequate laws against most aspects of vice. Ten have laws against most aspects of it, laws which are considered adequate, except for their failure to take sufficiently drastic action against those who encourage vice by their patronage. Seventeen states have laws against some aspects of vice, including its exploitation by outsiders. Two states--Nevada and Arizona--have laws against exploiters of vice but fail to deal adequately with those who engage in it directly and personally.

Thirty-six states have laws requiring blood tests for syphilis from both the prospective bride and the prospective bridegroom. (So does the Territory of Hawaii.) Two states have laws making it necessary for one or both of the intended contracting parties (usually the groom only) to be examined by a physician for venereal diseases or to produce medical certificates showing freedom from such diseases. Those two states are Texas and Louisiana. Their premarital health laws differ from those just mentioned in that no blood test is required. Finally, ten states and the District of Columbia "grant marriage licenses without regard to venereal disease infection." Alabama of course belongs to the first-named group, which require blood tests for syphilis of both prospective grooms and prospective brides.

The spokesman for the American Social Hygiene Association has this comment upon premarital health legislation, as it affects the venereal disease problem:

"Physicians and health authorities report that by the application of the premarital examination laws many syphilis infections are being discovered among persons who did not know that they had the disease. The genereal purpose of this legislation is not to prevent, but to postpone marriage of infected persons while the disease is in a communicable stage."

Thirty-eight states, Hawaii and the Virgin Islands require prospective mothers to be blood-tested for syphilis. Those 38 do not include Alabama. The nine other states not requiring such tests are North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Texas and New Mexico.

The Alabama State Department of Health has long favored the general objectives of the prenatal blood-test. However, many of those who would be benefitted by such legislation are being aided by other types of venereal disease control legislation, particularly the statewide compulsory blood-testing legislation and the premarital blood-testing law.

Let us take another brief glance at the nationwide venereal disease picture. Let us consider especially some examples of progress. Again your speaker is indebted to the American Social Hygiene Association for his facts and figures:

In 1937 there were only 965 clinics for the treatment of the venereal diseases. Last year there were 3,000. In 1937 there were no rapid treatment centers. Last year there were 60 (including one in Birmingham, remember). In 1937 only 2½ million blood tests for syphilis were given. Last year such tests numbered 20 million. In 1937 only 15 per cent of all the syphilis cases found were in an early easily cured stage. Last year that percentage of early-stage cases had exactly doubled. In 1937 only 30 per cent--less than a third--of the early syphilis cases completed treatment. Last year 99 per cent did so. Deaths attributed to syphilis in 1937 represented 16 out of every 100,000. Infant deaths from congenital syphilis per 100,000 live births dropped from 69 in 1937 to 16 in 1948.

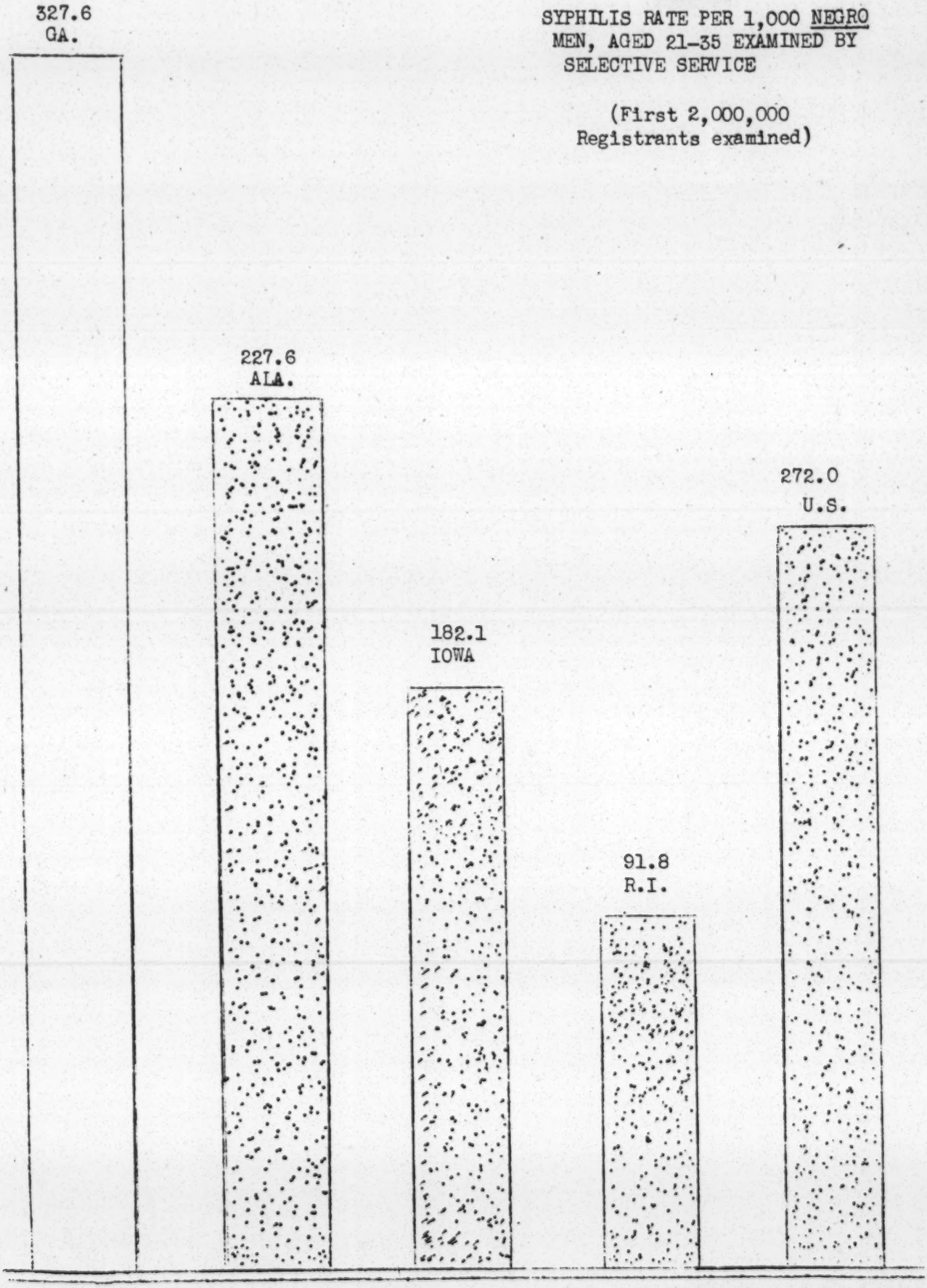
All these evidences of progress would be encouraging at any time. They are particularly cheering on the eve of National Social Hygiene Day. But we must keep up the fight. It is a campaign that must be carried on from year's end to year's end. But it should receive particular emphasis on the one day chosen for the focusing of national attention upon the venereal disease problem. Let us make Alabama especially venereal disease conscious on February 2.

###

GEORGIA

SYPHILIS RATE PER 1,000 NEGRO MEN, AGED 21-35 EXAMINED BY SELECTIVE SERVICE

(First 2,000,000 Registrants examined)



Please return
Southern Regional Council

THE GREAT KILLER

IS NOT

WAR

IT'S

SYPHILIS

Killed by the Enemy

87,500 Americans reported killed by the Enemy since December 7, 1941. (Army-Navy report August 29, 1944

Killed by SYPHILIS

282,000 Americans died as the result of SYPHILIS during the same period according to best available figures

SOCIAL PROTECTION DIVISION
FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
441 W PEACHTREE ST.
ATLANTA 3. GEORGIA

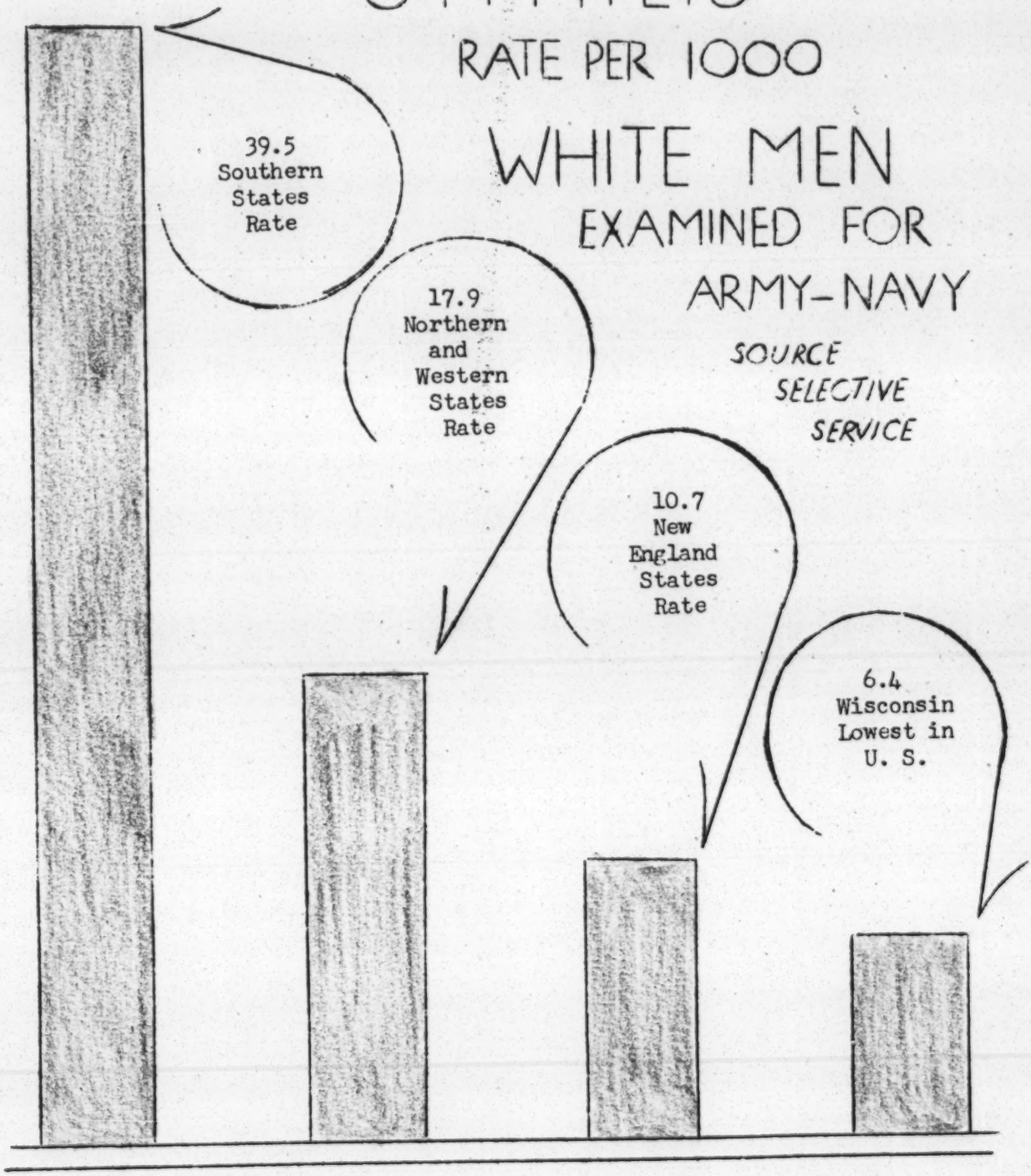
SYPHILIS

RATE PER 1000

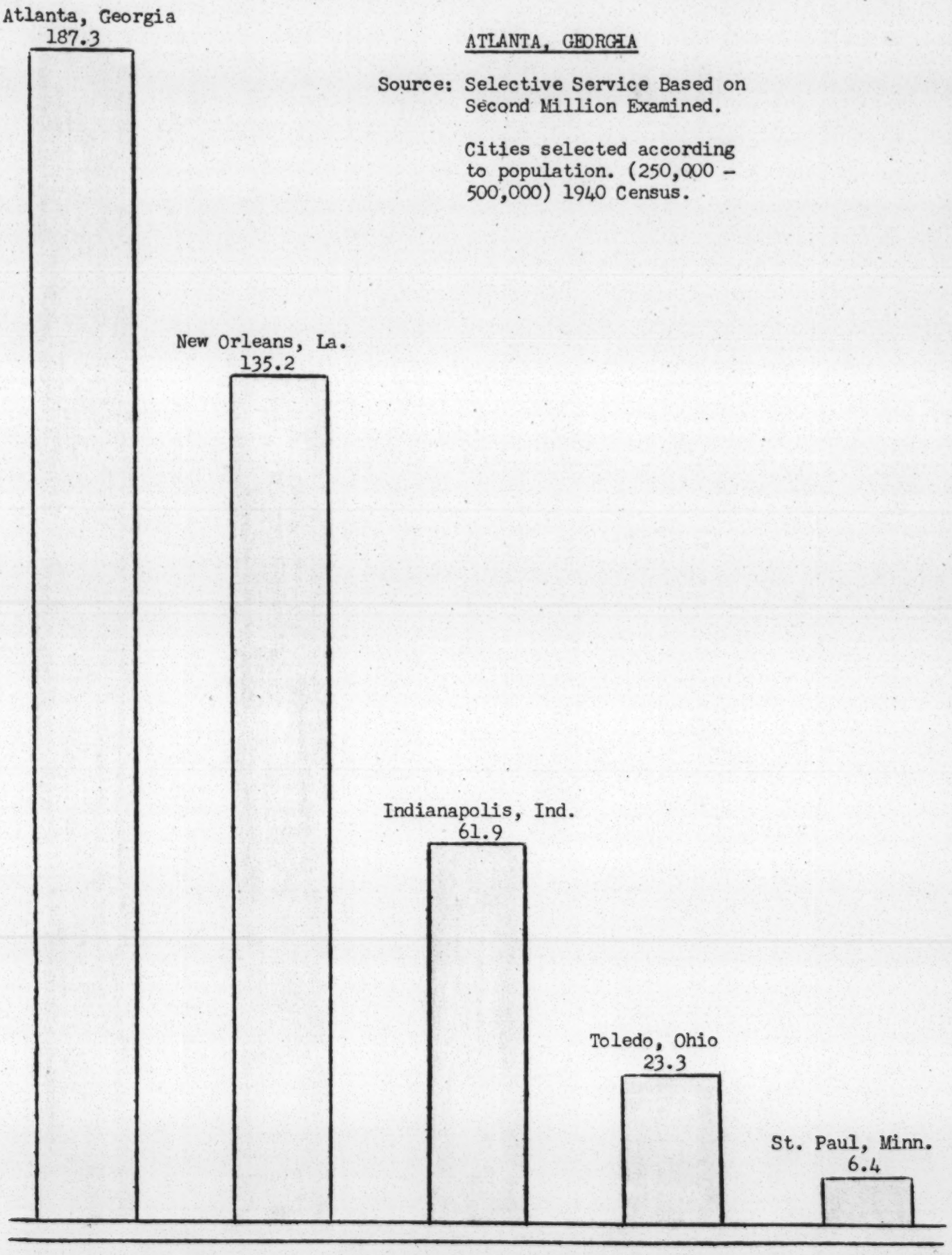
WHITE MEN

EXAMINED FOR ARMY-NAVY

SOURCE
SELECTIVE
SERVICE



Rate of Syphilis Per 1,000 Examined by Selective Service

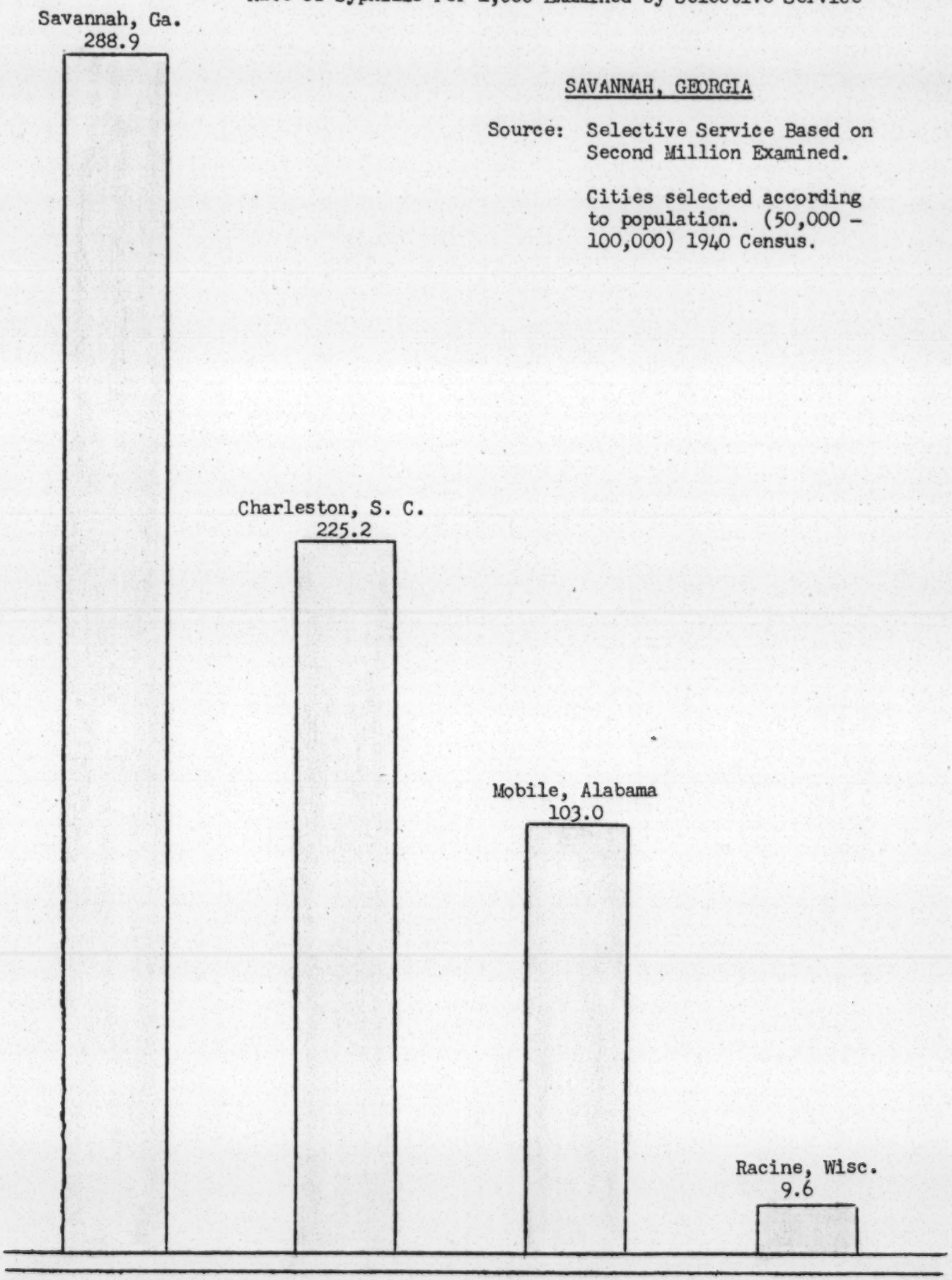


ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Source: Selective Service Based on Second Million Examined.

Cities selected according to population. (250,000 - 500,000) 1940 Census.

Rate of Syphilis Per 1,000 Examined by Selective Service

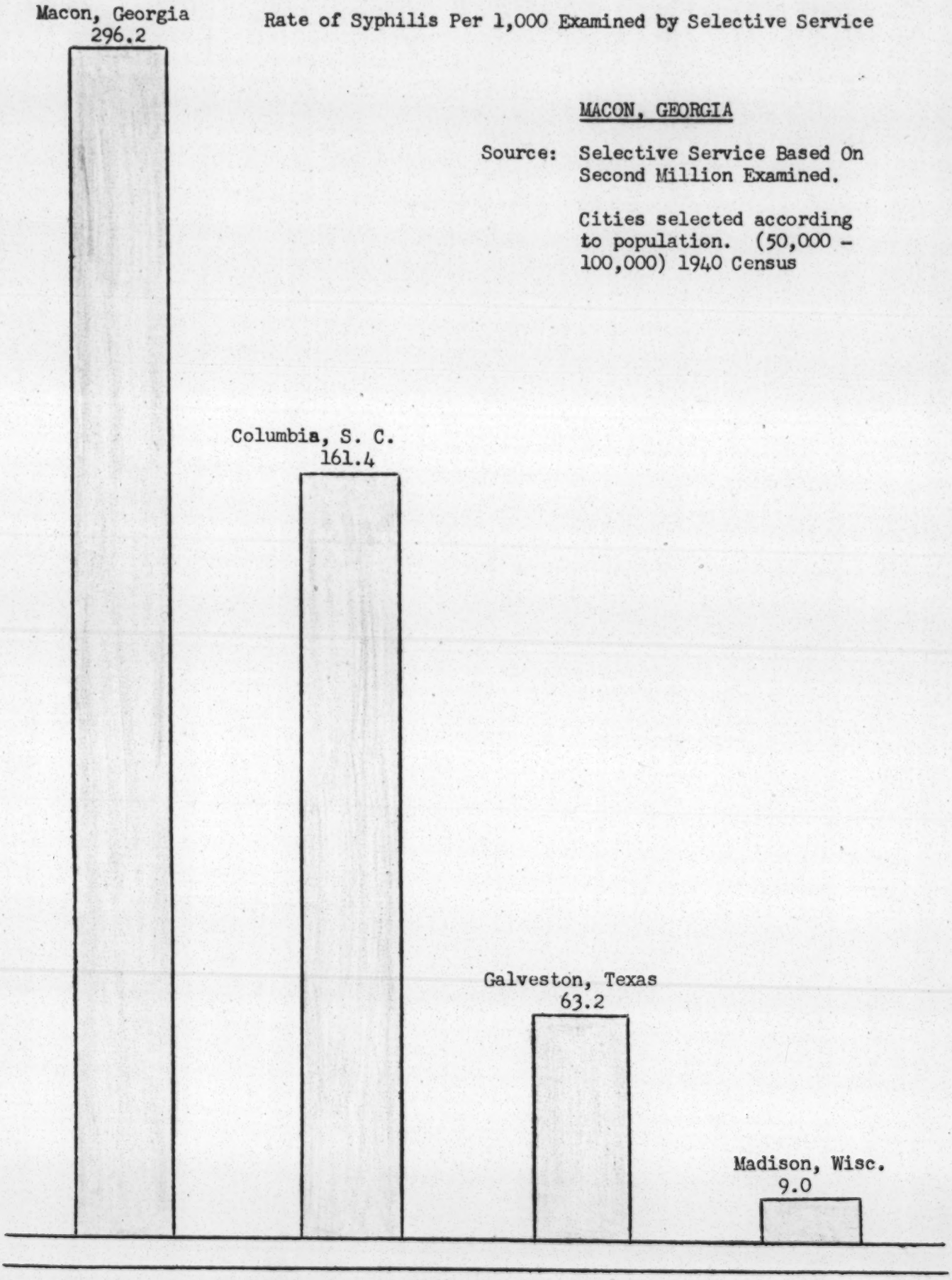


SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Source: Selective Service Based on Second Million Examined.

Cities selected according to population. (50,000 - 100,000) 1940 Census.

Rate of Syphilis Per 1,000 Examined by Selective Service

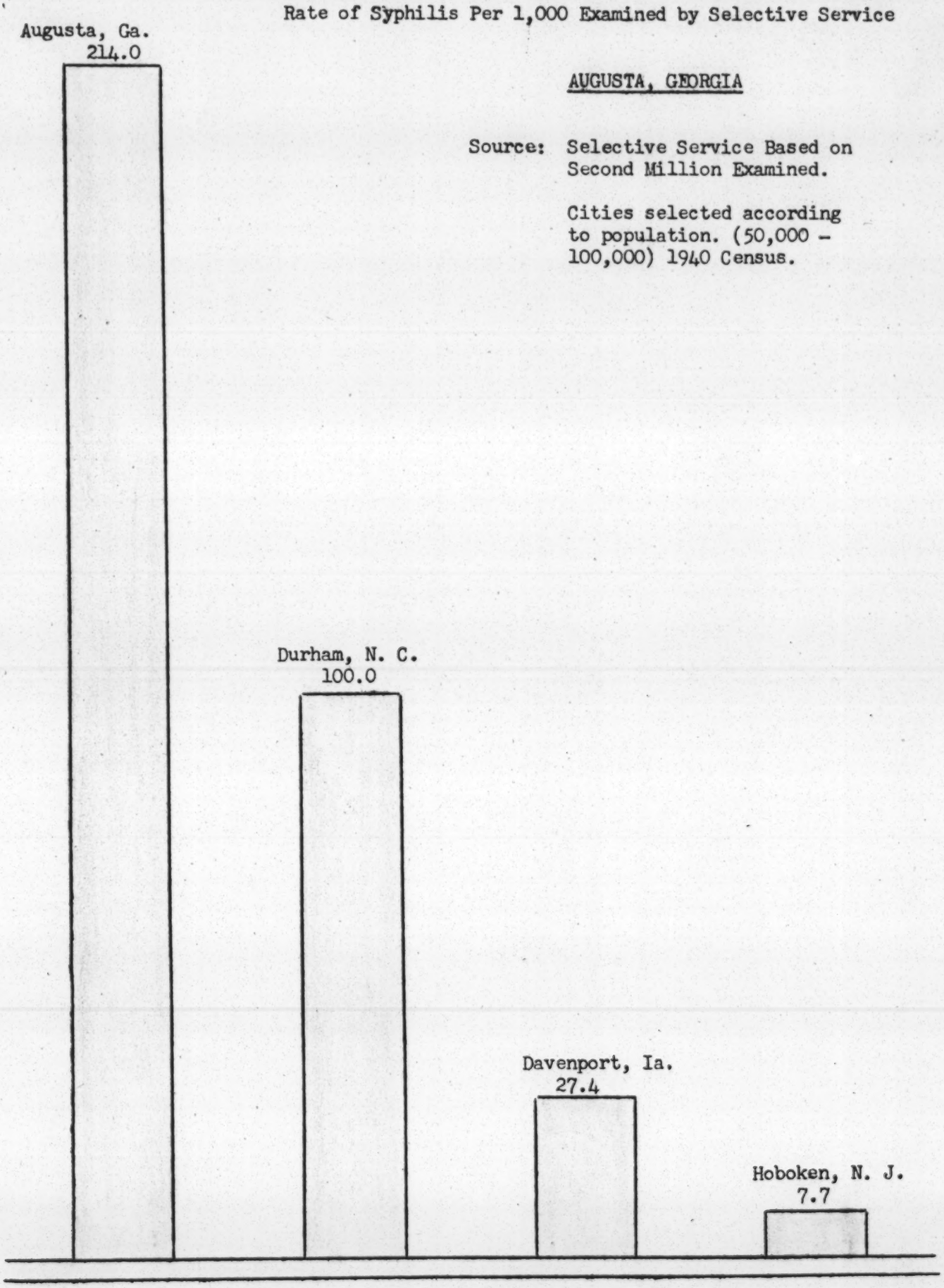


MACON, GEORGIA

Source: Selective Service Based On Second Million Examined.

Cities selected according to population. (50,000 - 100,000) 1940 Census

Rate of Syphilis Per 1,000 Examined by Selective Service

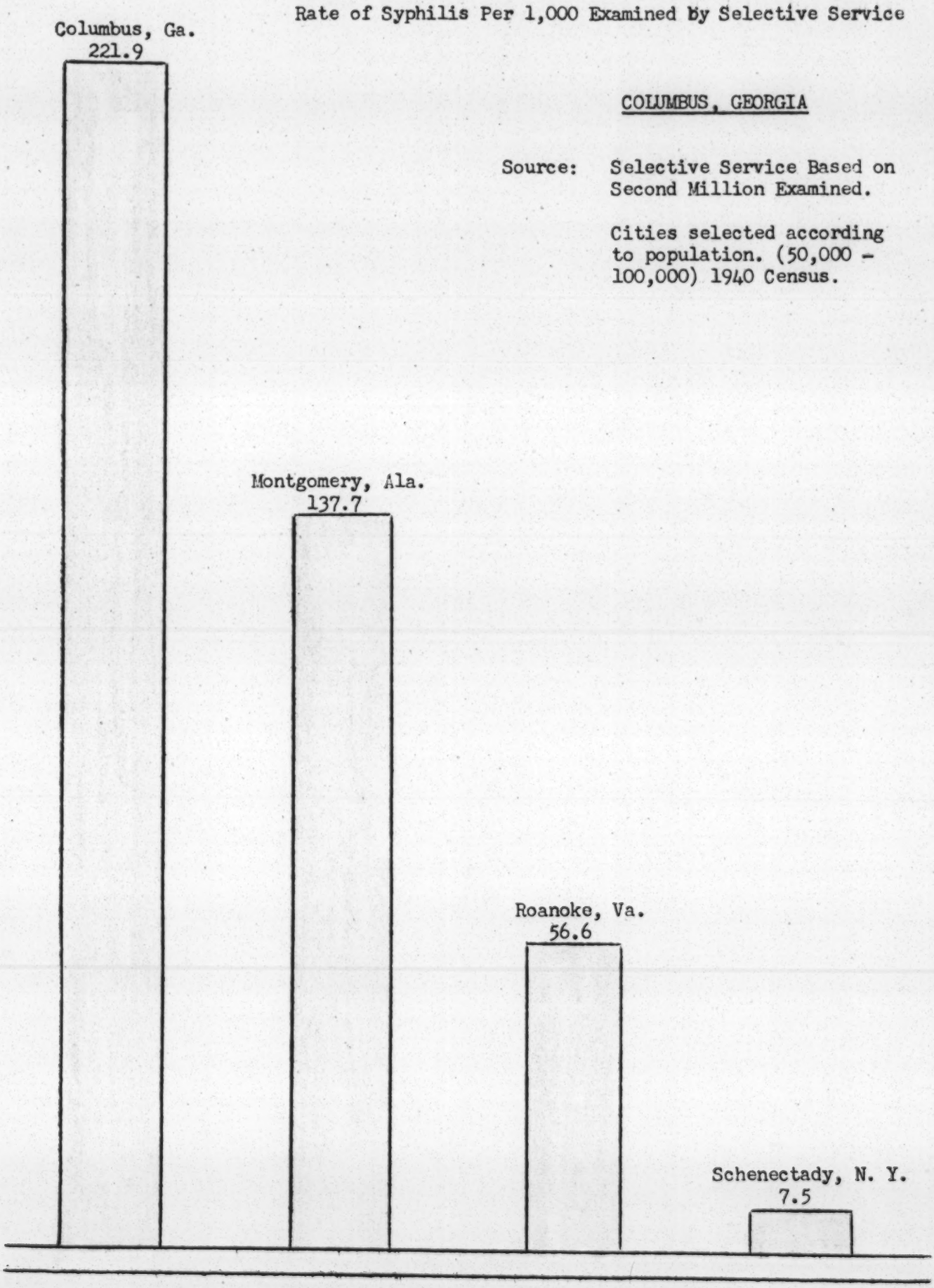


AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

Source: Selective Service Based on Second Million Examined.

Cities selected according to population. (50,000 - 100,000) 1940 Census.

Rate of Syphilis Per 1,000 Examined by Selective Service

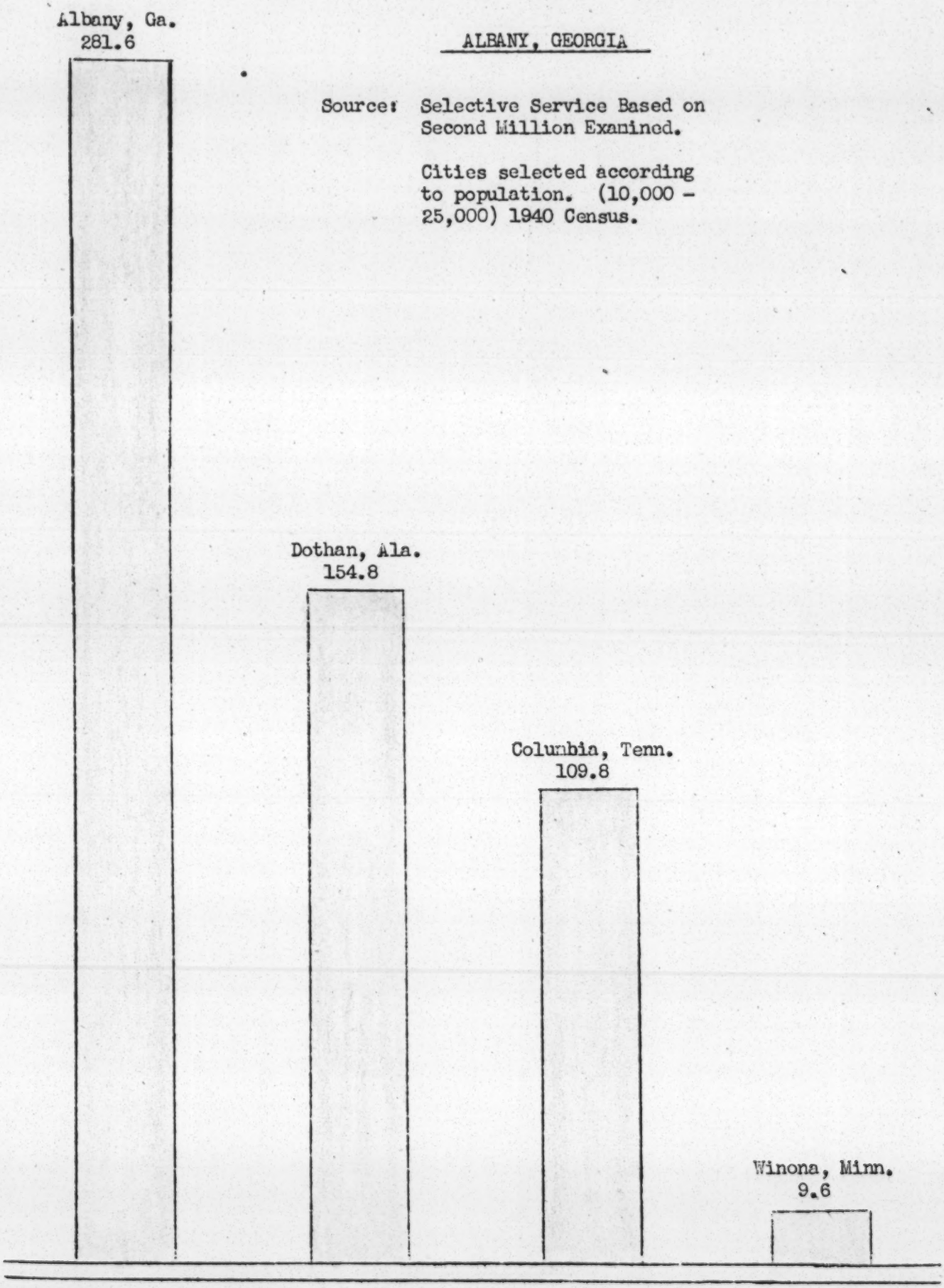


COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

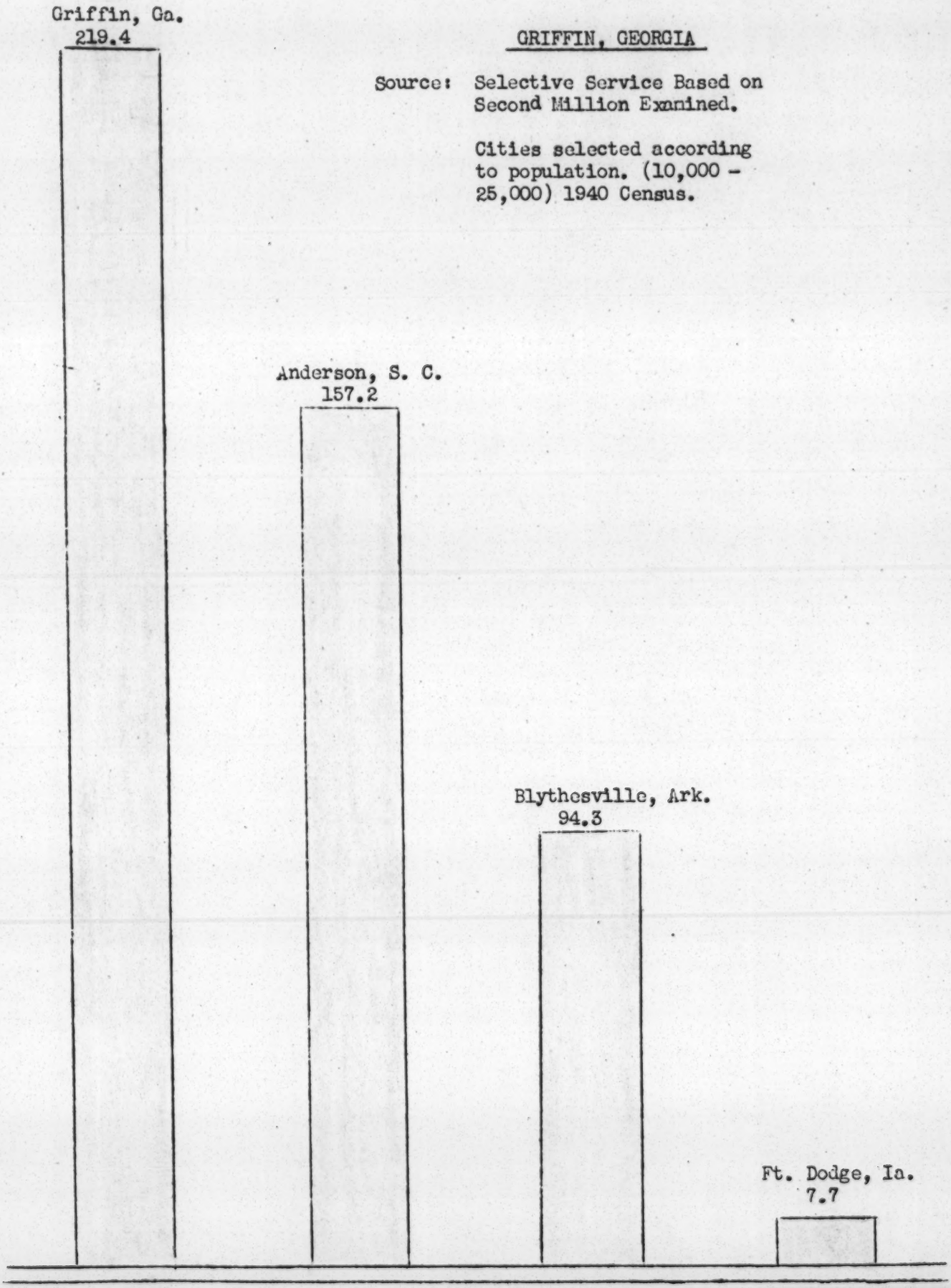
Source: Selective Service Based on Second Million Examined.

Cities selected according to population. (50,000 - 100,000) 1940 Census.

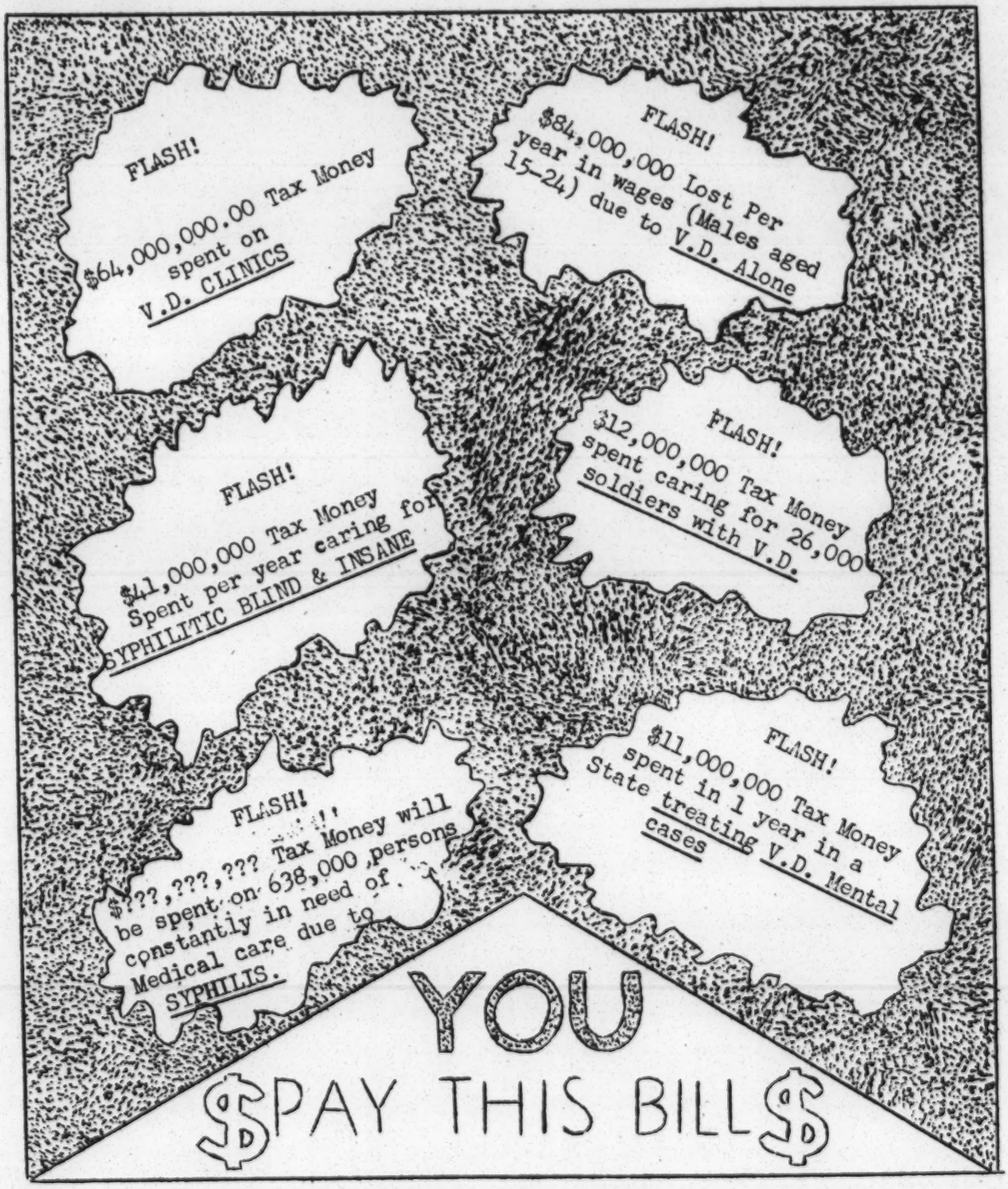
Rate of Syphilis Per 1,000 Examined by Selective Service



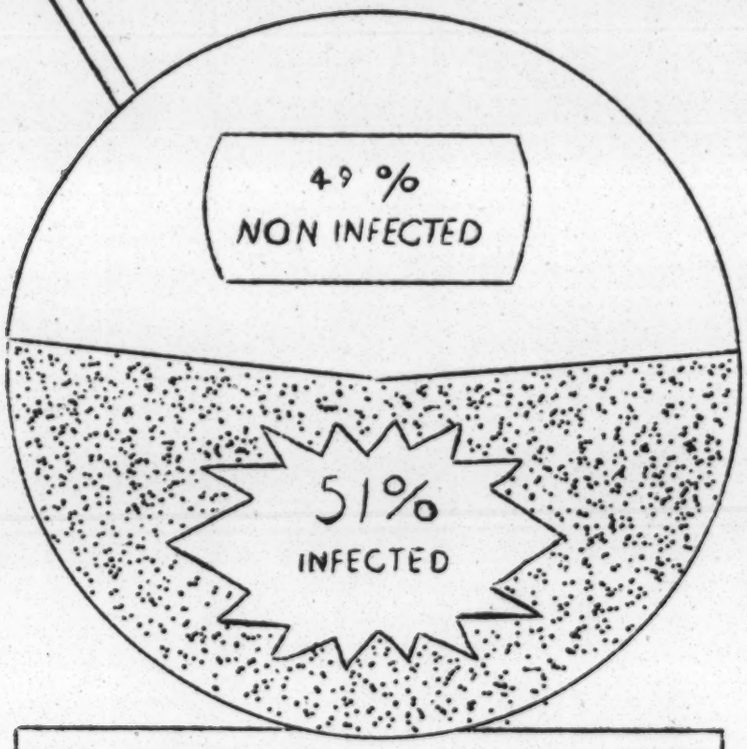
Rate of Syphilis Per 1,000 Examined by Selective Service



VD - THE TAXPAYER'S BURDEN



PROSTITUTES
DON'T 'KEEP CLEAN'



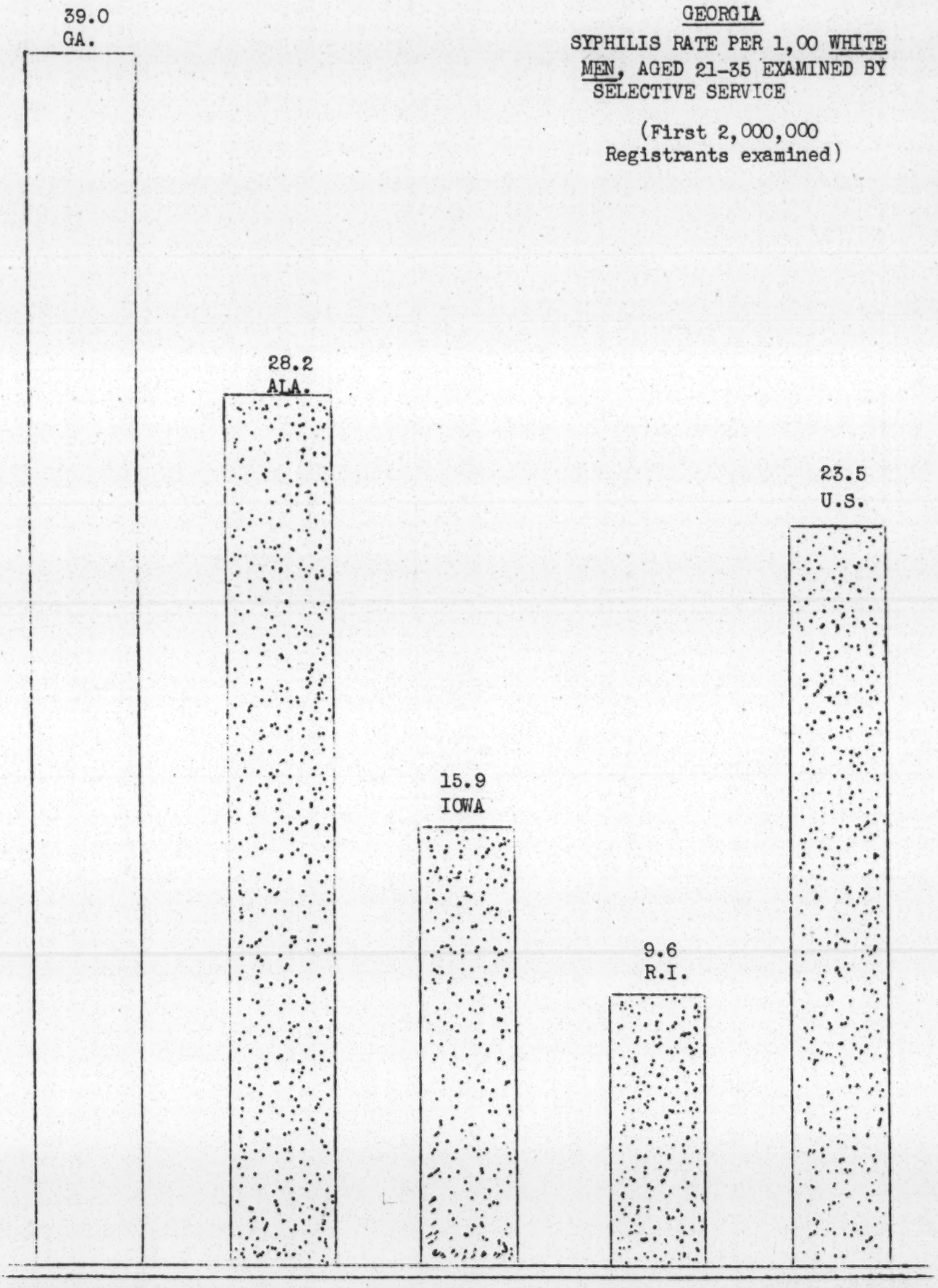
Source: 3597 Prostitutes Examined in N.Y.C.

PROSTITUTES
RAPIDLY SPREAD V. D.

GEORGIA

SYPHILIS RATE PER 1,00 WHITE MEN, AGED 21-35 EXAMINED BY SELECTIVE SERVICE

(First 2,000,000 Registrants examined)



SOLID FACTS

for 'teen-age' folks

"VD? NOT ME — I CAN ALWAYS TELL BY JUST LOOKING AT A GIRL"

WWH

He's Wrong!

Nobody can tell by looking at a girl.

Pick-up girls and prostitutes are exposed again and again to the venereal diseases and most of them are infected. Sexual relations outside of marriage always mean taking a risk.

If you are infected, get treatment at once.

Quick cure is now possible.

"VD? WHY YOU CAN TREAT IT AT HOME, BUB..."

WWH

He's Wrong!

Syphilis and gonorrhea cannot be cured by self-treatment or quack doctors.

Untreated syphilis may cause paralysis, blindness, heart failure, death.

Untreated gonorrhea can cause serious damage.

If you think you have a venereal disease go at once to your family doctor or a public health clinic.

Quick cure is possible now.

VD graphic-90

She's Wrong!

Not knowing about syphilis and gonorrhea is why many people have these diseases.

A woman can have syphilis or gonorrhea without knowing that she has it. Only a medical examination can tell.

Untreated syphilis or gonorrhea in a woman often does serious damage and makes necessary a surgical operation.

She's Wrong!

Syphilis and gonorrhea are everywhere.

Women can catch these diseases innocently.

The first signs of venereal diseases are easily unnoticed by women. Know the facts about them.

VD graphic-92

"TELL ME ALL ABOUT VD"

She's Wrong!

Don't ask your friends—get your information from those who know.

The two common venereal diseases are syphilis ("bad blood," "pox," "syph") and gonorrhea ("clap," "strain").

Syphilis and gonorrhea are spread through sexual intercourse.

If you have been exposed, see your family doctor or a public health clinic at once.

VD graphic-93

"AS A MATTER OF FACT, I THOUGHT I HAD VD ONCE — BUT THE SYMPTOM WENT AWAY"

WWH

He's Wrong!

The first symptoms of syphilis or gonorrhea do go away without treatment, but the disease is not cured.

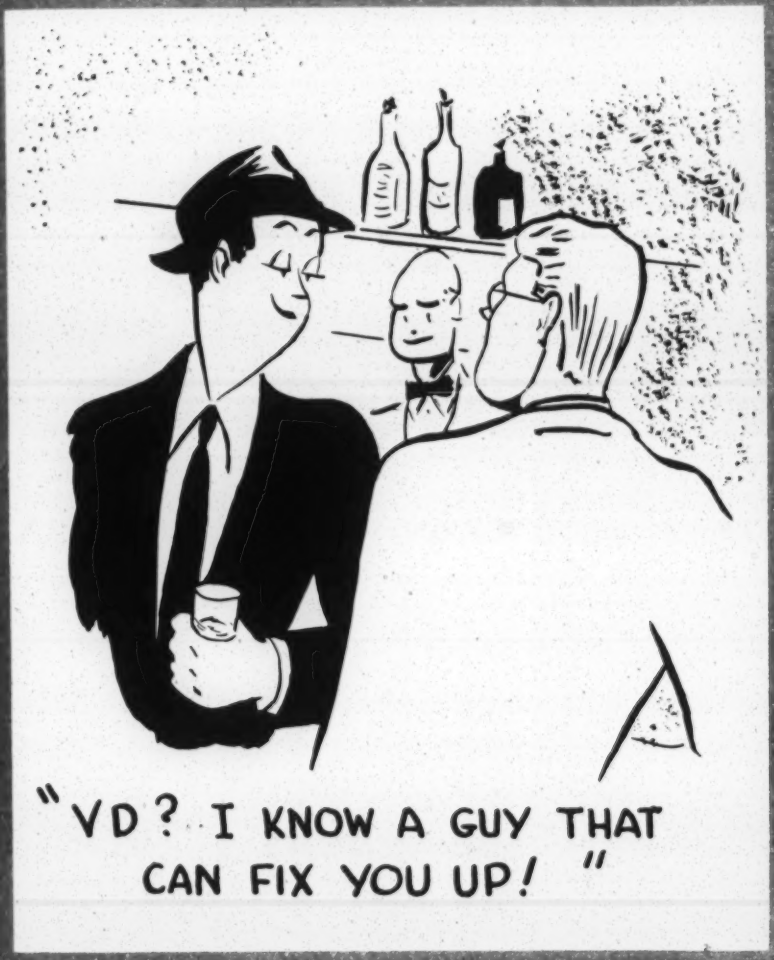
The first sign of syphilis is usually a sore on the privates.

The first sign of gonorrhea is usually a burning while urinating, and a pus discharge.

If these signs show up on you, go at once to your family doctor or a public health clinic.

Quick cure of V. D. is now possible.

VD graphic-94



He's Wrong!

Quack doctors, patent medicines and home treatment do not cure syphilis and gonorrhea

Modern scientific treatment given by a doctor can cure the venereal diseases quickly.

"OF COURSE, MY DEAR, REALLY *NICE* PEOPLE JUST DON'T HAVE..AH..VD"

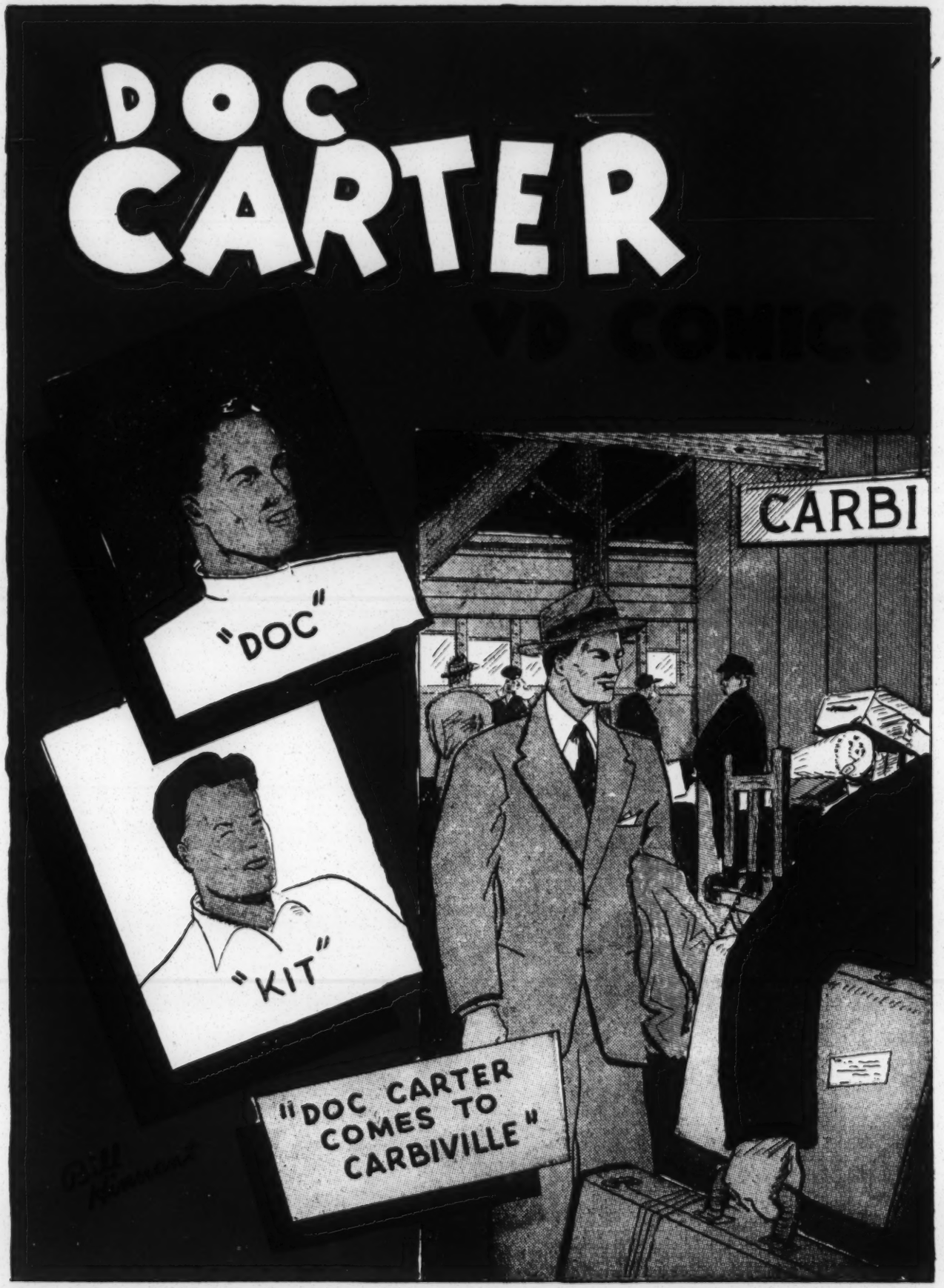
She's Wrong!

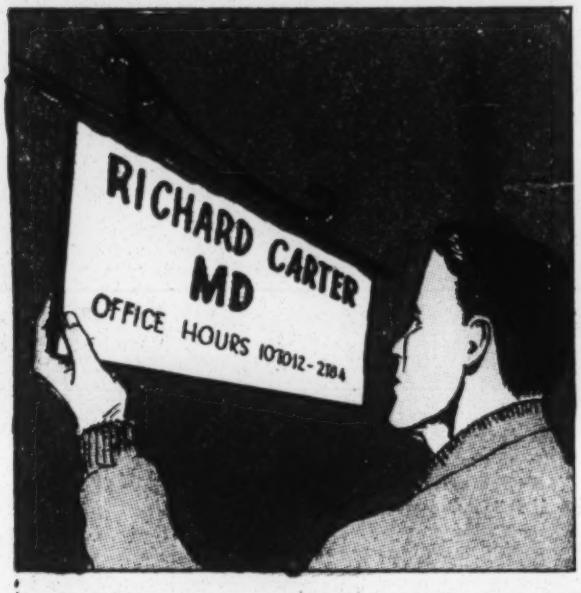
Nobody is safe from syphilis and gonorrhea and the first signs of these diseases may go unnoticed.

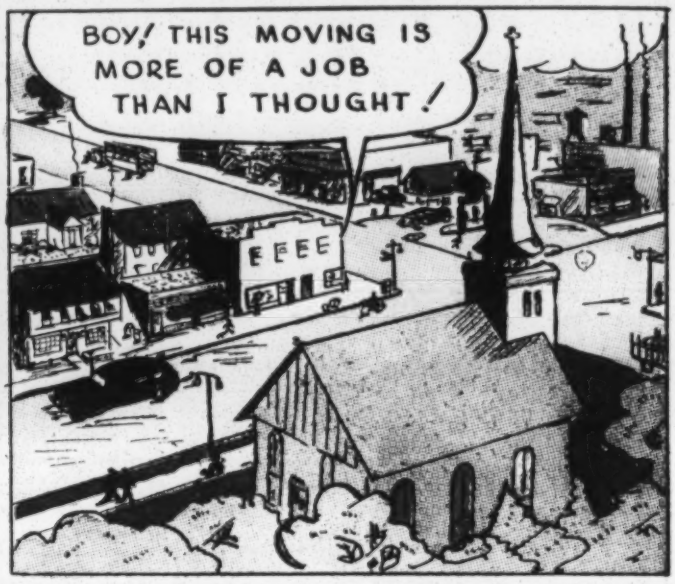
Women are often the innocent victims.

If you need advice or treatment see your family doctor or go to a public health clinic.

DOC CARTER




RICHARD CARTER
MD
OFFICE HOURS 10TO12-2TO4


BOY! THIS MOVING IS MORE OF A JOB THAN I THOUGHT!
EEEE

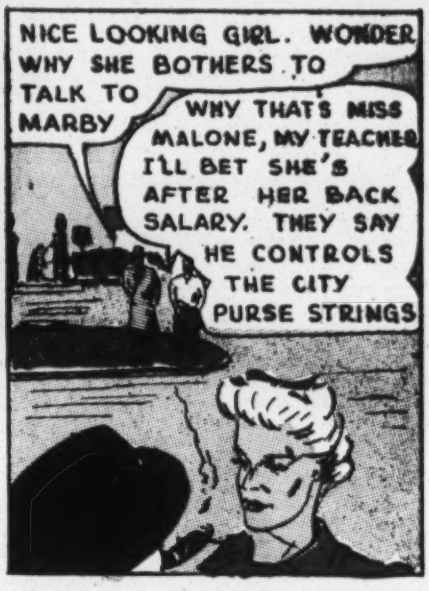
GOOD MORNING! YOU'RE THE NEW DOCTOR, AREN'T YOU? CAN I HELP YOU?
YES, I'M THE NEW DOCTOR, AND I COULD SURELY USE SOME HELP. COME ON IN.

WHY AREN'T YOU IN SCHOOL TODAY? AND BY THE WAY.... WHAT'S YOUR NAME?
KIT. SCHOOL'S CLOSED A MONTH EARLY. RAN OUT OF MONEY FOR THE TEACHERS.

THAT'S A GOOD NAME. I'LL HAVE TO HANG ON TO YOU... DOCTORS NEED A "KIT". SORRY YOUR SCHOOL HAD TO CLOSE
WELL, I'M NOT. BUT THE TOWN'S PLENTY SORE THEY SAY THE "RING" GRABS ALL THE TOWN MONEY.

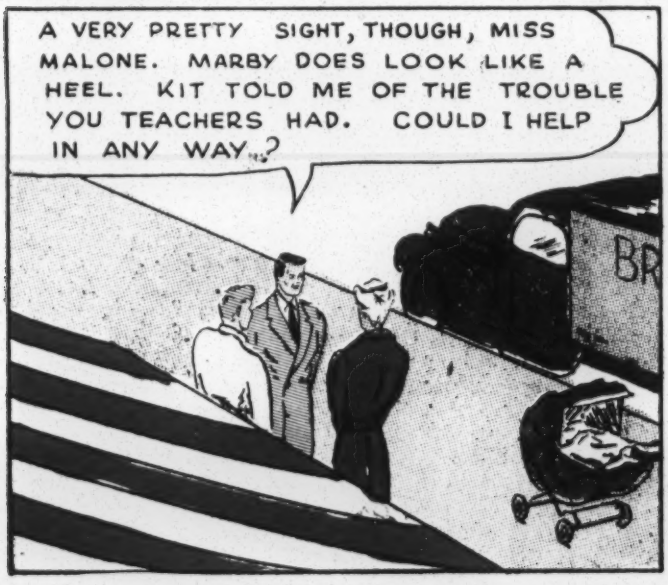
I WANT TO HEAR ABOUT THE "RING", KIT, BUT HOW ABOUT SOME LUNCH NOW?

PRETTY GOOD LUNCH, KIT. SAY, WHO IS THE LEADER OF THIS RING?
MARBY... THERE HE IS NOW! "BOSS" MARBY.


NICE LOOKING GIRL. WONDER WHY SHE BOTHERS TO TALK TO MARBY
WHY THAT'S MISS MALONE, MY TEACHER. I'LL BET SHE'S AFTER HER BACK SALARY. THEY SAY HE CONTROLS THE CITY PURSE STRINGS

HOW ABOUT INTRODUCING ME TO HER, KIT?
SURE... LOOKS LIKE MARBY IS GIVING HER THE BRUSH OFF.
LUNCH

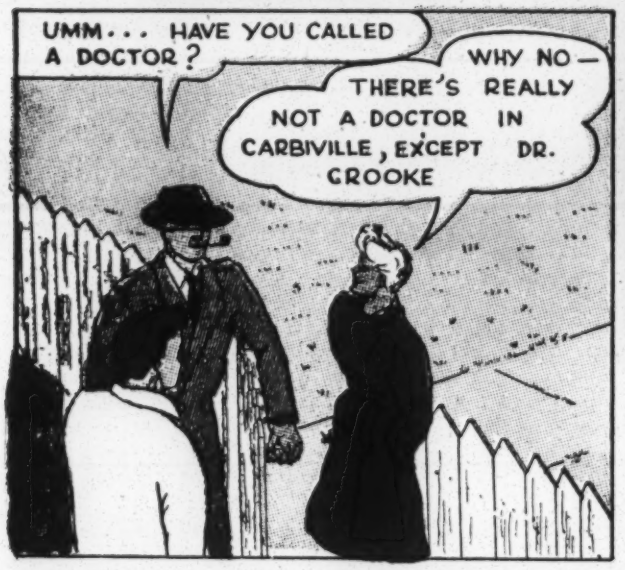
MISS MOLLY, THIS IS OUR NEW DOCTOR... DR. CARTER. I'M SHOWING HIM THE SIGHTS.
I'M GLAD TO KNOW YOU DOCTOR, AND I GUESS I DO LOOK LIKE A SIGHT, KIT. THAT MR. MARBY SIMPLY UNNERVES ME!


A VERY PRETTY SIGHT, THOUGH, MISS MALONE. MARBY DOES LOOK LIKE A HEEL. KIT TOLD ME OF THE TROUBLE YOU TEACHERS HAD. COULD I HELP IN ANY WAY...?

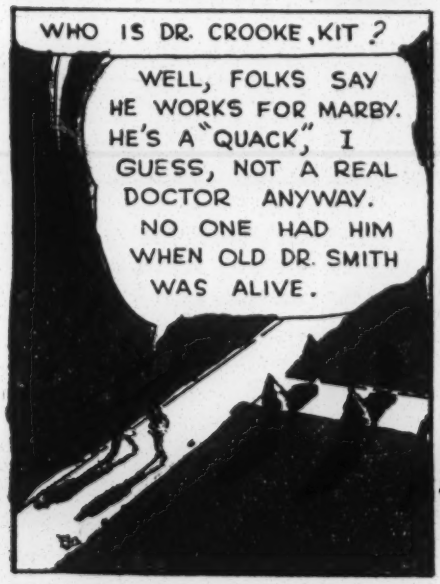
THANKS, BUT I DON'T SEE HOW YOU COULD.

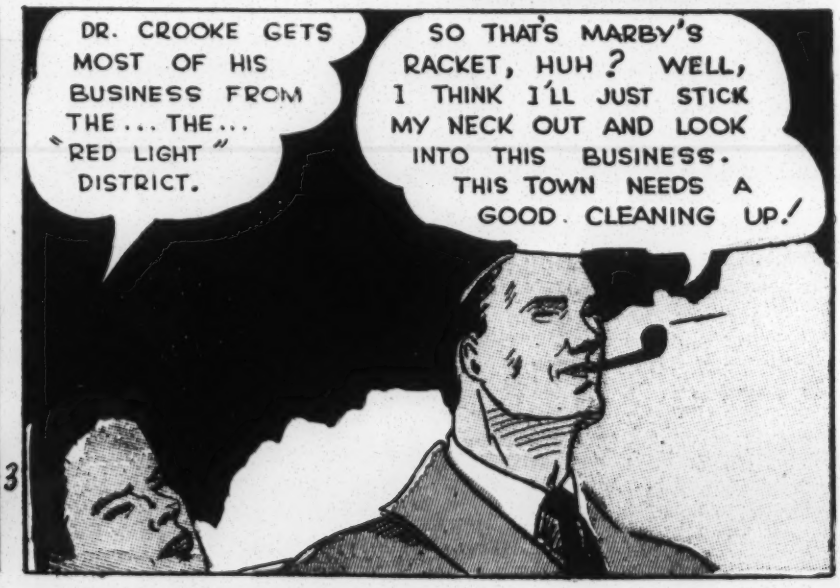
I HAVE BEEN WORRIED ABOUT MY BROTHER TED, DR. CARTER
WHAT SEEMS TO BE WRONG?

I DON'T KNOW. HE SEEMS SICK, DEPRESSED, UNHAPPY. . .

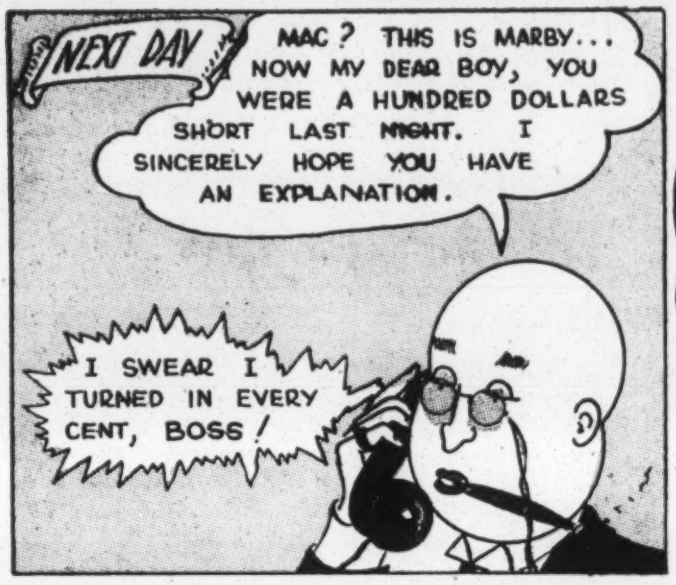

UMM... HAVE YOU CALLED A DOCTOR?
WHY NO— THERE'S REALLY NOT A DOCTOR IN CARBIVILLE, EXCEPT DR. CROOKE

HAVE HIM STOP IN TO SEE ME TOMORROW.
OH THANK YOU DR. CARTER, AND I DO HOPE YOU WILL LIKE CARBIVILLE... SEE YOU LATER.


WHO IS DR. CROOKE, KIT?
WELL, FOLKS SAY HE WORKS FOR MARBY. HE'S A "QUACK", I GUESS, NOT A REAL DOCTOR ANYWAY. NO ONE HAD HIM WHEN OLD DR. SMITH WAS ALIVE.


DR. CROOKE GETS MOST OF HIS BUSINESS FROM THE... THE... "RED LIGHT" DISTRICT.
SO THAT'S MARBY'S RACKET, HUH? WELL, I THINK I'LL JUST STICK MY NECK OUT AND LOOK INTO THIS BUSINESS. THIS TOWN NEEDS A GOOD CLEANING UP!

LATER THAT NIGHT
SO THIS IS THE RED LIGHT DISTRICT.
I GUESS THAT FELLOW DOESN'T WANT TO BE SEEN AROUND HERE.
OF ALL THE LOUSY MISMANAGEMENT! ALLOWING A "RED LIGHT" DISTRICT.
HERE YA ARE, AL.
SURE IT'S ALL HERE MAC? DA BOSS HAS BEEN GROWLING LATELY.
ELM
WHAT D'YA MEAN IS IT ALL THERE?
CUT IT! DON'T YA SEE DAT GUY MOVE ON!
A GUILTY LOOKING PAIR IF I EVER SAW ONE. THEY SURE GOT OUT OF THE LIGHT WHEN THEY SAW ME.
FOR PETES' SAKE! A HUNDRED DOLLAR BILL. A WONDER THAT PAIR DIDN'T SEE IT RIGHT UNDER THE LIGHT HERE.
GUESS I HAD BETTER PHONE AN AD IN TO THE LOST AND FOUND BEFORE I GO TO BED.


NEXT DAY
MAC? THIS IS MARBY... NOW MY DEAR BOY, YOU WERE A HUNDRED DOLLARS SHORT LAST NIGHT. I SINCERELY HOPE YOU HAVE AN EXPLANATION.
I SWEAR I TURNED IN EVERY CENT, BOSS!

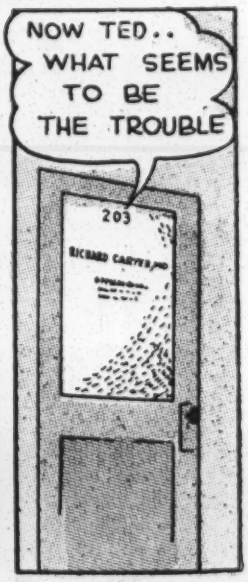
NOW, NOW, NOW, MAC – PLEASE CALM YOURSELF. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT YOU READ THE LOST & FOUND SECTION OF THE PAPER... A DR. CARTER... HONEST FELLOW... FOUND A ONE HUNDRED DOLLAR BILL IN YOUR SECTION OF TOWN ABOUT NINE O'CLOCK LAST NIGHT. I REALLY HOPE YOU'LL NOT BE GREEDY AND TRY TO CLAIM IT.

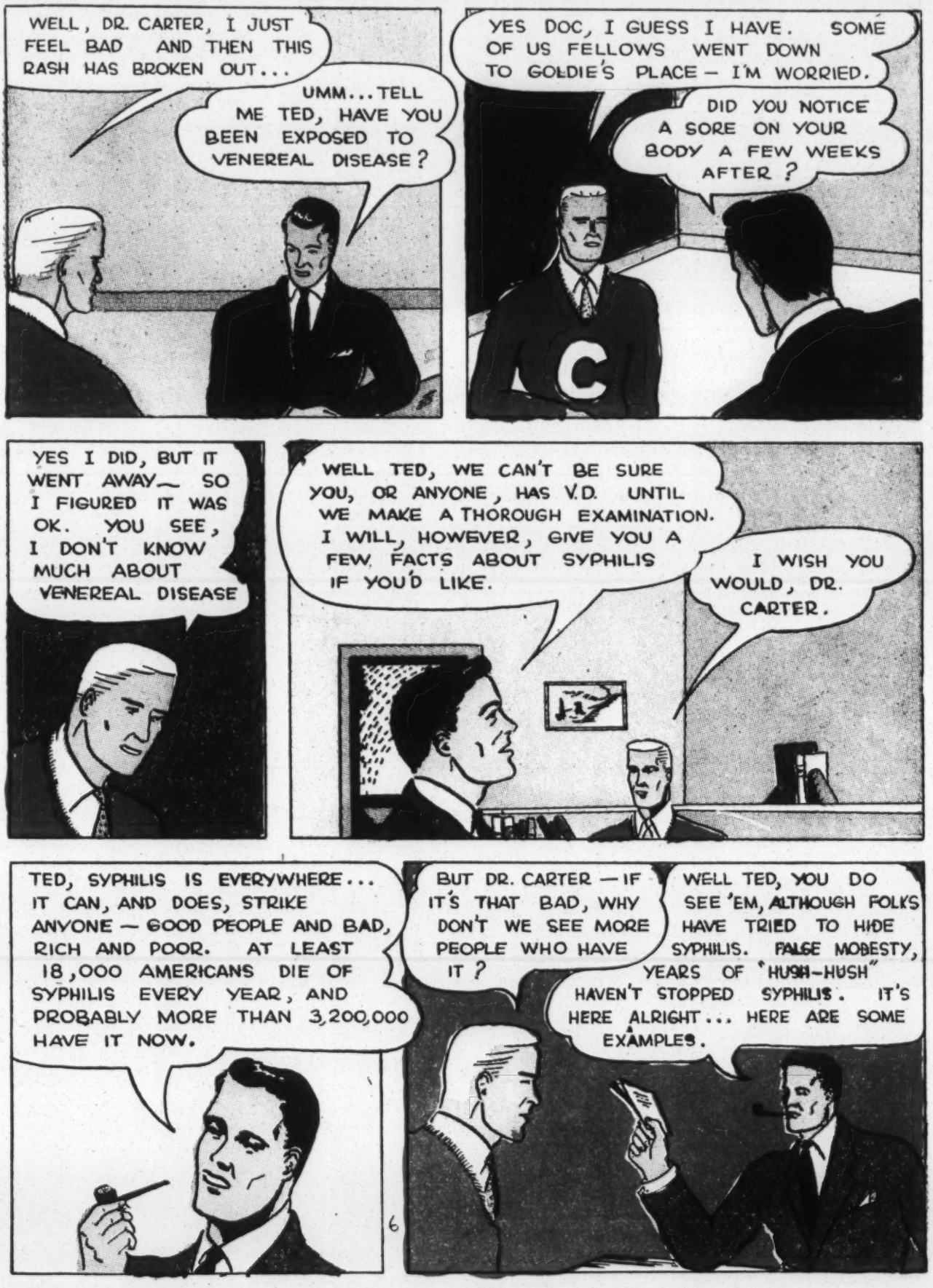
OK BOSS.
GEES...! A HUNNARD BUCKS. I COULD SURE USE IT. MAYBE...

HELLO KIT. YOU TOLD ME YESTERDAY THAT YOUR DAD, DOWN AT THE BANK, WOULD LIKE TO HELP US? COULD YOU MEET ME AT THE BANK IN ABOUT TEN MINUTES... I THINK I HAVE AN IDEA!

AFTER TALKING TO KIT'S DAD —
LET'S GET BACK TO MY OFFICE, KIT. I'M EXPECTING TED MALONE, AND, I HOPE, ANOTHER VISITOR.
BANK OF C

DR. CARTER? I'M TED MALONE. MY SISTER SAID YOU'D SEE ME
HI TED — GLAD TO KNOW YOU. COME ON IN.
C


NOW TED.. WHAT SEEMS TO BE THE TROUBLE
203


WELL, DR. CARTER, I JUST FEEL BAD AND THEN THIS RASH HAS BROKEN OUT...
UMM... TELL ME TED, HAVE YOU BEEN EXPOSED TO VENEREAL DISEASE?
YES DOC, I GUESS I HAVE. SOME OF US FELLOWS WENT DOWN TO GOLDIE'S PLACE — I'M WORRIED.
DID YOU NOTICE A SORE ON YOUR BODY A FEW WEEKS AFTER?
YES I DID, BUT IT WENT AWAY — SO I FIGURED IT WAS OK. YOU SEE, I DON'T KNOW MUCH ABOUT VENEREAL DISEASE
WELL TED, WE CAN'T BE SURE YOU, OR ANYONE, HAS V.D. UNTIL WE MAKE A THOROUGH EXAMINATION. I WILL, HOWEVER, GIVE YOU A FEW FACTS ABOUT SYPHILIS IF YOU'D LIKE.
I WISH YOU WOULD, DR. CARTER.
TED, SYPHILIS IS EVERYWHERE... IT CAN, AND DOES, STRIKE ANYONE — GOOD PEOPLE AND BAD, RICH AND POOR. AT LEAST 18,000 AMERICANS DIE OF SYPHILIS EVERY YEAR, AND PROBABLY MORE THAN 3,200,000 HAVE IT NOW.
BUT DR. CARTER — IF IT'S THAT BAD, WHY DON'T WE SEE MORE PEOPLE WHO HAVE IT?
WELL TED, YOU DO SEE 'EM, ALTHOUGH FOLKS HAVE TRIED TO HIDE SYPHILIS. FALSE MODESTY, YEARS OF "HUSH-HUSH" HAVEN'T STOPPED SYPHILIS. IT'S HERE ALRIGHT... HERE ARE SOME EXAMPLES.

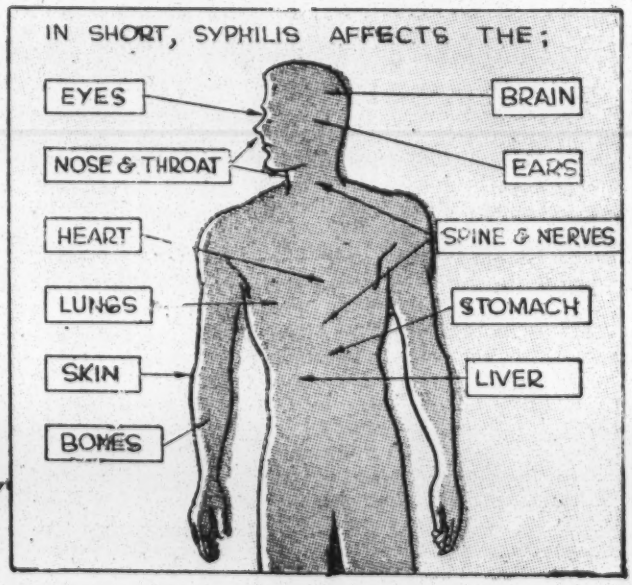
"EVERY YEAR A GREAT MANY AMERICANS DIE OF HEART FAILURE CAUSED BY SYPHILIS."

"AT LEAST EIGHT PERCENT OF ALL INSANITY IS CAUSED BY SYPHILIS."

"OVER 30,000 BABIES CATCH SYPHILIS AND DIE BEFORE BIRTH IN AMERICA EACH YEAR."

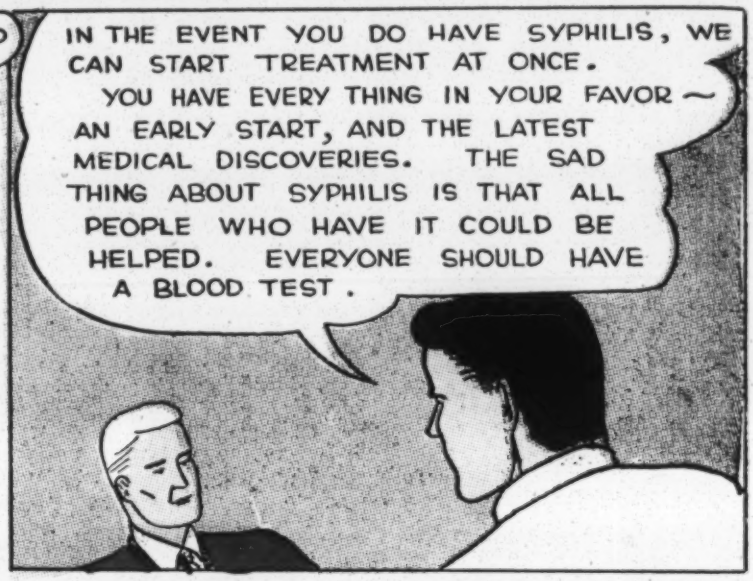
— AND 34,000 OTHERS ARE BORN INFECTED. ALMOST ALL COULD BE SAVED BY MEDICAL CARE BEFORE BIRTH."

"SYPHILIS CRIPPLES, BLINDS, AND DEAFENS THOUSANDS —"

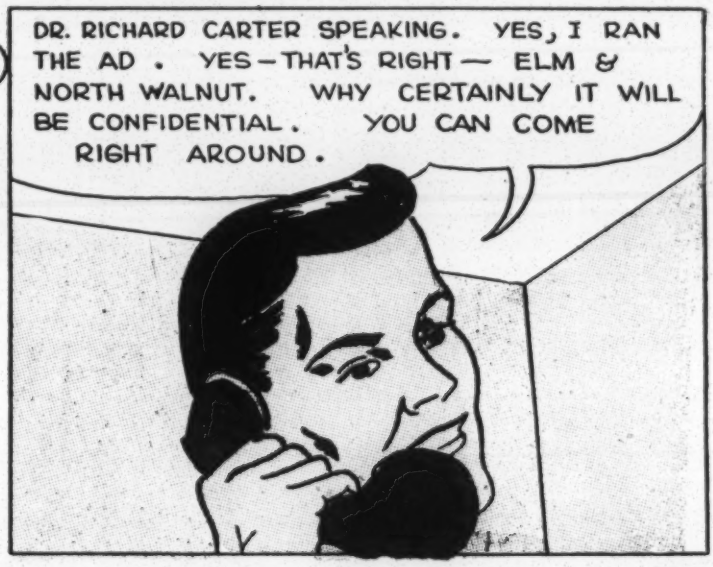


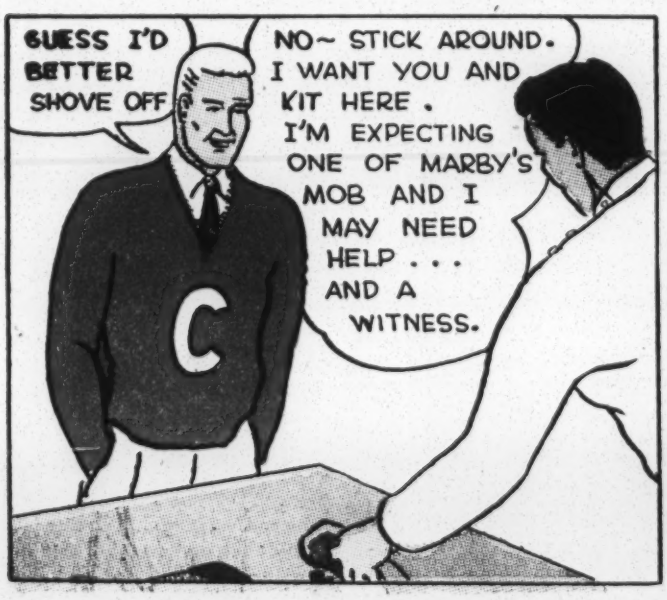
HOW CAN PEOPLE KNOW IF THEY'VE CAUGHT SYPHILIS ?
BY TAKING A BLOOD TEST — AT A PUBLIC HEALTH CLINIC, OR FROM A REAL DOCTOR. AND I MEAN A DOCTOR — NOT A "MEN'S DOCTOR", OR "QUACK."
BUT ISN'T THERE SOME WAY OF KNOWING IF YOU'VE JUST CAUGHT IT... A SORE, OR SOMETHING ?
WELL TED, THE FIRST SIGN OF SYPHILIS MAY BE A SORE THAT APPEARS WHERE THE GERM ENTERED THE BODY.
THIS SORE, EASY TO NOTICE ON A MAN, IS SOMETIMES DIFFICULT FOR A WOMAN TO KNOW ABOUT, AS IT IS FREQUENTLY INSIDE HER BODY. IF AN UNUSUAL SORE IS NOTICED AT ANY TIME ... SEE A GOOD DOCTOR AT ONCE, BECAUSE DIAGNOSIS CAN BE MADE BY USING A MICROSCOPE.
AS I UNDERSTAND IT THEN, DR. CARTER, A FELLOW HAS TO BE MIGHTY CAREFUL.
THATS RIGHT, OLD BOY — WITHOUT A BLOOD TEST, OR MICROSCOPIC EXAMINATION, NOT EVEN A DOCTOR CAN BE SURE ABOUT SYPHILIS. A GIRL MAY LOOK CLEAN, BUT IF SHE'S "EASY" FOR YOU, THE ODDS ARE SHE HAS BEEN EXPOSED TO SYPHILIS. AND ANOTHER THING — NOT JUST FELLOWS HAVE TO BE CAREFUL .....
..... LOTS OF GIRLS HAVE CONTRACTED SYPHILIS FROM NECKING AND PETTING WITH FELLOWS WHO HAVE BEEN OUT WITH INFECTED GIRLS. SO YOU SEE IT'S BEST TO WAIT FOR MARRIAGE.

NOW TED, I'M TAKING THIS BLOOD TEST TO KNOW FOR SURE IF YOU HAVE SYPHILIS.


IN THE EVENT YOU DO HAVE SYPHILIS, WE CAN START TREATMENT AT ONCE. YOU HAVE EVERY THING IN YOUR FAVOR — AN EARLY START, AND THE LATEST MEDICAL DISCOVERIES. THE SAD THING ABOUT SYPHILIS IS THAT ALL PEOPLE WHO HAVE IT COULD BE HELPED. EVERYONE SHOULD HAVE A BLOOD TEST.

NOW DON'T WORRY TED — EXCUSE ME.. THERE'S THE PHONE
RING-G-G-G


DR. RICHARD CARTER SPEAKING. YES, I RAN THE AD. YES — THAT'S RIGHT — ELM & NORTH WALNUT. WHY CERTAINLY IT WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL. YOU CAN COME RIGHT AROUND.


GUESS I'D BETTER SHOVE OFF
NO ~ STICK AROUND. I WANT YOU AND KIT HERE. I'M EXPECTING ONE OF MARBY'S MOB AND I MAY NEED HELP . . . AND A WITNESS.

IF I KNOW MARBY'S KIND, THERE'LL BE TROUBLE . . . IF WE PLAY OUR CARDS RIGHT, AND WITH LUCK, WE MAY HOOK 'EM.

203

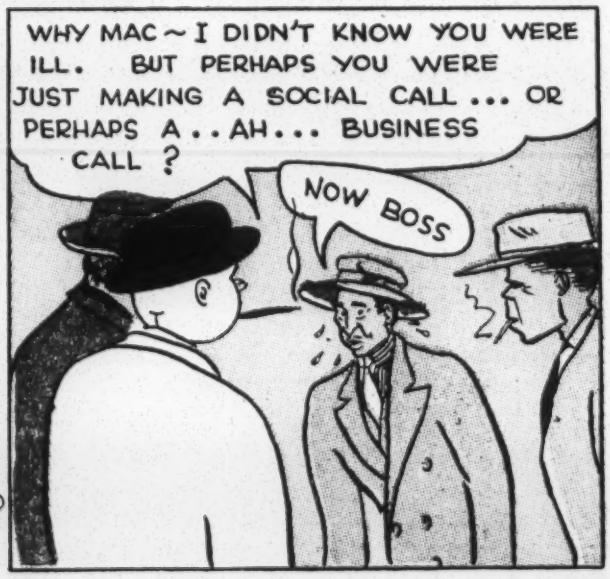
COME IN, COME IN.
NAW DOC ~ JUST GIMME TH' "C" NOTE. I'M TH' GUY.. ELM & N. WALNUT, 9 O'CLOCK LAST NIGHT. THANKS A LOT DOC.. THANKS.

WELL, FELLOWS, COULDN'T GET HIM IN. TOUGH LUCK, BUT I'M NOT LICKED — LET'S TRAIL HIM!

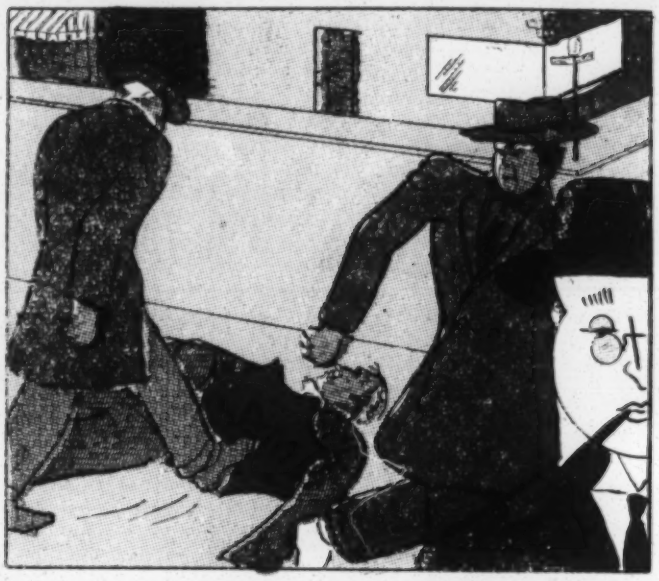
UNLESS I MISS MY GUESS, THAT FELLOW WILL HAVE TROUBLE WITH MARBY... IF THERE'S A LINK BETWEEN THEM.

KIT—TED, HOLD IT! I DIDN'T MISS MY GUESS!

OH, OH! DAR'S MARBY


WHY MAC ~ I DIDN'T KNOW YOU WERE ILL. BUT PERHAPS YOU WERE JUST MAKING A SOCIAL CALL ... OR PERHAPS A .. AH ... BUSINESS CALL ?
NOW BOSS

ALRIGHT, GENTLEMEN, GET THAT MONEY... AND NOT TOO GENTLY.
OWWW
SOC

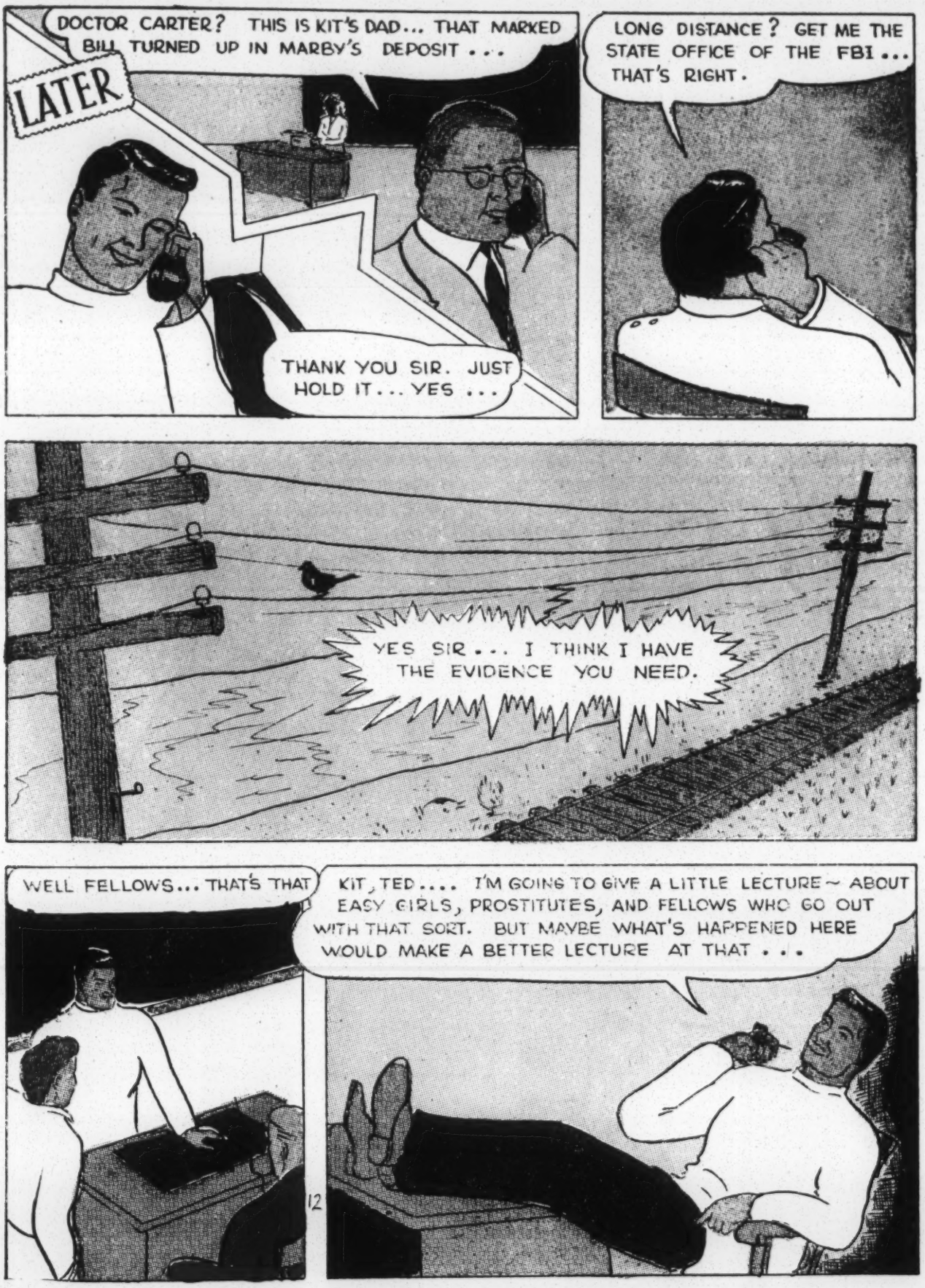


LET'S GO GET HIM FELLOWS ... I THINK MAYBE HE'LL TALK.

THANKS A LOT DOC. THEM DIRTY BUMS.. BUT I'LL FIX 'EM.

YOU CAN FIX THEM RIGHT NOW MAC, AND SAVE YOURSELF TOO. JUST TELL US WHAT YOU KNOW ABOUT MARBY.

DOC, IT'LL BE A PLEASURE.


LATER
DOCTOR CARTER? THIS IS KIT'S DAD... THAT MARKED BILL TURNED UP IN MARBY'S DEPOSIT...
THANK YOU SIR. JUST HOLD IT... YES...
LONG DISTANCE? GET ME THE STATE OFFICE OF THE FBI... THAT'S RIGHT.
YES SIR... I THINK I HAVE THE EVIDENCE YOU NEED.
WELL FELLOWS... THAT'S THAT
KIT, TED.... I'M GOING TO GIVE A LITTLE LECTURE ~ ABOUT EASY GIRLS, PROSTITUTES, AND FELLOWS WHO GO OUT WITH THAT SORT. BUT MAYBE WHAT'S HAPPENED HERE WOULD MAKE A BETTER LECTURE AT THAT...

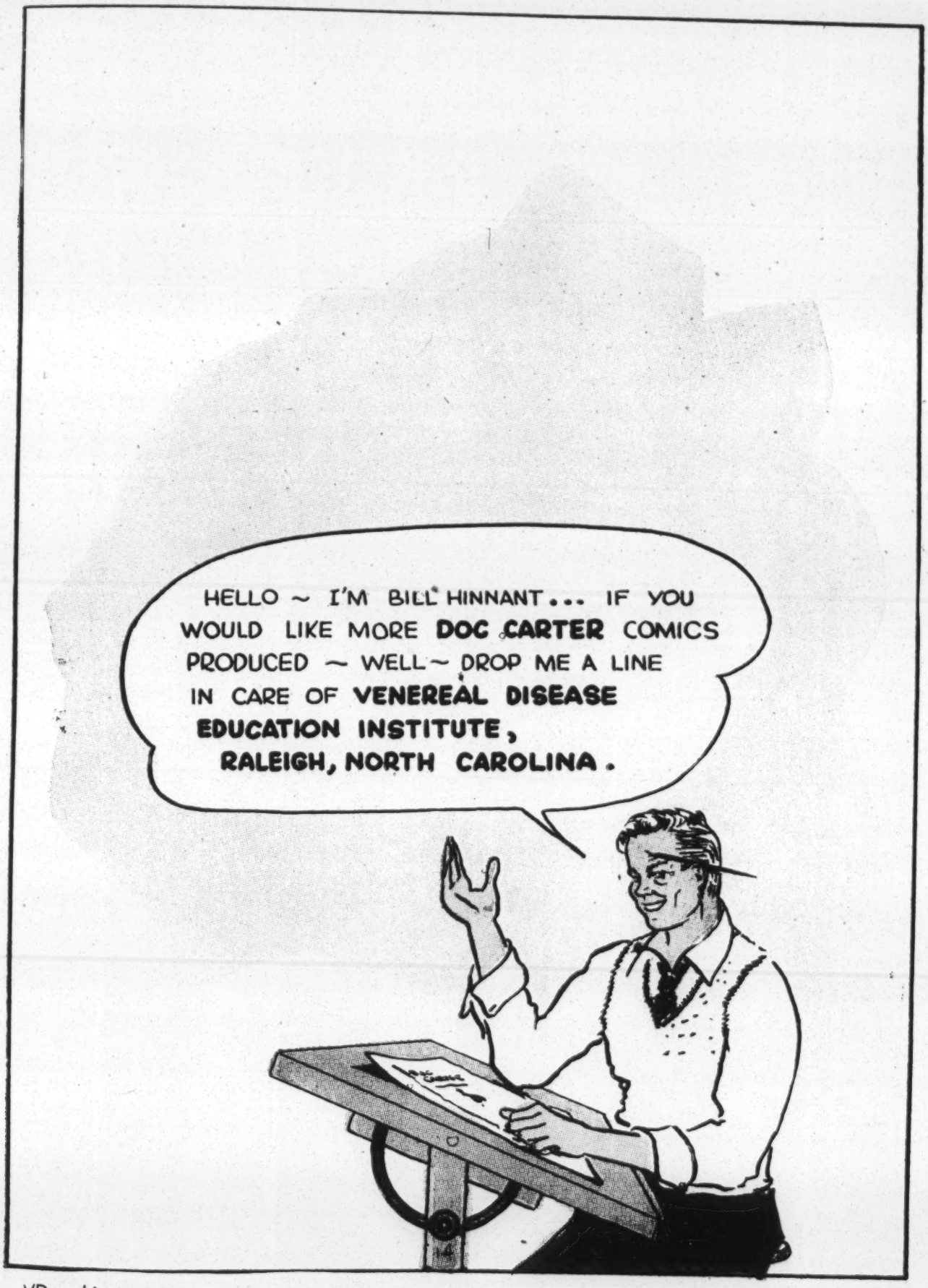
...AS YOU CAN SEE, IF YOU GO TO A "HOUSE" YOU ARE GOING TO COME IN CONTACT WITH CRIMINALS, DISEASE, AND TROUBLE. YOU WILL ALSO BE AIDING AND SUPPORTING A GROUP OF LEECHES ON YOUR CITY.
C

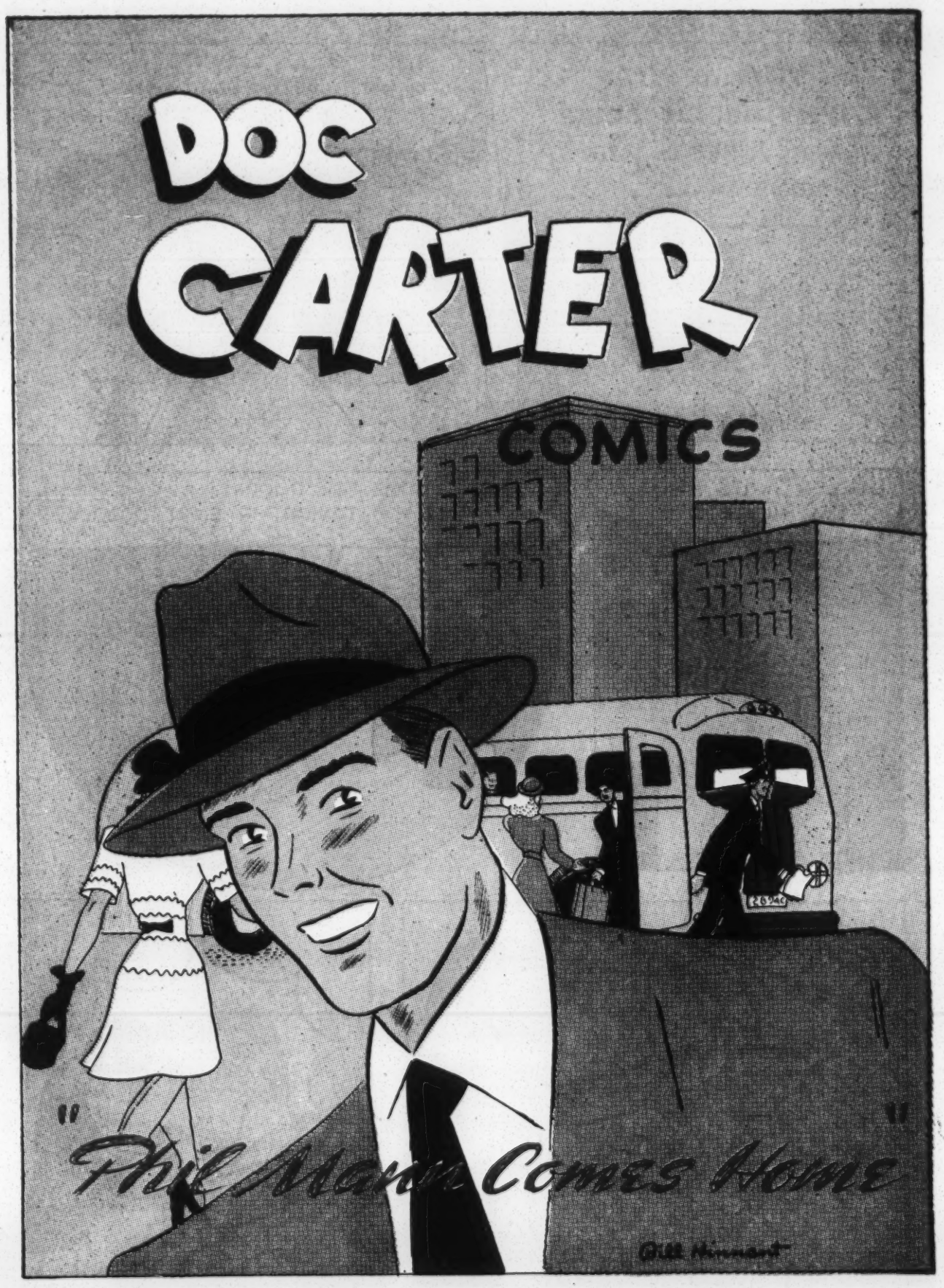
A FEW DAYS LATER . . .

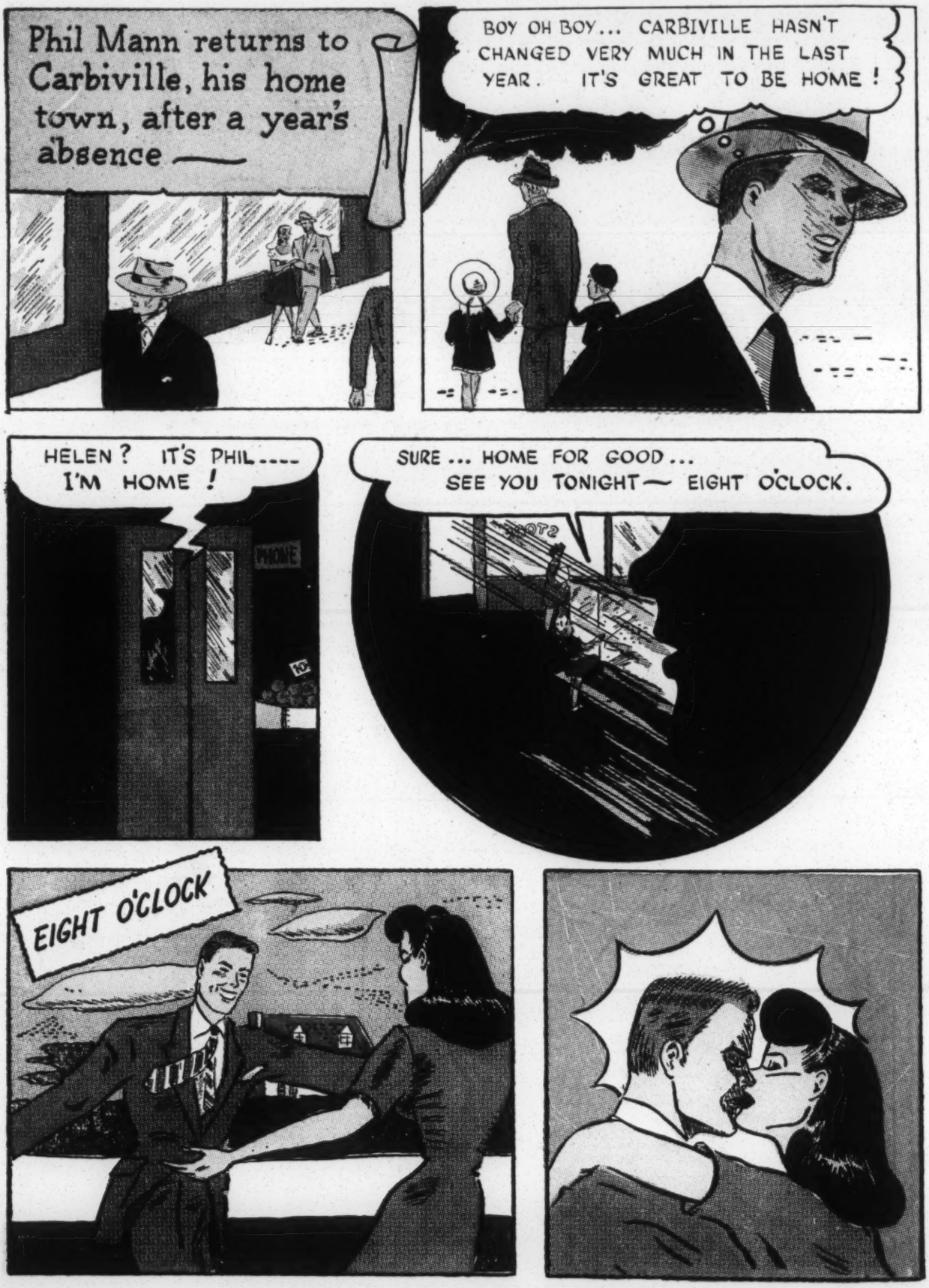
RICHARD...YOU'VE DONE SO MUCH FOR CARBIVILLE, AND SO MUCH FOR TED. MAYBE TED WOULDN'T HAVE SYPHILIS IF HE HAD JUST KNOWN. HIGH SCHOOL BOYS AND GIRLS SHOULD KNOW EVERYTHING ABOUT VD.

IT WAS A LUCKY DAY FOR CARBIVILLE WHEN YOU CAME HERE, RICHARD.

I'M THE LUCKY ONE, MOLLY.


HELLO ~ I'M BILL HINNANT... IF YOU WOULD LIKE MORE DOC CARTER COMICS PRODUCED ~ WELL ~ DROP ME A LINE IN CARE OF VENEREAL DISEASE EDUCATION INSTITUTE, RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.


DOC
CARTER
COMICS
"Phil Morgan Comes Home"
Bill Hinnant


Phil Mann returns to Carbiville, his home town, after a year's absence —
BOY OH BOY... CARBIVILLE HASN'T CHANGED VERY MUCH IN THE LAST YEAR. IT'S GREAT TO BE HOME!
HELEN? IT'S PHIL---- I'M HOME!
SURE... HOME FOR GOOD... SEE YOU TONIGHT— EIGHT O'CLOCK.
EIGHT O'CLOCK

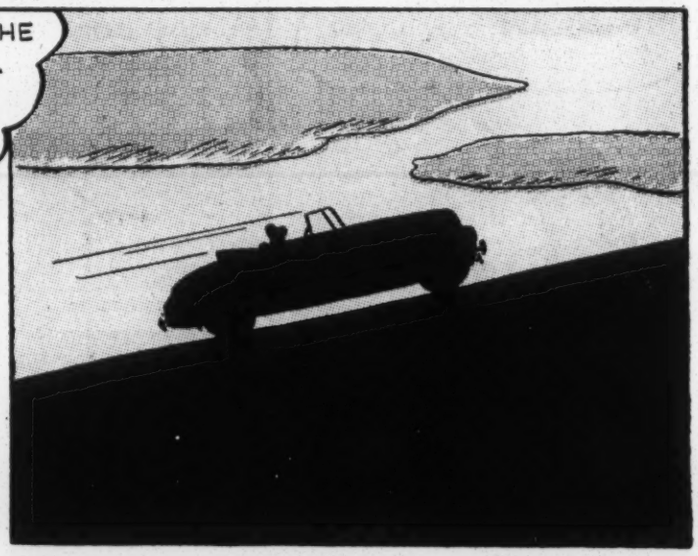
I GUESS I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU HOW NICE IT IS TO BE HOME... NOW WE CAN GO ON WITH OUR PLANS, DARLING.

PHIL, THIS LAST YEAR HAS SEEMED LIKE AN AGE ... I'VE MISSED YOU SO MUCH!

OH PHIL — I FORGOT TO TELL YOU ~ JIM'S HOME TOO.

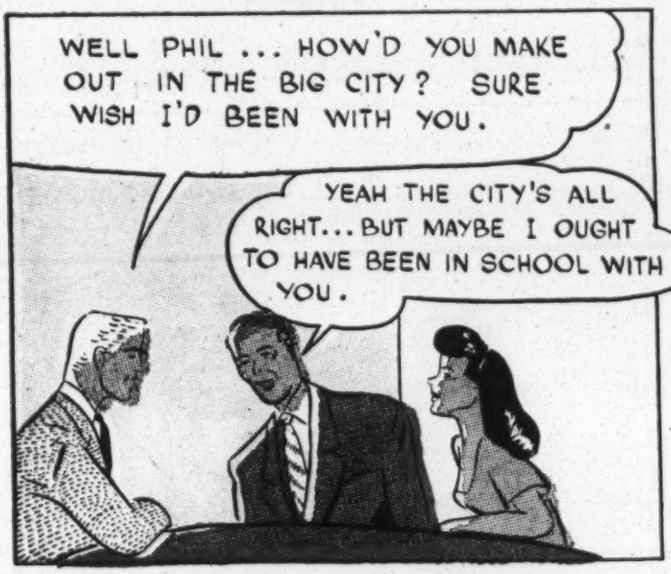
SWELL ~ I'LL BE GLAD TO SEE THAT GUY. GUESS HE'S THE BEST PAL I'VE GOT. FINISHED SCHOOL, UH ?
YES ~ GOT HOME LAST WEEK.

WHERE TO SUGAR?
LET'S GO TO THE DRUG STORE ... LET THE GANG SEE YOU.
BUS



HI GANG!

JIM!
PHIL!


WELL PHIL ... HOW'D YOU MAKE OUT IN THE BIG CITY? SURE WISH I'D BEEN WITH YOU.
YEAH THE CITY'S ALL RIGHT... BUT MAYBE I OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN IN SCHOOL WITH YOU.

— IT'S GOOD TO GET BACK HOME, ISN'T IT?
ARE YOU...
... KIDDING?

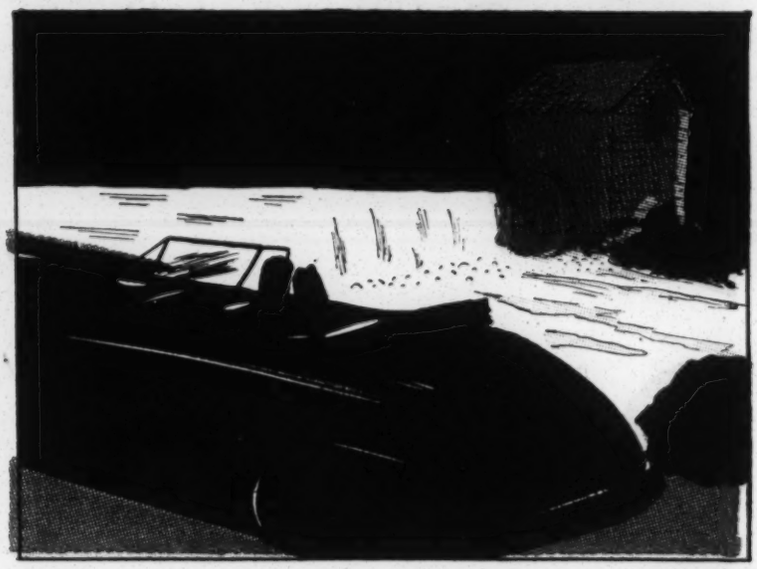
WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO NOW, PHIL?

I'M GOING TO MARRY HELEN, IF SHE'LL HAVE ME, AND SETTLE DOWN. THAT IS, IF I CAN GET MY OLD JOB BACK.
DRESS SHOP

GUESS YOU'VE GOT TO GO AWAY TO APPRECIATE HOME.
HOME AND HELEN! NOT BAD, PHIL.

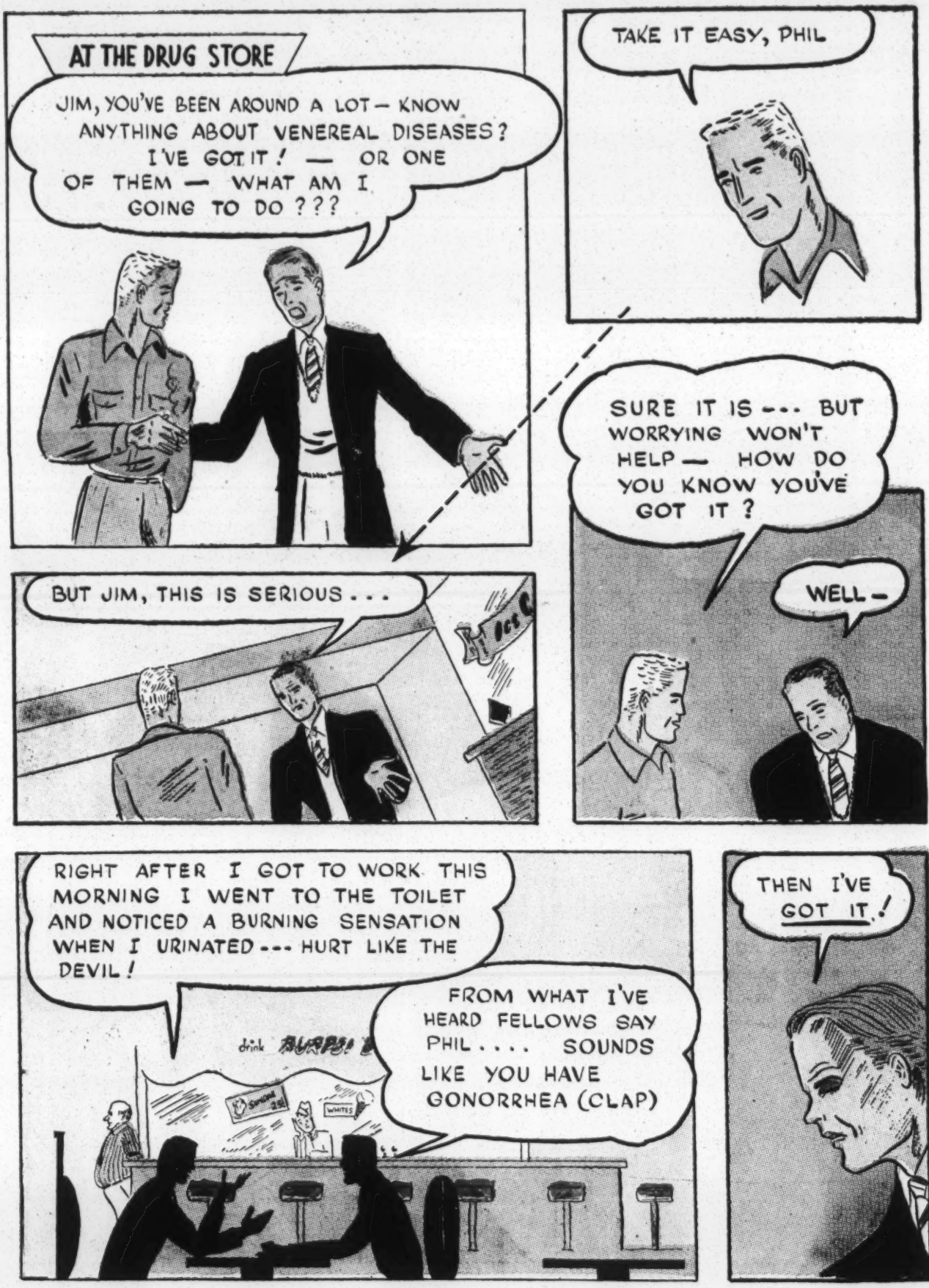
GOOD NIGHT EVERYBODY WE HAVE LOTS TO TALK ABOUT...
DON'T TALK TOO MUCH
BE GOOD
'NIGHT

LET'S DRIVE OUT TO THE OLD MILL... WANT TO?
YOU SPEAK MY THOUGHTS, HELEN.

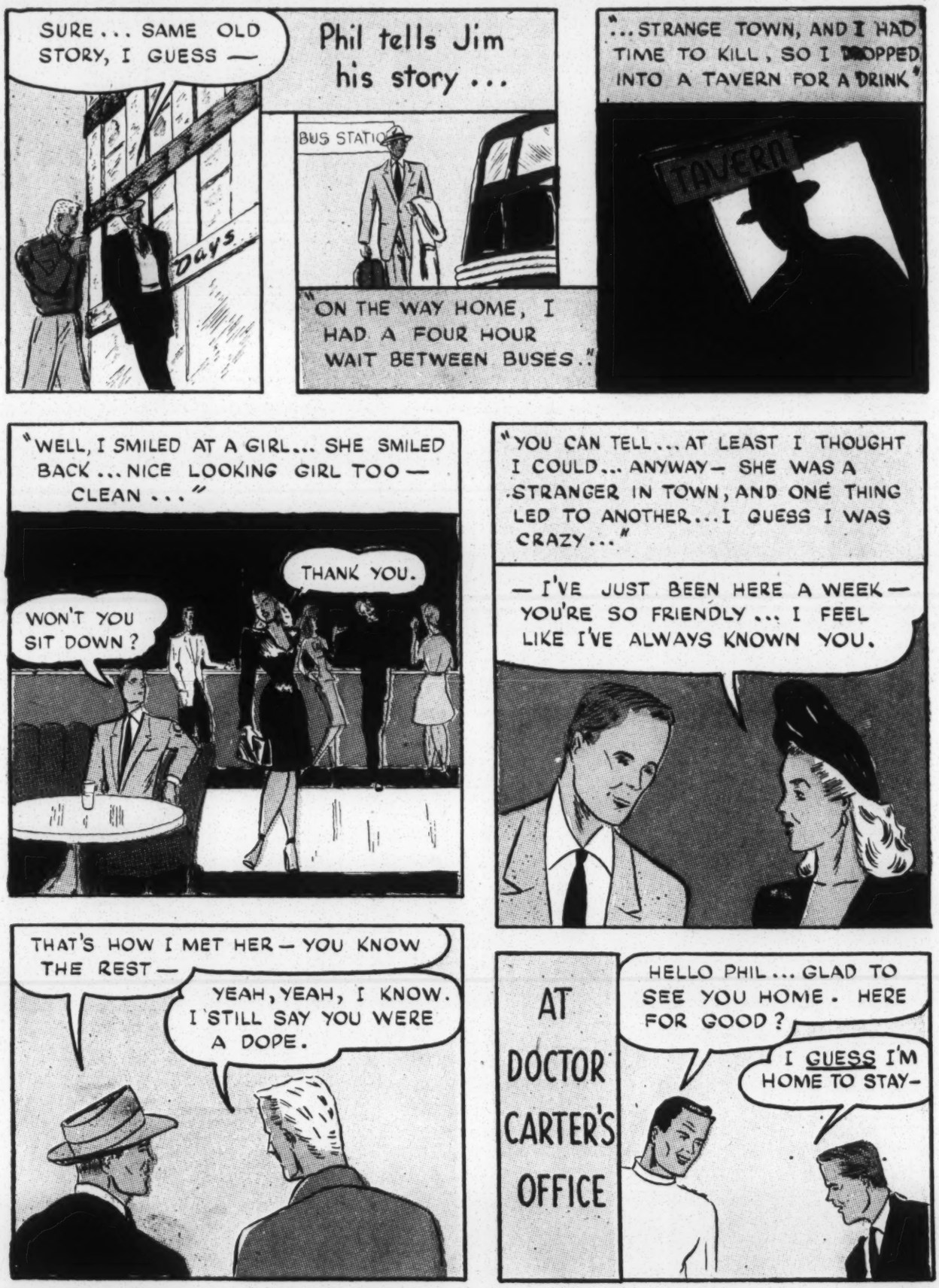


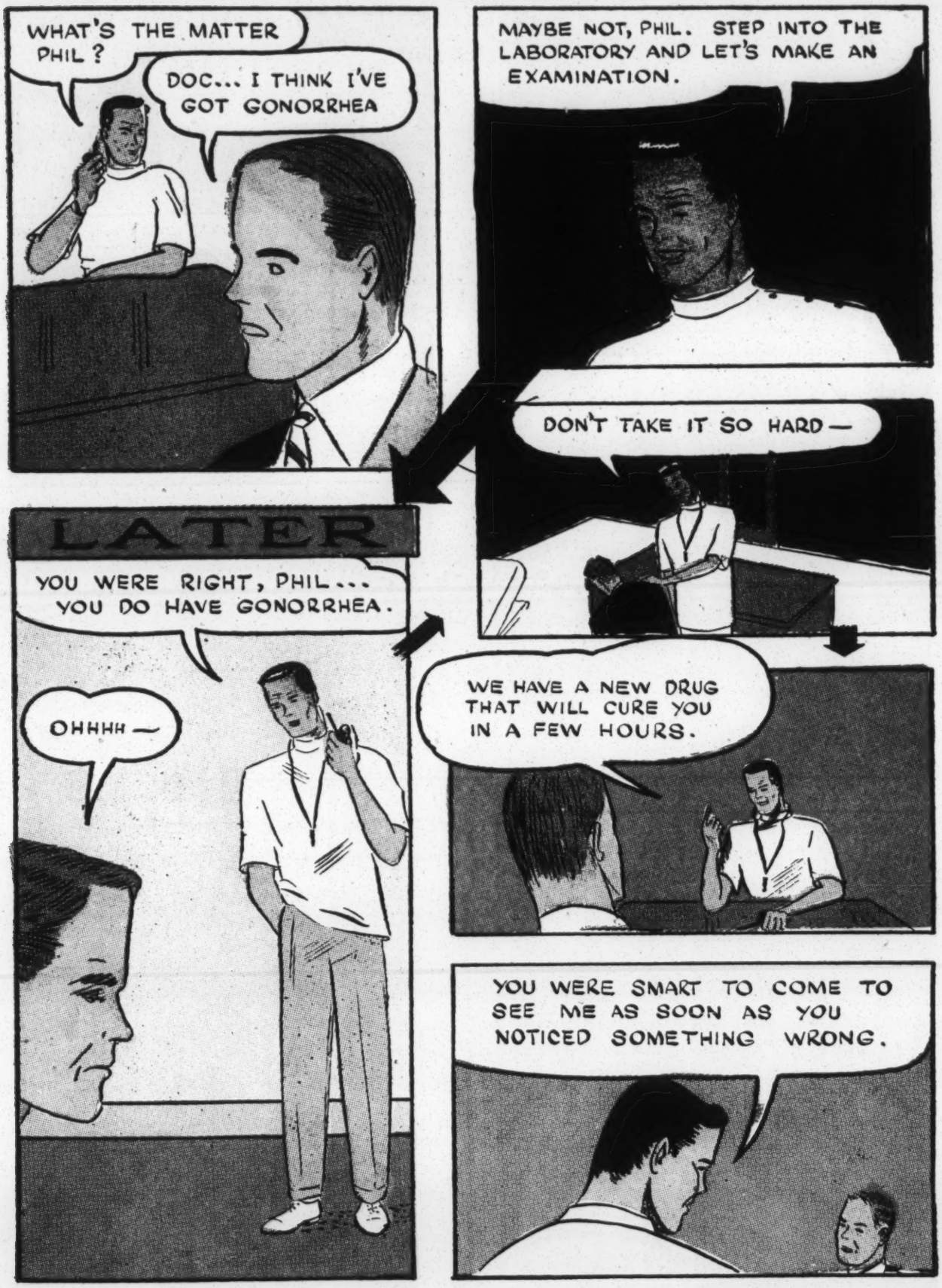
A FEW DAYS LATER
MISS LACY... IF THE BOSS ASKS FOR ME, TELL HIM I'LL BE BACK IN A LITTLE WHILE
OK, PHIL

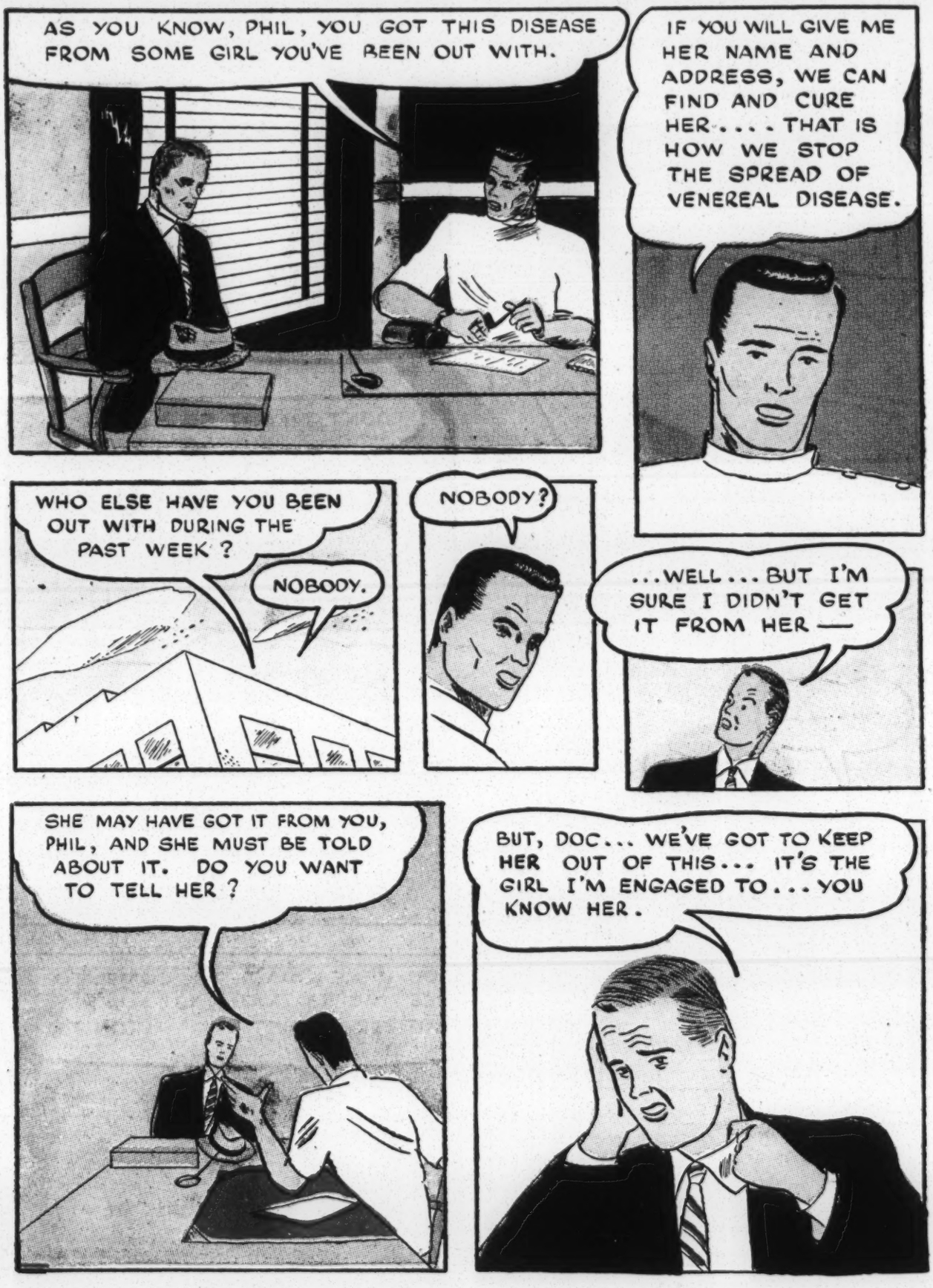
HELLO JIM ... DIDN'T WAKE YOU UP, DID I? LISTEN FELLOW — I'M IN TROUBLE... CAN I SEE YOU QUICK? SODA SHOP — TEN MINUTES.


AT THE DRUG STORE
JIM, YOU'VE BEEN AROUND A LOT — KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT VENEREAL DISEASES? I'VE GOT IT! — OR ONE OF THEM — WHAT AM I GOING TO DO ???
TAKE IT EASY, PHIL
SURE IT IS --- BUT WORRYING WON'T HELP — HOW DO YOU KNOW YOU'VE GOT IT ?
WELL —
BUT JIM, THIS IS SERIOUS . . .
RIGHT AFTER I GOT TO WORK THIS MORNING I WENT TO THE TOILET AND NOTICED A BURNING SENSATION WHEN I URINATED --- HURT LIKE THE DEVIL!
FROM WHAT I'VE HEARD FELLOWS SAY PHIL . . . . SOUNDS LIKE YOU HAVE GONORRHEA (CLAP)
THEN I'VE GOT IT!

WAIT A SECOND PHIL... NO ONE CAN TELL IF YOU'VE GOT IT, EXCEPT A DOCTOR.
WELL LET'S GO OVER TO RIDGEWAY AND SEE A DOC ... I HEARD THERE WAS A "MEN'S DOCTOR" OVER THERE -
YOU'RE PRETTY DUMB PHIL... DON'T YOU KNOW THIS IS A SERIOUS THING ?
...YOU DON'T WANT TO GO TO JUST ANYBODY — A "QUACK"... SEE YOUR OWN FAMILY DOCTOR, OR YOUR HEALTH DEPARTMENT.
GUESS YOU ARE RIGHT... AND DOCTORS DON'T TALK... I'M GOING TO SEE DR. CARTER!
LET'S GO THEN...
NOW ?
SURE... THE QUICKER YOU SEE A DOCTOR, THE BETTER CHANCE HE HAS OF CURING YOU. "RUN, DO NOT WALK..."
OK —
MAYBE I SHOULDN'T ASK, BUT DO YOU KNOW WHERE YOU GOT IT ?

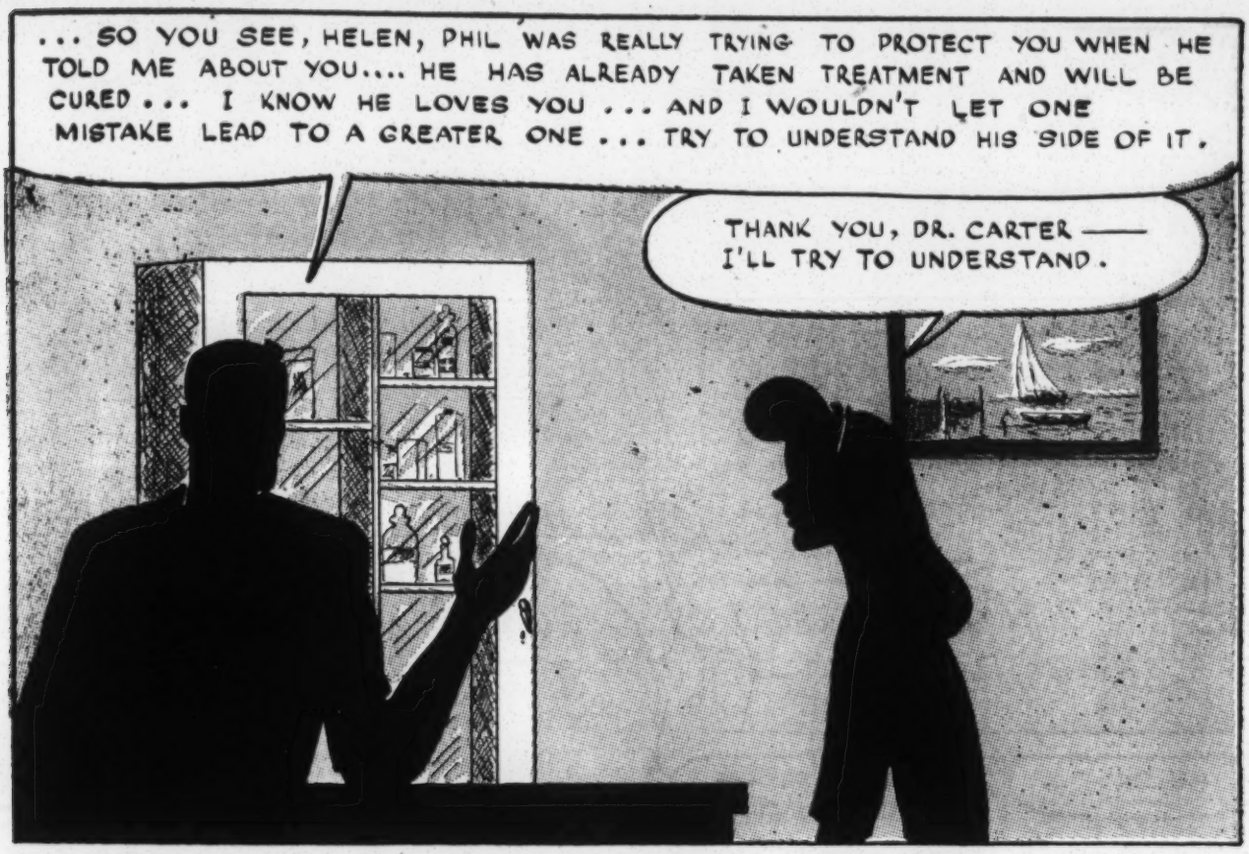

SURE... SAME OLD STORY, I GUESS —
Days
Phil tells Jim his story...
BUS STATIO
"ON THE WAY HOME, I HAD A FOUR HOUR WAIT BETWEEN BUSES."
"...STRANGE TOWN, AND I HAD TIME TO KILL, SO I DROPPED INTO A TAVERN FOR A DRINK"
TAVERN
"WELL, I SMILED AT A GIRL... SHE SMILED BACK... NICE LOOKING GIRL TOO — CLEAN..."
WON'T YOU SIT DOWN?
THANK YOU.
"YOU CAN TELL... AT LEAST I THOUGHT I COULD... ANYWAY — SHE WAS A STRANGER IN TOWN, AND ONE THING LED TO ANOTHER... I GUESS I WAS CRAZY..."
— I'VE JUST BEEN HERE A WEEK — YOU'RE SO FRIENDLY... I FEEL LIKE I'VE ALWAYS KNOWN YOU.
THAT'S HOW I MET HER — YOU KNOW THE REST —
YEAH, YEAH, I KNOW. I STILL SAY YOU WERE A DOPE.
AT DOCTOR CARTER'S OFFICE
HELLO PHIL... GLAD TO SEE YOU HOME. HERE FOR GOOD?
I GUESS I'M HOME TO STAY—


WHAT'S THE MATTER PHIL?
DOC... I THINK I'VE GOT GONORRHEA
MAYBE NOT, PHIL. STEP INTO THE LABORATORY AND LET'S MAKE AN EXAMINATION.
DON'T TAKE IT SO HARD—
LATER
YOU WERE RIGHT, PHIL... YOU DO HAVE GONORRHEA.
OHHHH—
WE HAVE A NEW DRUG THAT WILL CURE YOU IN A FEW HOURS.
YOU WERE SMART TO COME TO SEE ME AS SOON AS YOU NOTICED SOMETHING WRONG.

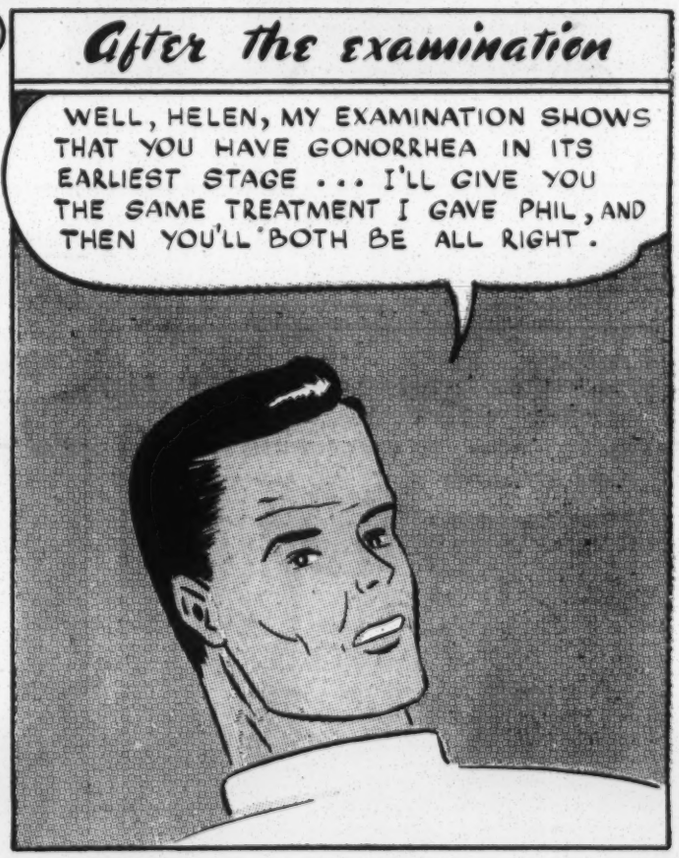

AS YOU KNOW, PHIL, YOU GOT THIS DISEASE FROM SOME GIRL YOU'VE BEEN OUT WITH.
IF YOU WILL GIVE ME HER NAME AND ADDRESS, WE CAN FIND AND CURE HER.... THAT IS HOW WE STOP THE SPREAD OF VENEREAL DISEASE.
WHO ELSE HAVE YOU BEEN OUT WITH DURING THE PAST WEEK ?
NOBODY.
NOBODY?
...WELL... BUT I'M SURE I DIDN'T GET IT FROM HER —
SHE MAY HAVE GOT IT FROM YOU, PHIL, AND SHE MUST BE TOLD ABOUT IT. DO YOU WANT TO TELL HER ?
BUT, DOC... WE'VE GOT TO KEEP HER OUT OF THIS... IT'S THE GIRL I'M ENGAGED TO... YOU KNOW HER.

WELL, I SEE... ALL THE MORE REASON WHY SHE MUST BE PROTECTED ...
YES... BUT... I... I JUST CAN'T TELL HER -
WELL, PHIL, YOU AND I ARE THE ONLY PEOPLE WHO KNOW THAT SHE HAS BEEN EXPOSED. AND GONORRHEA OFTEN DOESN'T SHOW UP IN WOMEN UNTIL IT'S TOO LATE ... ANY WOMAN WHO HAS BEEN EXPOSED TO IT SHOULD HAVE AN EXAMINATION.
DR. CARTER, I JUST CAN'T TALK ABOUT IT TO HER... COULDN'T YOU TELL HER FOR ME?
YES, I CAN HANDLE IT. JUST LEAVE IT TO ME.
THANK YOU, DOCTOR; THANK YOU
.... I'LL TELL YOU WHEN YOU GET HERE, HELEN ... FIFTEEN MINUTES... ALL RIGHT.
PHIL, WAIT IN THE NEXT ROOM — I WANT TO TALK TO HELEN ALONE.

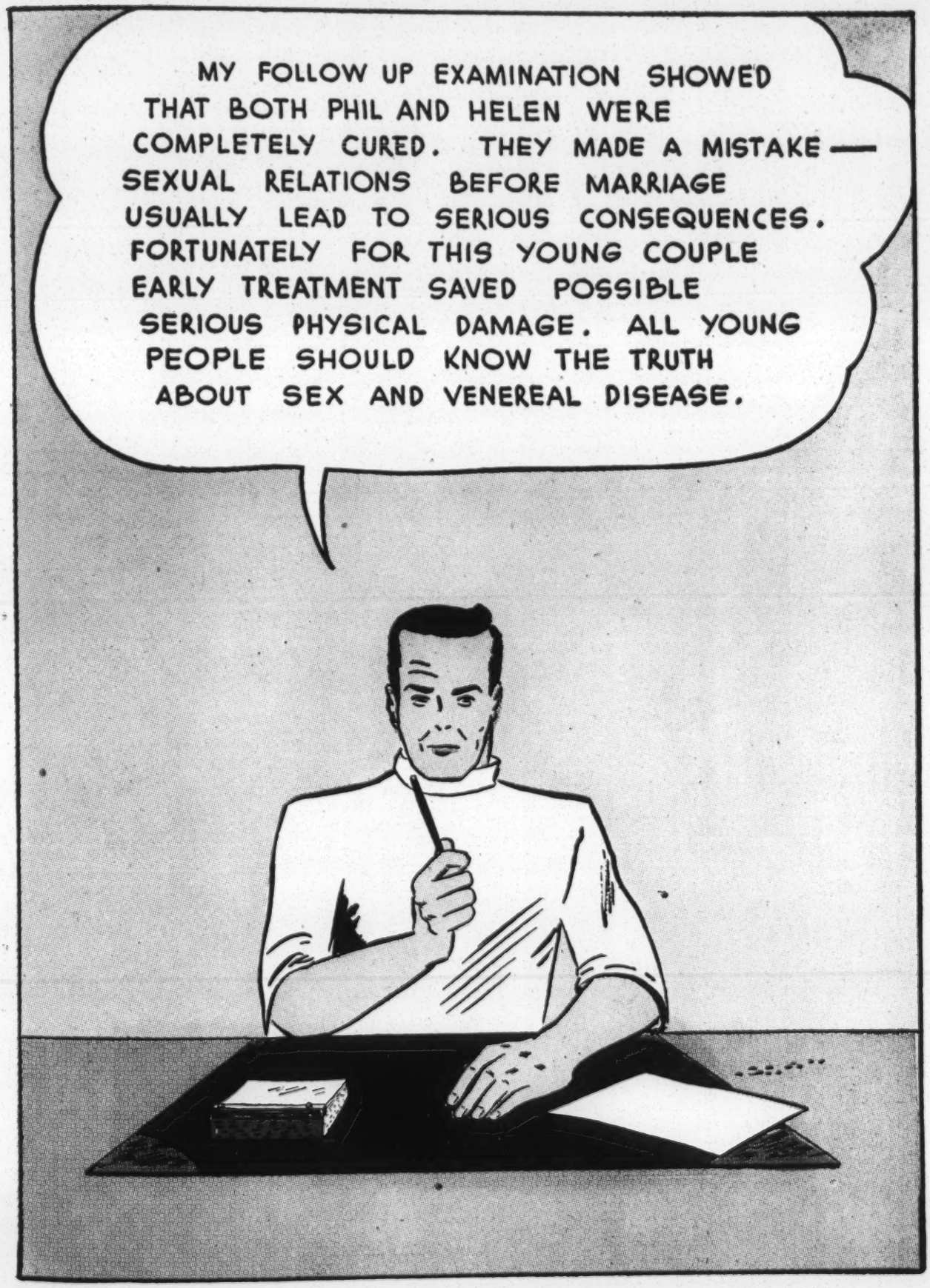
. . . So Doctor Carter tells Helen what happened to Phil . . . and that Gonorrhea is a most serious disease in women because: many women do not know that they have it until the disease has done serious damage to their reproductive organs.


... SO YOU SEE, HELEN, PHIL WAS REALLY TRYING TO PROTECT YOU WHEN HE TOLD ME ABOUT YOU.... HE HAS ALREADY TAKEN TREATMENT AND WILL BE CURED ... I KNOW HE LOVES YOU ... AND I WOULDN'T LET ONE MISTAKE LEAD TO A GREATER ONE ... TRY TO UNDERSTAND HIS SIDE OF IT.
THANK YOU, DR. CARTER —— I'LL TRY TO UNDERSTAND.

NOW, HELEN, I'LL HAVE TO EXAMINE YOU FOR GONORRHEA —— MISS GORDON WILL TAKE YOU INTO THE EXAMINING ROOM.


After the examination
WELL, HELEN, MY EXAMINATION SHOWS THAT YOU HAVE GONORRHEA IN ITS EARLIEST STAGE ... I'LL GIVE YOU THE SAME TREATMENT I GAVE PHIL, AND THEN YOU'LL BOTH BE ALL RIGHT.

HELEN RECEIVES PENICILLIN
THANK YOU, DR. CARTER YOU'VE BEEN VERY KIND.
JUST A MOMENT, HELEN...
PHIL'S IN THE NEXT ROOM HE WANTS TO SEE YOU...
DR. CARTER TOLD ME ALL ABOUT IT... AND SOMETHING ELSE PHIL... I HAD SOME DATES WHILE YOU WERE AWAY... I WAS LONELY... AND IF I HAD GONE AS FAR AS YOU DID, I COULD HAVE GOTTEN A DISEASE...
HELEN I...
DARLING PLEASE— I UNDERSTAND
LOTS OF YOUNG PEOPLE MAKE MISTAKES THESE DAYS... BUT I GUESS WE'VE LEARNED THE HARD WAY THAT IT PAYS TO BE DECENT.
CAN YOU EVER FORGIVE ME, HELEN?
YES, I FORGIVE YOU.
OH— EXCUSE ME


MY FOLLOW UP EXAMINATION SHOWED THAT BOTH PHIL AND HELEN WERE COMPLETELY CURED. THEY MADE A MISTAKE — SEXUAL RELATIONS BEFORE MARRIAGE USUALLY LEAD TO SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. FORTUNATELY FOR THIS YOUNG COUPLE EARLY TREATMENT SAVED POSSIBLE SERIOUS PHYSICAL DAMAGE. ALL YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT SEX AND VENEREAL DISEASE.

How SUPERSTITIOUS are You?

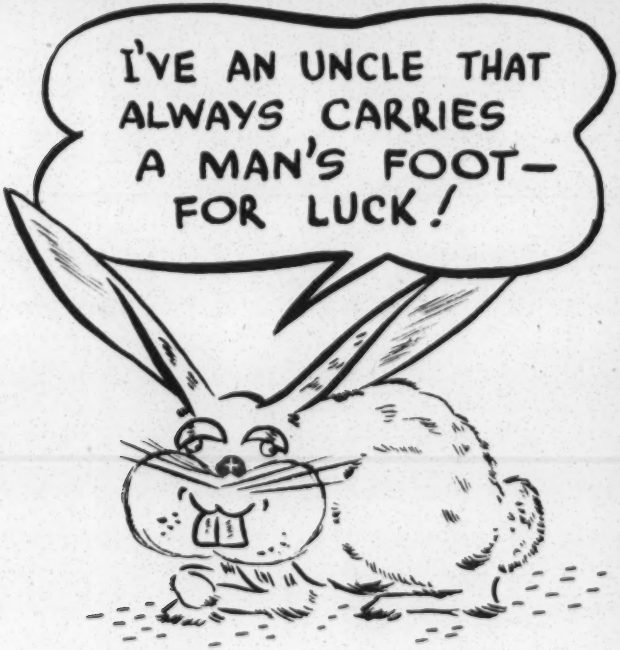
Published by the
VENEREAL DISEASE EDUCATION INSTITUTE
Cooperating with
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
State and Local Health Departments

Do you believe that black cats cause bad luck?

We won't argue about that—but there is no mystery about syphilis and gonorrhea. These diseases are caused by germs which pass from one person to another in close bodily contact, almost always during actual sexual intercourse.

Do you believe that finding a four-leaf clover will change your luck?

We won't argue about that—but it is a scientific fact that a sore on the sex organs, a "lip sore" which does not quickly heal, or a chronic sore throat, and a body rash may mean that you have caught syphilis. A burning sensation, while urinating, or a discharge from the sex organs may mean that you have gonorrhea.



Do you believe that a rabbit's foot means good luck?

We won't argue about that—but we want you to know that syphilis and gonorrhea cannot be cured by a rabbit's foot, by patent medicine, or by quack doctors. Don't depend on them.

Do you believe that a horseshoe wards off bad luck?

We won't argue about that—but you should know that untreated syphilis can cause heart disease, paralysis, insanity, and death. Untreated gonorrhea can lead to crippling and sterility (inability to become a parent). These ills cannot be warded off by horseshoes, but they can be prevented scientifically if treatment is taken in time.

Do you believe that Friday the 13th is an unlucky day?

We won't argue about that—but any day is a "lucky" day for a blood test and a thorough physical examination. If you think you may have syphilis or gonorrhea, go at once to your doctor or the public health clinic.

Don't be superstitious about venereal diseases!
BE SCIENTIFIC!

Science Knows That:

1. Syphilis and gonorrhea are not caught from toilet seats, drinking fountains, or casual contacts, but are spread by sexual relations.
2. The first signs, or symptoms, of syphilis and gonorrhea may go away without treatment, but this does not mean that the disease is at an end.
3. Patent medicines and quack doctors never cure syphilis and gonorrhea.
4. New drugs being used for the treatment of venereal diseases can cure early syphilis in approximately ten days and early gonorrhea in a few hours. If you suspect you have either of these diseases see your family doctor or go to your public health clinic AT ONCE.

January 24, 1953

Dear Sirs:

We had a lynching, or maybe a murder, in our county that will go unnoticed if we Negroes do not bring it to the attention of the public. I am hoping that through your assistance and through publication that we can get an investigation. This is the story:

On January 17, 1953 at the Houston and Dooly County line, approximately three miles from Unadilla, Georgia (Headquarters for the local KKK) Mr. A. B. Burnam, age 20, was killed by two white men, Mr. J. E. Scott and Charles Karson.

The following was told to me by an eye witness:

A. B. Burnam went to his wife's home on Friday night, January 16, at 7 p.m. His wife, Mrs. Mae Lizzie Haugabrooks Burnam lives on the place of J. E. Scott (white). She was not in, but had gone out with another fellow, Buck Kendrick, a boy friend (colored). Burnam went back three or four times looking for her. She finally came in with Buck Kendrick. When Buck embraced her on the front porch, Burnam stepped up and began a heated argument with his wife which led to a fight between the two of them. Buck Kendrick walked away to another house when they began to fight. Mrs. Alice Saunders, mother of Mrs. Burnam also left the house when her daughter and son-in-law began to fight. She went to the home of a neighbor just across the road and asked the neighbor, Johnnie Watkins (colored), to stop the two from fighting. He went to the house with Mrs. Saunders and Burnam's wife came out and told him that she and her husband had fought and that she wanted her husband to leave the house. Johnnie Watkins talked to Burnam , Mrs. Saunders, and Mae Lizzie Burnam and persuaded Burnam to get into the car with him and leave. Burnam went to the home of Mrs. Zeffie Letson (colored) where he lived. Early Saturday morning, Burnam returned to his wife's house on the J. E. Scott place and sent word to her that he was leaving her for good and that he wanted to get his clothes from the house. His wife said that she was afraid for him to come and get his clothes, and asked Johnnie Watkins to tell Mr. Scott, in Unadilla, to come down to her house, so she could give Burnam his clothes. Watkins told Mr. Scott what had gone on during the night, and told him that A. B. Burnam was a bad fellow and he would have to do something so that the woman could go home. Mr. Scott had been seeing Burnam's wife for several years, and it was understood that he wanted to do something to Burnman because he wanted Burnam's wife. Scott did not call the police, but rounded up a fellow-KKK named Charles Karson, RFD, Elko, Georgia. They armed themselves with rifles and a pistol and went after Burnam. They found him seated beside the road. The two men jumped out of the car and Karson shot Burnam in the stomach twice. Burnam turned and started to run up the road. Scott grabbed his rifle and shot him in the back. Burnam fell, and Scott walked up and shot him twice in the back while he was on the ground. (The eye-witness was in a house about fifty feet from the scene, and saw the whole incident. He said that the white men placed a knife in Burnam's hand after they had shot him. This was to establish that they had shot in self-defense.)

We know what the story will be about the killing, but we would like for you to help us publish the facts, and maybe we can get some one to bring these men to justice. It would mean much if the right people will get this information, for this is the third killing of this sort in the vicinity in the last two years.

Very truly yours,

James Jenner
R.O Box 46
Fort Valley, Georgia

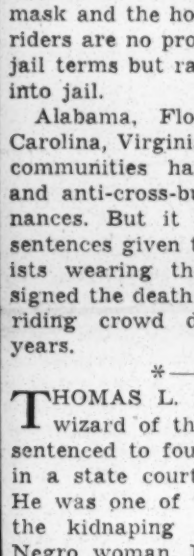
2/17/53

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES

Next to the News

BY ALFRED MYNDERS

DURING Brotherhood Week the South can note with great gratification that the lynching evil has almost disappeared and that the Ku Klux Klan as a flogging instrument of terror belongs to the past. There were no lynchings in 1952. The Ku Klux Klan received death blows due to the co-operation of Federal, state and local authorities and the deep interest of church groups, the press and the general public. For the first time since Reconstruction days the mask and the hood worn by the night-riders are no protection for them from jail terms but rather help to get them into jail.



Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and 52 key southern communities have passed anti-mask and anti-cross-burning laws and ordinances. But it was the penitentiary sentences given to floggers and terrorists wearing the robes which really signed the death warrant of the night-riding crowd during the past two years.

————*

THOMAS L. HAMILTON, imperial wizard of the Carolina klans, was sentenced to four years at hard labor in a state court at Whiteville, N. C. He was one of 72 klansmen tried for the kidnaping and assaulting of a Negro woman, Mrs. Evergreen Flowers, her husband, Will, and a white neighbor, Mrs. Bessie Page, on the night of Jan. 18, 1951. Seventeen other klansmen were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 18 months to six years and the others, all of whom had pleaded either guilty or nolo contendere, received fines totaling $16,500 and suspended sentences.

————*

THE Federal Government in the U.S. District Court at Wilmington, N. C., prosecuted 11 klansmen of Fairbluff, N. C. The Fairbluff klansmen flogged a number of people. In one case they made the mistake of carrying their victim, Mrs. Dorothy Martin, and her 40-year-old friend, Ben Grainger, across the state line into South Carolina, where the floggings were administered. This made them liable under the Federal kidnaping law. The indictment also charged the klansmen with "setting themselves as self-appointed arbiters of the morals of the community."

On the stand Mrs. Martin said that because of her blindfold she could not see her assailants but she recognized several of their voices, including that of Early Brooks. Federal Judge Gilliam acquitted one of the 11 defendants and found 10 guilty. Early Brooks was sentenced to five years in the Federal

South Carolina, where the floggings were administered. This made them liable under the Federal kidnaping law. The indictment also charged the klansmen with "setting themselves as self-appointed arbiters of the morals of the community."

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————*

THESE two trials, of course, ended the klan in the Carolinas. All over the South there were local prosecutions of masked floggers. In Chattanooga, klansmen got workhouse sentences for violence, though a lenient judge shortened their terms.

Bill Hendrix, grand dragon of the southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan whose field of operations is chiefly Florida, is ending a three-year suspended prison sentence this month for misuse of the mails.

Apparently, Hendrix will not try to revive klan terrorism. He has now established what he calls the American Confederate Army. This attempt to trade on southern tradition has been tried elsewhere with little success. It is reported that for $5 a person can became a colonel in Bill Hendrix's Confederate Army. The new Confederate Army will not wear klan robes as Hendrix's followers have done in past years. They will wear "Confederate caps and ties," instead.

Hendrix claims that commissions in his Confederate Army have been handed out in 36 states. Actually, thus far, Hendrix's efforts to recruit "new Confederates" at so much a head has produced no observable result.

————*

FOR a while Federal officials were balked in their investigations of the bombing of Miami, Fla., homes and churches in 1951. But finally on Dec. 10, 1952, a Federal grand jury indicted three "alleged members of the Ku Klux Klan" for making false statements under oath. Also indicted for perjury was Mrs. Helen Russell, Miami civic leader, who was accused of falsely denying that she had consulted with a committee of klansmen on ways and means of preventing Negroes from moving into a housing development.

The prison sentences given out by Federal and state courts have put courage into local law enforcement officials, down to the level of deputy sheriffs and constables. The disintegration of the Invisible Empire as a force for terrorism and lawlessness seems complete. Of course, there are vicious racketeers who will always try to dupe ignorant people and to get money from them in return for the privilege of wearing some sort of insignia which makes an ignorant man feel important.

But the day has passed in the South when such groups can assault innocent people without paying the penalty behind prison bars. That certainly is something that ought to be noted during National Brotherhood Week.

ATL JNL CONST 8-1-53

'Stupid Ignorant' to Join Klan, Says Ex-Leader on Way to Jail

RALEIGH, N. C., Feb. 28—(AP)—A disillusioned former Ku Klux Klan leader was taken to Petersburg, Va., Saturday to begin a four-year federal sentence for conviction on flogging charges.

Early L. Brooks, 44, one-time Fair Bluff police chief and Columbus County constable, had his North Carolina prison sentence reduced Friday to time served. He would have gotten out Nov. 7, with time off for good behavior.

"I was ignorant, just stupid ignorant" to join the Klan, Brooks declared. He said he thinks the secret order is dead because "anybody would be a fool to join an organization they knew would send them to prison."

Brooks was exalted cyclops of the Fair Bluff Klavern. He admitted he was present at floggings that led to a federal-state crackdown last summer, but insisted he "never used a lash on anyone."

Chatt Times 3/3/53

CASES OF VIOLENCE PROBED IN FLORIDA

Much of 'Reign of Terror' Never Publicized, Says Miami Newspaper

MIAMI, Fla., March 2 (AP)—The Miami Herald says "a reign of terror perhaps unprecedented in Florida's history" is being investigated here by a Federal grand jury.

In a story by Dave Kraslow for the Tuesday edition, the paper says the "reign of terror" involves "numerous acts of violence in the central part of the state," most of which never have been publicized.

"These incidents include beatings of whites and Negroes, men and women, deaths in some cases resulting from injuries received in beatings, and dynamiting of an Orlando store," the Herald reports.

Kraslow said the jury is probing into the activities of two Ku Klux Klan Klaverns in Orlando, one in Apopka and one in Winter Garden.

One of the Orlando klaverns is affiliated with the Southern Knights of the KKK. The other three belong to the Association of Georgia Klans.

Conversation with grand jury witnesses, Graslow writes, indicated "it all hasn't been sunshine and citrus groves in the Orlando area, one of the state's most publicized garden spots. He said some of the witnesses were admitted klansmen.

Decline Comment

L. E. Broome and Emory S. Akerman, special assistants to the attorney-general who have been directing the jury's study, declined comment.

The grand jury has been investigating the bomb killings of a Negro couple at Mims, Fla., dynamiting of the Carver Village Negro housing project in Miami and attempted dynamitings of synagogues and a Catholic church in Miami.

"During the earlier phases of the Carver investigation," the Herald reports, "the jurors heard testimony from more than 25 former or present members of a klan klavern in Hialeah.

"Bill Hendrix of Tallahassee, grand dragon of the Southern Knights in Florida who reportedly resigned recently, also testified.

"Then the jury swung the spotlight to the Christmas night, 1951, blast at the Mims cottage of the Harry T. Moores.

"Moore, state co-ordinator for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was killed instantly as he slept in his bedroom. His wife was fatally injured.

"Eight witnesses subpoenaed for Wednesday — including six from Apopka and two from Plymouth—are expected to be asked questions about the Mims incident, among others.

ATL CONST 3-12-53

New Blast Rocks La. Strike Area

ELIZABETH, La., March 11—(AP)—A dynamite blast, the 57th incident in connection with a strike here, destroyed an auto today and the mayor of nearby Oakdale called for more state troopers to control "a situation that is verging on civil war."

Ten heavily armed state police already patrolled the 16-mile road of almost nightly violence between Elizabeth and Oakdale. AFL paper workers have been on strike at two mills since last fall, seeking a contract.

Oakdale Mayor C. H. Fenstermaker, comparing the situation to imminent civil war, said "I could tell you more but I am afraid of being dynamited. We need more help here."

A state trooper who surveyed the area said the people were so charged with explosive tension that "the backfire from a truck would blow this place right off the map."

The latest dynamite blast, the fifth in as many nights, destroyed a car owned by Leon Simon, Negro employee of the Calcasieu Paper Co., one of the two mills involved in the strike. The other is the Southern Industries, Inc., both owned by C. G. McGehee Sr. of Jacksonville, Fla.

No one was injured in the early morning blast.

The union sought a 25-cent hourly wage increase, but said its main goals were seniority, grievance and differential benefits.

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NASHVIL 11—(AP)—The terday returned rabies control p would require dog for a state license.

Rep. J. I. Bell, a S Democrat, told the Hou

"The dogs of Tennessee not in financial position pay this fee."

Klan Enters Macon Row Over Contest

ATL WORLD 3-13-53

MACON, Ga. — (SNS) — No official action has been taken to stop William H. Dunn, 47-year-old Negro from running for water commissioner, although a white candidate has pleaded with white citizens "to wake up," and rumors are spreading that the Ku Klux Klan might intervene.

Dunn's announcement Tuesday that he would be a candidate for public office in Macon, set off a wave of surprise at first and later white citizens sought ways to stop him.

The candidate, who is the first to announce for public office in the county since Reconstruction, declared "I don't intend to withdraw," but admitted he might be forced to.

It was also announced that a faction of prominent Negro citizens might urge Dunn to withdraw. The Klan favored following this course of action also, it was revealed.

Meanwhile, City Attorney Ed. S. Sell, Jr., asserted, "It seems doubtful the city as an agency has the right to contest an individual's right to seek office. but some individual might have the right."

But one of Dunn's opponents isn't waiting for official action. E. L. Dyer, one of 16 white candidates, called a meeting at the City Hall in hopes of consolidating the white contestants.

Dyer, fearing a Negro bloc vote might sweep Dunn into office, urged that some of the candidates drop out in favor of white supremacy.

However, none of the candidates wanted to give up his chance, and the group adopted a "wait and see" attitude, until it was learned whether Dunn could be knocked out because of an alleged police record.

"I'm asking the white people to wake up," Dyer declared, and added he will challenge Dunn's right to run in Tuesday's meeting of the City Council.

Dyer, key opposition since Tuesday when Dunn announced he would run, said he discovered the Negro's past record while in the City Hall where he is employed.

Commenting further on means to halt Dunn from seeking office, the city attorney pointed out that "All qualifications or disqualifications relate not to the running but the holding of office."

Accord Sought In Mill Strike

ATL JNL-CONST 3-15-53

ELIZABETH, La., March 14—(UP)—Paper mill officials talked of giving "yes or no" answers to two unions Saturday in another conference seeking the settlement of a bitter six-month strike.

Negotiators for both sides were meeting in this off-the-highway company town in southwest Louisiana where violence exploded last week end.

Since Sept. 13, when 500 workers walked out at the Calcasieu Paper Co. and Southern Industries, Elizabeth has reeled under the blows of hit and run dynamite terrorists.

Few persons were hurt, but cars and homes were wrecked.

States police armed with shotguns maintained heavy patrols.

ATL CONST 3-17-53

Cross Fired at Home Of Negro Candidate

MACON, March 17—(INS)—A 6-foot cross was burned last night in front of the home of a Negro city water commission candidate in Macon whose right to seek the office was challenged yesterday in a law suit.

Police said the crude cross was wrapped in burlap, soaked in gasoline and set afire. It was left on a crude stand in the street in front of the home of William H. Dunn.

Dunn was not at home when the cross was burned.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
RM. 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Federal Grand Jury Reports On State 'Catalog of Terror'

Inquisitorial Body at Miami Probing Racial Violence and Klan Activity Makes Public Findings

FLA TIMES UNION 3-26-53

MIAMI, March 25 (AP)—A federal grand jury investigating racial violence and the Ku Klux Klan in Florida today brought in a report of what it called a "catalog of terror that seems incredible."

The partial report was made public after it was submitted to Judge John W. Holland by grand jury Foreman Hugh Purvis.

The 12-page report also was signed by L. E. Broome and Emory S. Akerman, Washington, special assistants to the attorney general who have been directing the probe since last Oct. 6.

After detailing acts of violence for which the grand jury said the Ku Klux Klan was responsible, the report said:

"It is founded on the worst instincts of mankind. At its best, it is intolerant and bigoted. At its worst it is sadistic and brutal. Between these two poles it has its existence.

"The KKK has been placed on the list of subversive organizations prepared by the Justice Department. Its place there is well deserved.

"In its own perverted way it is as destructive of basic American liberties as communism itself, and its very existence is calculated to breed more communism."

Most of the terroristic outrages listed in the report occurred in Central Florida where, the jury commented, "such things have been going on for years." The remainder occurred in Miami.

Like the Carver Village bombings in Miami and the bomb murders of Harry T. Moore and his wife at Mims, some of these incidents, the jury said, "are already bywords. Others are brought to light for the first time."

The jury recommended to the State Legislature, which convenes in April, that a law be enacted "with comprehensive requirements and with real teeth" to control the use of dynamite. This explosive was used in Carver Village, Mims and Miami synagogue bombings.

The jury probed activities and organizations of at least five Klan klaverns—the John B. Gordon Kalvern at Hialeah, two units in Orlando and one each in Winter Garden and Apopka.

"We deem it proper to give a brief account of the acts of terror and violence that have come under our scrutiny," the report said. "Not all of them are attributed to casion. "Reason for beating: union activity."

On Easter Sunday, 1950, an orange picker of Winter Garden was taken out by a group of men and was later found with a fractured skull.

In April, 1951, a Negro was pulled from his bed at a home in Winter Garden by a group of unidentified men. He was driven to a lonely spot in an orange grove and severely beaten. He was reported missing the next day, was found and taken to a hospital in Orlando.

"There it was found," the report added, "that he had not only been beaten but shot—in the back. He died."

In November, 1951, a creamette in Orlando was bombed after the management had been warned to provide a window each for its white and Negro trade.

A janitor of the First National Bank in Winter Garden was beaten by unidentified persons and in 1952 a cab driver of Winter Garden was flogged by klansmen. An employe of an ice plant in Sanford was beaten. Reason unknown.

Some of the Miami indicents:

About nine klansmen, in May, 1947, from the Gordon klavern, visited a Hialeah resident and "discussed' with him certain domestic difficulties he was having at the time. "The discussion was not friendly."

In 1947, the home of Mamie Woodward was burned to the ground. The house was in a white residential area but was occupied by a Negro family.

Four klansmen, from the Gordon chapter, in 1946, burned a cross in the front yard of a fellow member "because he had been talking too much. It was a warning and a threat."

A number of large "K's" were burned in various locations in Miami on July 14, 1951, by members of the Gordon klavern. The burnings were in or on the fringe of Negro residential areas.

In April, 1950, klan stickers were found plastered on a picture show in Ft. Lauderdale, which was then

Not all of them are attributed to the Klan.

"The plaintive wail has often been heard that the Klan does not stand for lawlessness but is blamed for acts committed by others.

"We therefore do not attribute any act to the Klan, or to its members, except in instances where one or more of its members have admitted participation."

The jury said that two years before the Moore murders on Christmas night, 1951, a floor plan to the Moore house was exhibited at a meeting of a Central Florida klavern. It added that newspaper clippings of Moore's activities were read at klavern meetings and that mention of him was made on other occasions and in other places.

The jury added that Central Florida klaverns were "known to have evinced a malevolent interest in Moore."

Moore, a Negro, was state coordinator for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the time he and his wife were killed in an explosion that wrecked their home at Mims.

The jury listed these terroristic acts in Central Florida:

A white man was beaten near Oviedo in 1943 by six klansmen.

A white man and woman were beaten near Winter Garden in 1943 by three klansmen, "perhaps others."

Near Winter Garden in 1944, a white man was beaten by five klansmen. The reason given was drinking and neglecting his family.

In 1945 near Winter Garden, a white man was beaten by four klansmen for "molesting a girl."

Two white girls in 1947 were taken from a secluded lake near Ocee by five klansmen, "driven to a lonely spot in an orange grove and severely beaten. It was nighttime and the reason given was 'they were bathing in the nude'."

Near Ocoee in 1948 a white woman was beaten by five klansmen.

In 1949 a large group of klansmen participated in the burning of a shack near Apopka because the occupant, a white man, was said to be molesting girls. "Later the same group undertook to administer a 'treatment' but the victim escaped through the woods."

A Negro man in 1949 near Apopka was beaten by five klansman for "sassing white women."

In 1950 two attempts were made to beat a Negro near Apopka, "each time by the approximately same group of klansmen." They were successful on the second occ-

in Ft. Lauderdale, which was then running a movie by the name of "Pinky." The picture dealt with crossing white and Negro blood.

The jury said this "catalog of terror . . . is not complete. Details grow monotonous through sheer repetition."

It said "one man withdrew from the hooded order because he drew a line at flogging white people, and another was sometimes restrained even by his fellow klansmen because he was too brutal. Another withdrew because the klansmen indulged in practices for which they punished others."

Commenting on these acts, the jury said "It is obvious that they are primarily within the jurisdiction of the state police power. Federal jurisdiction where it exists is only incidental to some other offense and is wholly inadequate. It is inherently a problem for state and local authorities."

Broome and Akerman said the jury's recess would last about six weeks. After it returns, the jury will hear more witnesses and "consider criminal aspects over which there may be federal jurisdiction," they added.

ATL CONST
3-26-63

Fla. Terror List Called Incredible

Incidents Traced Back to 1943

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Most of the terroristic outrages listed in the report occurred in Central Florida where, the jury commented, "such things have been going on for years." The remainder occurred in Greater Miami.

Like the Carver Village bombings in Miami and the bomb murders of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, at Mims, Fla., some of these incidents, the jury said, "are already bywords. Others are brought to light for the first time." Some of the incidents dated back to 1943.

ASK LAW

The jury recommended to the State Legislature that a law be enacted "with comprehensive requirements and with real teeth" to control the use of dynamite. This explosive was used in Carver Village, Mims and Greater Miami synagogue bombings.

The jury said that two years before the Moore murders on Christmas night, 1951, a floor plan to the Moore house was exhibited at a meeting of a Central Florida klavern. It added that newspaper clippings of Moore's activities were read at klavern meetings and that mention of him was made on other occasions and in other places.

Moore, a Negro, was state coordinator for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the time that he and his wife were killed in an explosion that wrecked their home at Mims, Fla.

Dr Dr Mitchell:-

Here is a clippling for your files and use.

Sincerely yours

A.R. Mead

RECEIVED
MAR 31
Regional Council

RECEIVED
MAR 31
South

Fort Times-Union
Mch 26, 1953

Federal Grand Jury Reports On State 'Catalog of Terror'

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HIGHWAY DEATH TOLL FOR DAY--5

TALLAHASSEE, March 25 (AP)—The Florida Highway Patrol's report of traffic casualties for the 24-hour period ending at 4 p.m.:

Killed—5.
Injured—34.
Killed to date this year—240.
Killed to date last year—252.
Injured to date this year—3,725.
Injured to date last year—4,987.

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In 1950 two attempts were made to beat a Negro near Apopka, "each time by the approximately same group of klansmen." They were successful on the second occasion. "Reason for beating: union activity."

On Easter Sunday, 1950, an orange picker of Winter Garden was taken out by a group of men and was later found with a fractured skull.

In April, 1951, a Negro was pulled from his bed at a home in Winter Garden by a group of unidentified men. He was driven to a lonely spot in an orange grove and severely beaten. He was reported missing the next day, was found and taken to a hospital in Orlando.

"There it was found," the report added, "that he had not only been beaten but shot—in the back. He died."

In November, 1951, a creamette in Orlando was bombed after the management had been warned to provide a window each for its white and Negro trade.

A janitor of the First National Bank in Winter Garden was beaten by unidentified persons and in 1952 a cab driver of Winter Garden was flogged by klansmen. An employe of an ice plant in Sanford was beaten. Reason unknown.

Some of the Miami indicents:

About nine klansmen, in May, 1947, from the Gordon klavern, visited a Hialeah resident and "discussed' with him certain domestic difficulties he was having at the time. "The discussion was not friendly."

In 1947, the home of Mamie Woodward was burned to the ground. The house was in a white

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4 Convicted In Picket Line Attack

A jury convicted four CIO meatpackers Tuesday in the ambush beating of three employees who tried to cross picket lines at Star Provision Co., 1200 Howell Mill Rd., N. W.

Criminal Judge Luther Alverson said he will fix sentence at 11 a.m. Wednesday. Maximum penalty is 18 months in jail and a $1,000 fine.

A five-man jury was told:

1. The three victims, none of them union members, started to cross a picket line at 7 a. m. Jan. 23.

2. A cry of "go get 'em boys" sounded in the line.

3. The four men leaped from behind a sign-board wielding an iron pipe, a brick and heavy meat hooks.

4. They alternately held and beat the three nonunionists.

The jury brought in its verdict in 20 minutes.

The convicted men all are members of the CIO's United Packinghouse Workers of America, Local 111. They are:

Golden Thornton, 1063 West Peachtree St., N. E.; Sam Murchison, 553 Griffin St., N. W.; Allen Horton, 433 Fourth St., N. W., and Frank Thompson, of a Lawson Street, S. W., address.

The two-month strike at Star ended in mid-February.

Attorney, White Employee Receive Threatening Notes

AR WORLD 4-8-53

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — (SNS) — Crude crosses were burned last week in front of the residences of Attorney George W. McDade and Miss Beulah Boston, a white employee of the wealthy lawyer.

Mr. McDade was arrested in Miss Boston's apartment on March 13 and both were charged with common law lewdness.

Typewriten notes were reportedly found at the scenes of the burnings. Police said the notes were written on official looking stationery bearing KKK insignia. The note reportedly found in Mr. McDade's yard read :'Stay away from white women." The one found at Miss Boston's said: "We do not approve of your recent act. This is your first and final warning."

McDade's trial was originally set for April 3, but was re-set for April 24. The arresting officers said that the attorney was fully clad and Miss Boston was in pajamas.

The attorney maintained that he went to the woman's apartment to take food since she had been ill and was unable to work.

Besides his real estate holdings, McDade owns and operates several tourist homes for white only, and has several white men and women as managers of these courts.

Mrs. Fredda Staples, daughter of Mr. McDade, gave the following account of the Cross burning. She said: "A neighbor saw an old model black car careen down the street and set the cross out then speed away. It was wrapped with burlap, which was gasoline soaked. When I saw the burning cross I immediately called my father and he instructed me to put it out. Fortunately a garden hose was connected and I turned it on and put out the fire; then threw the remains in the gutter. Shortly after I returned to the house, firemen, policemen, reporters, and photographers came, and neighbors begin to mill around. The cross was taken from the gutter, and held by two policemen while pictures were taken of it. Then the firemen used an extinguisher on the remains, to make sure it was out," stated an officer."

NO CALLS

"I did not call the fire department, police or any one. I questioned all the neighbors and no one had reported the incident. How did all of these people know of the incident within minutes of its happening?" she said.

Mrs. Staples further stated that she was the first to reach the scene; that she extinguished the fire and threw the remains in the gutter, and that she did not see a note on the cross or in the street and that no officer enter her property. "Where did the note come from," she queried. I inquired of an officer (I do not know his name, neither did I take his badge number) "Why all the fanfare over a small incident." He was rude and loud in telling me to mind my own business ... later another officer apologized for his conduct.

CROSS BURNED ON MORNINGSIDE

Thursday night, April 2, a crude burlap wrapped cross was burned on the edge of the yard of two elderly white ladies on Morningside Drive a short distant from the scene of the April 1 incident. Mrs. Shannon a neighbor and longtime merchant on Vine Avenue said, "the neighborhood is shocked over this incident, why should anyone want to harm two women who have done good in a community for many years? These women are christians and good neighbors; one of whom is ill, and to have upset them in this manner, without just cause, is deplorable."

Several police cars answered the call, but no arrest was made. It is thought the incident was the work of pranksters.

Candidate Warned By Note, Cross Burning

JNL + GUIDE 4-11-53

Special to Journal and Guide

SMITHFIELD, N. C. — In spite of the burning of a cross in his yard and the leaving of a note under the mat on his front porch warning him to withdraw, Walter Sanders Jr., remains in the campaign for a seat on the town board. He is the first Negro in the history of Smithfield to seek a post on the town's governing body.

"You are not wanted as a town commissioner. You had better withdraw your name, if you know what is good for you," the note warned the undertaker.

* * *

MEANTIME, Mrs. Dollie Sanders, wife of the candidate and former school teacher, said: "We've received many telephone calls from white and Negro friends telling us they regretted the incident happened and urged my husband to stay in the race. It was a shock to us, of course."

Chief of Police Bill Norton said a heavy downpour of rain after the cross was ignited washed away clues, "but we're doing everything we can."

* * *

HE RULED OUT the cross burning as work of the Ku Klux Klan and said he had never heard of any Klan activity in Smithfield. The chief recalled that he grew up here and had been engaged in law enforcement work for nearly two decades.

Chief Norton decided the incident apparently was not the work of a prankster in view of

(See CANDIDATE, Page 2)

Blasts Continue In Struck Town

ELIZABETH, La., April 16—(AP). State police said Thursday one car was dynamited and another fired upon in the third straight night of violence in this strike-truobled papermill town.

A dynamite blast demolished a car owned by Dallas Walker, papermill worker, and Ernest Johnson told state police his truck was fired upon while driving near his home at nearby Pitkin last night.

Walker's car was parked near his home when the dynamite blast occurred, but police said no injuries were reported.

State police said Johnson is neither a striker nor a worker at the strikebound Valcasieu Paper Co. or the jointly owned Southern Industries, Inc.

The strike began at both papermills last September in a dispute over a work contract.

The workers are members of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill Workers, both AFL.

The unions have said that wages are not an issue in the dispute.

AP JNL 4-16-53

I Quit Fla. Klan, Hendrix Repeats

AP CONST 4.30.53

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., April 29. (INS)—Bill Hendrix today made one of his numerous announcements that he has resigned as head of the Ku Klux Klan in Florida.

Hendrix, who said last fall that he would cease being the leader of the hooded order on Jan. 1, said today's action should be considered his final resignation.

He claimed to have severed "all connections or affiliations with any Klan group."

Hendrix' order was known as the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. He claimed the organization now has ceased to exist since its program, as established in 1948, had been carried out.

Anti-Klan Bill Defeated In North Carolina

RALEIGH, N. C. — (INS) — The North Carolina Senate defeated by a two-vote margin Wednesday a bill which would have outlawed the Ku Klux Klan and the Communist party in the state.

The measure, which had been repeatedly amended in committees to overcome objections of fraternal organizations and labor unions, was beaten down by a 20-18 vote.

However, since 11 Senators were absent when the ballot was taken, there is a good possibility sponsers will seek to have the vote reconsidered and have it passed before the legislature adjourns next week.

Sol. Clifton L. Moore, of Burgaw, who sent some 80 Klansmen to jail when the hooded order was smashed in Columbus County last year, drew up the bill.

The measure would have prohibited secret meetings and the wearing of hoods or any disguises except by children and at costume parties.

Sen. Hamilton Hobgood, of Franklin County, read the solons a letter from Junius Scales, of High Point, and acknowledged leader of the Communist party in North Carolina.

AR WORLD
4-29-53

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
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Wilmington, Salem (NC) Journal & Sentinel

Klan Trial For 19 More Set Monday

WILMINGTON (AP).—The federal government, which joined state officers to break a wave of Ku Klux Klan terrorism in the Carolinas last year, will call 19 more alleged Klansmen to trial here Monday.

The men, accused of flogging a white South Carolina farmer during the reign of terror that gripped the Columbus County, N. C., and Horry County, S. C., areas, have been indicted on two counts—kidnaping and conspiracy.

They are charged with seizing George Kemper Smith at his home near Nichols, S. C., in October of 1951, taking him to a point near Fair Bluff, N. C., and flogging him with thick belts attached to pick handles.

Seven of the defendants were convicted in a similar case last year during which Federal Judge Don Gilliam spoke out repeatedly against Thomas L. Hamilton, Imperial Wizard of the hooded order. Hamilton, later convicted in state court, is now serving a four-year sentence. Two of the defendants will have sons standing trial with them.

No Klan activity has been reported since the FBI, aided by state and county officers, rounded up about a dozen Klansmen early last year. Their arrests were followed by a series of raids in North Carolina during which scores of Klansmen, many of them convicted, were rounded up. The state has since outlawed the KKK.

The five defendants who are now serving time were identified by the FBI as Early L. Brooks, former Fair Bluff police chief; Horace S. Strickland, former Columbus County deputy sheriff; Pittman Strickland, a Cerro Gordo farmer; Eddie Carl Richardson, Fair Bluff farmer; and Hezikiah Ross Enzor, Fair Bluff farmer.

Two others, Bobby Brooks, a son of Early, and L. C. Worley, are on probation in another Klan case.

Five defendants are South Carolinians. They are George English Cook, Leo Walter Harrelson and Troy Leon Gerald, all farmers from near Mullins, John Gordon Neeley, a Green Sea farmer; and Gilbert Enzor, a Nichols farmer.

The other seven, all North Carolinians, are Carroll D. Grainger, Fair Bluff farmer; Robert L. Hammond, Cerro Gordo; James Edwin Brooks, Raleigh, another son of Early; Simon T. Enzor; Ed Floyd Rogers Jr., John A. Shaw and his son, John Porter Shaw, all Fair Bluff farmers.

19 Ruled Guilty in Flog Case

AN. CONST
6-19-53

WILMINGTON, N. C., May 18—(AP)—Nineteen men declared to be Ku Klux Klansmen were convicted on charges of kidnaping and conspiracy here today. The charges stemmed from a wave of Klan terrorism that gripped the Carolinas.

The men were accused of flogging a white South Carolina farmer during the reign of terror that gripped Columbus County, N. C., and Horry County, S. C.

They were charged with seizing George Kemper Smith at his home near Nichols, S. C., in October, 1951, taking him to a point near Fair Bluff, N. C., and flogging him with thick belts attached to pick handles.

Federal Judge Don Gilliam sentenced three defendants to three-year prison terms. Four received one-year sentences and seven were placed on probation.

Five other defendants, now serving prison sentences following their conviction in a similar case last year, escaped without additional punishment. Judge Gilliam said he had already punished them for their "Klan activities in general."

Actually, they drew short sentences which, in each case, will run concurrently with the time now being served.

Eighteen defendants pleaded no defense to the charges today. Robert L. Hammond of Cerro Gordo pleaded innocent to the kidnaping charge but waived a jury trial. The judge found him guilty after hearing testimony of three government witnesses.

Drawing three years each were John A. Shaw of Fair Bluff, Leo W. Harrelson and Troy L. Gerald, both of near Mullins, S. C.

NYT 6-4-53

6 MEN ARE INDICTED IN FLORIDA TERROR

Accused of Perjury in Denying They Were Members of Klan or Had Joined in Violence

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MIAMI, Fla., June 3—Six men were indicted on charges of perjury in Miami today by the Federal grand jury investigating terrorism and bombings in Florida. They were ordered to surrender in Miami June 19 for arraignment in Federal District Court.

They were charged with perjury when they denied to the grand jury that they were members of the Ku Klux Klan or that they had taken part in a series of violent acts in Middle Florida from 1949 to 1952.

A seventh man, identified by the Department of Justice as Simon Smith Manning, 50 years old, of Orlando, was indicted on two counts of perjury in applying for a job at the Orlando Air Base.

The six named in the perjury indictments are:

William J. Bogar, 54, of Apopka, former exalted ruler of the Apopka Klavern, and a member of its executive committee.

Harvey S. Reisner, 30, exalted cyclops of the Apopka Klavern in 1952.

T. J. McMennamy, 25, and Emmet M. Hart, 30, members of the Apopka Klavern.

Robert L. Juday, 31, of Winter Garden, member of the Winter Garden Klavern.

Ernest Glenn Morton, 23, of Apopka.

Bogar is charged with eight counts of perjury in his grand jury appearance. One involved his denial that he had taken part in the attempted abduction of two Negro lawyers and two Negro newspaper reporters near Mount Dora Aug. 4, 1949, after a trial at Tavares of defendants in the so-called Groveland rape case.

The Groveland case involved the raping of a 17-year-old white farm wife by three Negroes in August, 1949, at Groveland, Fla., an incident that touched off a wave of terrorism in Florida.

The testimnoy revealed that

Negro lawyers and two Negro newspaper reporters near Mount Dora Aug. 4, 1949, after a trial at Tavares of defendants in the so-called Groveland rape case.

The Groveland case involved the raping of a 17-year-old white farm wife by three Negroes in August, 1949, at Groveland, Fla., an incident that touched off a wave of terrorism in Florida.

The testimnoy revealed that Horace Hill, of Daytona Beach, Franklin Williams, New York City attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Romona Lowe of The Chicago Defender and Ted Poston of The New York Post, had been riding from the trial in an automobile when a group of Klansmen attempted to waylay them.

The four escaped in a wild chase that continued almost to Orlando.

Beatings Are Cited

Bogar, Hart and McMennamy are charged with taking part in the chase, although they denied it. Morton is charged with knowing of the plot and being in the group, although he was said to have left before the events took place.

Morton gave a detailed statement to agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigating the incident, the indictment declares, but reversed his statements when he appeared as a grand jury witness a few weeks later.

Other incidents involved in the indictments, in which one or more defendants were named, were the beating of Albert Boykin, an Apopka Negro, for union activities, in the summer of 1950, a previous unsuccessful attempt to abduct Mr. Boykin, and the flogging of Ivan Eilbeck after his abduction from his home in Apopka.

Juday and Reisner were identified as participants in the floggings and Bogar was connected with the burning of a shack on the outskirts of Apopka, occupied by a man accused of molesting small girls.

The killing of Harry T. Moore, Negro educator, and his wife, in a bombing at Mims, Fla., Dec. 25, 1951, was mentioned by the grand jury only as having been investigated.

The indictments set out that the grand jury, which is headed by Hugh Purvis, had been studying the activities and organization of the Ku Klux Klan to determine whether it had a policy of advocating or approving acts of violence to deny constitutional rights to any individual, and if any Federal employes were members. The Klan has been on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations since 1947.

In a previous report, the grand jury detailed a long list of incidents it called "a catalog of terror that seems incredible." The indictments Wednesday were in connection with events listed in this report.

After making its report without comment, the jury recessed. L. E. Broome and Emory S. Akerman, Special Assistants to the Attorney General, who have directed the jury investigation, will return to Washington pending the development of further evidence by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

2 Newspapers Earn Pulitzer Prizes For Fighting the K. K. K.

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Two southern newspapers last week received Pulitzer Prize medals jointly for their successful campaign against the Ku Klux Klan in North carolina.

The papers are:

The Whiteville (N. C.) Tribune.

Black Dispatch
5-23-03

Campaign led by the two publications resulted in the smashing of klan power in two North Carolina counties and conviction of more than 100 klansmen.

The publications, the first weeklies to earn a Pulitzer award, received jointly a gold medal, worth $500, for disinterested and meritorious service by a newspaper.

—o—

6 Indicted In Florida Klan Probe

ATL CONST 6-4-53

MIAMI, Fla., June 3 (AP)—Six persons, five identified as Ku Klux Klan members, were indicted on perjury charges today by a federal grand jury winding up a long investigation of racial terrorism in Florida.

Defendants were ordered to surrender here June 19 for arraignment in Federal Court. They were charged with lying under oath when they denied that they were Klan members and that they took part in Klan violences in Central Florida in 1949 and 1950.

The jury identified those indicted as:

William J. Bogar, 54, of Apopka, head of the Klokan committee of the Apopka Klavern in 1949 and its exalted cyclops in 1950.

T. J. McMennamy, 25, of Apopka, a member of the Apopka Klavern.

Robert L. Judah, 31, of Winter Garden, a member of the Winter Garden Klavern.

Harvey S. Reisner, about 30, of Apopka, exalted cyclops of the Apopka Klavern in 1952.

Emmet M. Hart, about 30, a member of the Apopka Klavern.

Ernest Glen Morton, about 23, of Apopka.

A seventh man, Simon Smith Manning, 50, of Orlando, was indicted on charges that he made false statements in applying for a job at the Orlando Air Base in 1951 when he said he had never been convicted and was not a Klan member.

Klan Second To M'Carthy, Daniels Jabs

ATL CONST 6-11-53

NEW YORK, June 10—(UP)—Editor and author Jonathan Daniels said today that the evil spirit of the Ku Klux Klan is not as bad as the intolerant attitude shown by some U. S. senators.

Daniels, editor of the Raleigh (N. C.) News & Observer, said "patriotism for politics" is a more dangerous force than "country hoodlums" masked in "bedsheets."

In an apparent reference to Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.), Daniels said:

"The senator who wore congressional immunity like a mask when he dared question the loyalty of General Marshall was meaner and more cowardly than any dolt in a sheet or a sack. The same is true of those who bring unsupported charges against men, organizations and universities."

"In terms of tolerance in America today," he said, "all of us live close to danger."

Daniels spoke at a luncheon at which the Sidney Hillman Foundation presented awards for outstanding journalism to two Southern newspaper editors for their successful fight against the Ku Klux Klan.

Awards went to Willard Cole, editor of the Whiteville, N. C., News Reporter; W. Horace Carter, editor of the Tabor City, N. C., Tribune; and Jay Jenkins, special writer for the Raleigh News & Observer, for exposing Klan activities leading to the convictions of 100 leaders.

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Florida Klan Trial Seen in September

MIAMI, June 20—(UP)—Six central Florida Ku Klux Klansmen charged with lying to a Federal Grand Jury probably will be brought to trial here in September, a government attorney said Saturday.

The six pleaded innocent when arraigned Friday before Federal Judge George W. Whitehurst. They were indicted June 3 in a climax to the most concerted federal action ever taken against the Klan in Florida. The Grand Jury investigated acts of terrorism in central Florida and Miami two years ago.

Five were reputed members of the Apopka Klavern of the KKK. They are William J. Bogar, T. J. McMennany, Emmet Hart, Harvey A. Reisner and Ernest Glen Morton. The sixth was Robert L. Jodah of Winter Garden.

ATL JNL-CONST
6-21-53

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
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ATL CONST 6-22-53

Ex-Dragon Says Klan Is Extinct

Hiram W. Evans, national leader of the Ku Klux Klan in its prime, said Sunday that the hooded order "is practically extinct . . . and there's little need for it anyway."

Bill Hendrix, a Tallahassee contractor and former grand dragon of the Florida KKK, announced Saturday night that Klan representatives from six states met at Columbus to revive the Klan to fight non-segregation.

Evans, imperial wizard of the Klan from 1922 to 1939, when it was a potent political force and claimed a membership of 8,000,000 at one time, said that such meetings were "little abortive things."

"I don't think there's any need for the Klan anymore," he said. "We are pretty well united and we have a good president."

When asked if he was invited to attend the meeting, Evans said the only thing he knew about it was what "I read in the newspapers."

Hendrix called non-segregation "a Communist program to take over America," and he said the 299 Klansmen and sympathizers purportedly attending the meeting vowed to oppose the National Council of Churches, "modernist" preachers, the new Bible, the Anti-Defamation League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"We will fight by every means to protect our constitutional rights, even if we are forced to bear arms," Hendrix said.

Representatives from Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, Ohio, Missouri and Pennsylvania elected him imperial emperor at the meeting, he added.

New Klan Said To Be Organized To Bolster Jimcrow

L'HOUSE + INFM

6-22-53

COLUMBUS, Ga. — A United Ku Klux Klan was organized quietly in Columbus during the past two days, former Florida KKK Grand Dragon Bill Hendricks said.

Hendricks said that 229 klansmen and sympathizers from Georgia, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Florida, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Florida, Ohio and South Carolina, attended the meeting. He said the group named him imperial emperor, but he refused to identify other officers selected.

He said the KKK was organized to conduct a nationwide "educational campaign" against non-segregation, which he said is a communist program to take over America."

New Klan Said

— STARTS on PAGE 1

purpoted reorganization of he group has "any connection" with the original hooded order.

The official, who asked that his name be withheld, said he had talked with other ex-Klanmen in the area, and none of them admitted any knowledge of the meeting which was said to have taken place in Columbus last week.

Hiram M. Evans of Atlanta, former imperial wizard, Mon.

RMER, COLUMBIA, S. C.
SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1953

TEND RITES POWELL, SR.

day scoffed at reports of the reorganization meeting.

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Cross Burned In Front Of Negro Candidate's Home

ATL WORLD 9-2-53

MACON—(SNS)— Apparent resentment over a second Negro running for water commissioner flared Monday night when a blazing cross was seen in front of the home of Edward B. Brown.

Brown, who announced his intention to run for public office recently, passed his home at 316 Emery Highway where a crowd had gathered while the flames were being put out, but continued to another destination.

Unidentified terrorists had placed the six-foot high cross, which was wrapped in gasoline-soaked burlap, in the walkway of the house.

Police questioned about 20 people, but reported all denied seeing anyone place the cross in front of the house. No one had seen any autos or trucks in the vicinity, police said.

However, Chief of Police Ben T. Watkins, said an ninvestigatio would continue.

Watkins, said an investigation

Brown was later quoted by police as saying he didn't know what the trouble was when he passed his house. He said he was going over to East Macon to pick up his wife when he passed his own home.

A cross was burned in front of William Dunn's home last spring when he was a candidate for water commissioner. No one was ever arrested in connection with that cross burning.

White Leader Flogged; Defied Jim Crow Policy

ATL WORLD 9-8-53

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.— A white union staff member who defied his Dixie Director's Jim Crow policy was brutally beaten this week in front of a CIO union hall.

Ku Klux Klan-like violence against the bold equal rights policy of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, broke out here just as thousands of delegates to the 54nd National Elks Convention in Atlanta voted unanimously to back up that union's anti-discrimination program.

Jack Telfer, UPWA program coordinator who reported the ousting of Negro members from a union banquet by A. O. McKinney, Director of UPWA's eight-state District 9, was flogged by foour hoodlums led by an agent of the Director.

UNION'S EQUAL RIGHTS

Beaten and warned to "leave town," the savage attack upon the white representative who upheld the union's equal rights policy was led by Archie Brookins, a former UPWA field representative.

McKinney is officially charged with violating the union's dynamic equal right's policy and has opened a "secession" movement among local unions in the Southern District in an effort to avoid facing a trial which may lead to expulsion from UPWA.

A strong resolution passed by the recent Elk's convention's Civil Right's Committee and adopted by the entire convention noted the Dixie Director's attempt to "pull out" of the meat packing union and placed that powerful fraternal organization solidly in support of the civil rights fight conducted by UPWA.

LABOR MOVEMENT

"We wholeheartedly endorse the militant equal rights campaign being waged by the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO." The Elks resolution stated, "we condemn any attempt to destroy or sabotage this much-needed campaign.

"The Packinghouse Workers, CIO, have placed the Director of one of their Southern Districts under charges of violating the union's civil rights policy," the resolution continued and pointed out that this was "the first time in the history of the labor movement that steps have been taken to expel a leading official because of anti-

(Continued on Page 4 Column 8)

White Leader

(Continued From Page One)

Negro activities."

FROM ITS RANKS

Noting that "The outcome of this unprecedented attempt by the Packinghouse Union to clean out all discrimination from its ranks sets a precedent which may become the pattern for other organizations in the field," the Elks convention described UPWA's anti-discrimination drive as "pioneering."

Telfer, treated for contusions by Dr. John Black of Jacksonville, Fla., refused to "leave town." He spoke to members of a local union here who had mistakingly turned some $1,000 of their treasury over to a "McKinney Defense Fund" and had disaffiliated from UPWA. They voted unanimously to correct their mistake and to regain affiliation.

Meanwhile, the giant National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., meeting in Florida were set to throw the bulk of their weight into a demand for community and national support for the equal rights program of the packinghouse union.

AR CONST 9-11-63

4 Capital Indictments Returned in Bus Blasting

AUGUSTA, Sept. 10—(AP)—Four men, charged with dynamiting a Negro church and Augusta Coach Co. property, were indicted on capital charges today by the Richmond County Grand Jury and returned to jail to await October trial when their bail appeal was denied.

In all, a total of 15 felony indictments were returned against the quartet and a fifth person, Richard Dyson, who is out on bond as his charge was not a capital offense punishable by death.

The grand jury indicted Harold W. Carswell of Augusta (an ex-fireman and co-organizer of the Union Cab Co.) on one charge of wilfully damaging the Spring Branch Baptist Church by explosives. That is a capital offense.

The grand jury also indicted Carswell for the unlawful possession of tools used in commission of crimes in violation of the law. The indictment specified dynamite and caps. He was also indicted for the assault with intent to murder W. M. Hunt on Aug. 17.

Indicted along with Carswell on the capital offense charges were E. S. Knox, a striking union bus driver; Emory Grayson Boatright, a former employee of plant Urquhart, and R. S. Dixon, secretary-treasurer of the striking bus union.

Lodged against these latter three are also two charges each of the unlawful possession of tools used in the commission of crimes in violation of the law. This charge is also made against Dyson.

Striking Oil Was Too Much for Her Heart?

ABERDEEN, Miss., Sept. 10 — (AP) — Excitement over a promising oil discovery on her barren 80-acre farm apparently was too much for Mrs. J. B. Snow, friends said today.

The 70-year-old woman died last night—three weeks after the oil discovery and one week after a heart attack.

LAUNDRY HEAD BRUTALLY HITS WOMAN WHO DIDN'T ANSWER HIM WITH DEMANDED 'YES, SIR'

By Lewis K. McMillan

ORANGEBURG — The McCoy Laundry of Orangeburg was thrown into an uproar Wednesday afternoon, when the proprietor struck a young Negro woman empolyee back of the head with a solid stick.

The blow is said to have been so hard that it broke the rough stick in two, leaving an ugly wound back of the head just above the ear.

Didn't Say "Yes Sir"

Mrs. Lue Emma Burgess, the victim of her employer's fury, gives this version of the incident:

Mr. McCoy asked the young woman working next to her if the Carolina Courts clothes had gone out. The answer was "Yes sir.." He then asked Mrs. Burgess if the Magnolia Courts' clothes had gone out. She answered "Yes." Thereupon McCoy ordered her to answer him always "Yes sir." "Don't you answer me, 'yes', You must say, 'Yes sir' to me." "Well, I am sorry I didn't know that kind of answer would take such an effect," continued Mrs. Burgess, "but that is the way I answer everybody."

"If you can't say, 'Yes sir,' get the hell out of here," repeated Mr. McCoy several times, according to the statement of Mrs. Burgess.

The anger of the employer seemed to rise to white heat. After punching the clock, Mrs. Burgess returned to look for her belt and one or two other objects which she had left behind in the excitement, she says that McCoy struck her across the the lower part of her head, breaking in two something like a two inch square solid stick.

WEEKLY + INTERN 9-19-53

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Mrs. Burgess says that she reported the incident to the Police Department, but instead of informing her how to swear out a warrant for the arrest of the attacker, she was given the name of some lawyer "across from the Post Office." The name of the "lawyer across from the Post Office'" Mrs. Burgess could not recall. She reports however that he asked her, "Why didn't you answer Mr. McCoy the right way?"

So that ended Mrs. Burgess' interview with the lawyer. The Police Department, so far as she knows, has done nothing about the matter. She finds the answer in the fact that her attacker is a white man and she, a colored woman. There is, of course, no doubt as to the action the Police Department would have taken, had Mr. McCoy been a Negro man and Mrs. Burgess a White woman.

Most of the McCoy Laundry's help are Negroes: About 24 colored women or over against 3 or 4 white women; 4 Negro men or over against 1 or 2 white men.

Other Women Protest

The Negro employee sdid no more work the afternoon of McCoy's alleged attack on Mrs. Burgess. There was about one hour remaining before knocking off time. That was Wednesday. Thursday morning all the Negro employees returned, but the women(Negro) are said to have demanded a group conference with the proprietor before they would return to work.

They sent word to him, when he was reported out of town at his Dixie Laundry in Columbia, that they were going home, and would not work until he met with them and apologized to Mrs. Burgess. They went home, all of them (or, so it is alleged), demanding a conference with

Continued On Page Five

Laundry Head

— STARTS on PAGE 1

McCoy Friday morning, together with their week's pay. The appointed time came Friday morning, and yet no McCoy.

Finally he is said to have met with colored employees 4 o'clock Friday afternoon, when a number of the women are said to have spoken out freely and boldly to the boss. One went so far as to say, "Now, Mr. McCoy, Lincoln freed the slaves long ago. You have no right to strike any Negro, especially a Negro woman."

This reporter interviewed Mrs. Burgess and a number of the other employees Saturday evening. Mr. McCoy was out of town and could not be reached. From all appearances Negro employees would return to work Monday morning—that is, most of them. A few seemed out for keeps.

This incident took place Wednesday afternoon. Late Saturday evening no representative from either of Orangeburg's Negro Greek Letter organizations had bothered to visit Mrs. Burgess for the purpose of understanding what had happened and helping to punish any violent wrong against her. There are more of these organizations in Orangeburg than you can shake a stick at. Nor had any representative from the numerous men or women's clubs visited Mrs. Burgess in more than three full days, not even the NAACP.

The Sunday, September 13, meeting of the NAACP produced a few strong statements and some possible action. Mrs. F. H. Pierce, a very active woman in the civic affairs of the city, declared that "In striking Mrs. Burgess, Mr. McCoy was striking every Negro woman in Orangeburg, including me. And we cannot rest until some strong action is taken."

Rev. John D. Rhodes spoke in a similar vain, and so did several others. Rev. J. O. Bryan and Rev. Chappelle Davis had expressed similar views on Saturday.

A committee was appointed to investigate the incident, and report back to the local chapter of the NAACP in a special meeting Thursday evening, September 17.

John Burgess, the husband of Mrs. Burgess has for four years worked in the State A and M College's Boarding Department. They have helped a sister of Mr. Burgess through college. They are both high scool graduates, and are a fine upstanding couple who wear sparkling clean clothes and maintain a nice clean home and work for a living.

A number of Orangeburg Negroes have declared that they no longer patronize the McCoy Laundry.

It's Always Easiest To Accent the Negative

The Florida Ku Klux Klan has invited Negroes to join the club, though on a segregated basis. This is just about the last gasp of the Klan.

The Klan, once so strong on a national basis that it was a serious danger to the American way, has divided into a series of local groups. Obviously these groups are having a hard time signing up new members.

The strong Klan of the 1920's was

ATL CONST

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1953

founded on hatreds and held its members together under the banner of intolerance. It withered and died under the combined attack of literacy, higher living standards and men and women of high and Christian principles.

The old Klan hated foreigners, Catholics, Jews, Negroes; anything and anybody that appealed to popular prejudices. It grew wealthy, it had great political power, and when it became obvious that it was a racket for the enrichment of its leaders, members began to fall away.

The Florida Klan, by announcing its Negro division, announced in effect that it didn't hate anybody much anymore. This is an admirable attitude, but will get it nowhere.

It's easy to bring people together and unite them against something. Organizing them in favor of a constructive cause is another story entirely.

* * *

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
RM. 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Atl Const 10-23-53

SEEKS PAROLE

Wizard Renounces Klan In Prison, Asks Breakup

WHITEVILLE, N.C., Oct. 22 (UP)—The imprisoned imperial wizard of the Carolina Ku Klux Klan, now seeking a parole, renounced the Klan today and urged that it be disbanded.

Pudgy ex-grocer Thomas L. Hamilton of Leesville, S.C., who wore the golden robes of the Carolinas Assn. of Ku Klux Klans, called on "all my friends everywhere to disband the Klan wherever it exists."

SERVES TERM

Hamilton is serving a four-year sentence for conviction of plotting a reign of night-riding terror in Columbus County, S.C.

"I am through with the Ku Klux Klan and believe all my former associates will best serve themselves and society as a whole by taking a similar stand," Hamilton said.

From a prison camp at Castle Hayne, N.C., Hamilton wrote a 700-word letter to Pulitzer-prize winning Editor Willard G. Cole of the Whiteville News-Reporter, declaring he would "never again join or be active in any movement which is not open to any reputable citizen and whose membership is not available to the forces of law and order."

TRULY SORRY

"I want to say to the people of Columbus County that I am truly sorry for the sufferings and heartaches which the Klan brought to them," he said.

"With the help of God in Whom I believe, I shall strive to atone for my share in these sad experiences," he said.

Hamilton, whose Klansmen numbered in the thousands, said, "It has not been easy for me to come to a parting of the ways with many loyal followers who felt they had a duty to perform in the interest of society. I know they are as dedicated to the principles of honesty and decency as I tried to be. However, I have prayed over the matter and I'm sure that God would want me to stay aloof from any organization which presents an opportunity for a person to hide himself behind a mask and commit a crime."

Starting that he will ask for a review of his case by the State Board of Paroles, Hamilfon said, "I hope no one will doubt my humility and repentance."

Solicitor Clifton L. Moore of Burgaw, N. C., the prosecutor who sent Hamilton and 23 followers to prison and convicted 58 others in Columbus County, said he would give "serious consideration" to Hamilton's parole request. Moore may make a recommendation to the State Paroles Board.

Dixie, 1953: Slave or Starve

By MITCHEL LEVITAS

A grim, little-known union battle that may be a turning point in modern labor history is now being waged in the sugar cane fields of southern Louisiana.

The union is the National Agricultural Workers (AFL) whose 3,000 members of Local 317 have been on strike since Oct. 12.

The employers, who own some 75 huge plantations in the "sugar belt," have refused to recognize the union, saying that because agricultural workers are not named in legislation such as the Taft-Hartley Act, they are forbidden to organize into a union.

The growers' latest step is to move for a court injunction against the union as a "conspiracy in restraint of trade"—a charge dating back to the middle ages of organized labor.

The Catholic Committee of the South, which is playing an active pro-labor role in the strike, calls the employers' position "a basic denial of human rights" and "criminally unjust."

Rev. Jerome Drolet, whose parish at Thibodaux, La., is in the center of the sugar belt, is now in New York seeking support for the workers.

The priest calls anti-union businessmen "white-collar, two-armed bandits." An active figure in the labor movement of the region, Father Drolet was interviewed here in the offices of the National Sharecroppers Fund, a group devoted to raising the living standards of farm workers.

This is the clergyman's story of the strikers:

The walkout began at daybreak on Oct. 12, after several rebuffs by employers to discuss union recognition led to an overwhelming strike vote.

Within 48 hours, 50 plantations were shut down.

A week later, 75 plantations were closed and the entire area was an armed camp.

Overseers were deputized. They carry sidearms on public and company roads. State highway patrolmen are on the prowl inside the plantations at night. Strikebreakers imported from Mississippi and Alabama operate tractors with rifles at their elbow. A loudspeaker truck makes rounds, broadcasting back-to-work appeals. The truck is guarded by an armed convoy.

The corporations' big stick is eviction notices from company-owned shacks. So far, about 150 notices have been threatened, affecting 1000 persons. Evictions are brought for reasons such as joining the union or refusing to withdraw from the union.

Owners on some plantations have cut off gas, light, and water.

Many company stores have called in outstanding bills . . . the same debts that made virtual slaves of the workers.

Other growers have held back wages through sudden deductions.

The case of Albert Washington has become familiar throughout the area. Washington has 10 children. He was owed $44.47 for 59 hours' work. Insurance deductions amounted to $2.69. A deduction marked 'cash" came to $41.78. Total take-home pay for Albert Washington: $00.00. The check stub was marked "void."

Medical attention has been denied to many strikers and their families. One overseer announced that in cases of physical contact between workers and strikebreakers medical aid will be refused to union members.

Appeals to the Justice, Labor and Agriculture departments so far gone unanswered.

The president of the American Sugar Cane League, the employer organization, is J. P. Duhy, GOP National Committeeman from Louisiana. The League is the backbone of Dixiecrat strength.

The union says this is the first time since 1879 that plantation workers have been organized. A strike led by the Knights of Labor was broken that year by state militia after workers were marched to the fields under guard and several strike leaders were shot.

Success would mean a long step forward toward organizing the millions of agricultural workers in the South and elsewhere who have lived at near-poverty levels for generations, the union says.

Father Drolet has made the trip to New York at his own expense, on his vacation.

His reason for aiding the strikers is simple: "God's law should be recognized in economic life."

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Issued by

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Postal Worker Admits KKK Membership

N.Y. WORLD 10-29-53

MIAMI—(INS)— A postal employe admitted before a federal court in Miami yesterday that he lied to a postal department loyalty board concerning his membership in a chapter of the Ku Klux Klan.

Harvey G. De Rosier, who is charged with lying to the board, admitted that a previous sworn statement made to the board was "false."

De Rosier, in his statement, told the board that he never attended a meeting of the Hialeah chapter of the Klan after May, 1950. Yesterday's admission that thestatement was false came during cross-examination by L. E. Broome, special assistant to the Attorney General.

Before De Rosier took the stand, two greater Miami clergymen and an associate at the Hialeah post office appeared as character witnesses for the defendant.

In yesterday's opening session, In Tuesday's opening session, an undercover FBI agent who posed as a Klan member said that De Rosier was appoined librarian of the Hialeah chapter in October, 1950.

Strange Things Happening In Florida Klan

Staff Correspondence

People who were looking for a laugh last week were furnished with a side-splitting one in the announcement that the Ku Klux Klan in Florida is making a bid for colored members.

With membership slated to cost $1 each, the organization is scheduled to launch into a recruiting program to form colored Klaverns with the traditional Cyclopses and Grand Dragons being named to head them from among the colored ranks.

* * *

ALREADY AN estimated 100,000 strong, the Klan, according to Grand Dragon C. L. Parker of River Junction, Fla., is renouncing lawlessness and planning to drop the white sheets and fiery crosses.

The organization, said the Grand Dragon, has as its purpose fighting segregation and Communism. Our main purpose, he continued, is to keep the Negro from intermarrying with the whites - the

(See STRANGE, P. 2)

NORFOLK - VA. + GUIDE 10-31-53

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
RM. 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Strange Things Happening In Florida Klan

(Continued from page 1)

law of God. The Negroes have a purer race than we have. We are mongrels, we would like to convince the Negro that he has a pure race and to keep it pure.

* * *

DESPITE THE appeal, however, no great hordes of Negroes were reported lining up to pour their dollars into the till of the KKK. In Florida, as throughout the south, most Negroes were remembering the floggings and the terror of night riders, and thinking of the day when the ride of the Klan usually meant that some one was scheduled for hanging or other maltreatment at the hands of the hooded ones.

Signs that new order of Kluxism was even more widespread than Florida came from Whiteville, N. C., on the heels of the River Junction announcement.

* * *

THOMAS L. HAMILTON, former chief of the hooded order in North and South Carolina, renounced the KKK, according to International News Service, and urged his former associates to work wholaly out in the open for their objectives.

He is currently serving a four year term for allegedly plotting an assault on a Columbus County Negro woman.

* * *

IN A LETTER to Willard Cole, Whiteville, N. C. editor who won a Pulitzer prize for helping bring about the downfall of the Carolina Klans, the 47-year-old ex-grocer said he was through with the Klan and asked former associates to drop the KKK also.

Said the fallen Klansman, . . . the possibilities for evil more than offset any good which might be accomplished by such secret orders.

Cross Burned In Front Of Macon Minister's Home

AR WORLD 11-7-53

MACON — (SNS) — In the third such incident this year, a fiery cross was discovered burning Thursday night in front of the home of Rev. E. D. Curry, a candidate for city alderman.

Rev. Curry discovered the cross at approximately 6 a. m. — some 45 minutes after police were informed. In fact, the police were already on the scene and in possession of the still-burning cross.

Confronted with this sight, Rev. Curry immediately telephoned the mayor and reported that three uniformed police officers were burning a cross in front of his home while a fourth man, in plain-clothes was ringing his doorbell.

Meanwhile the officers were seeking some means of putting out the fire and finally found two buckets of water on the Curry porch. With the fire extinguished, the party returned to police headquarters — still without having gotten anyone to answer the door.

Shortly after their return to headquarters, Mrs. Curry called for someone to come out to the home to be informed of the matter. She was told by the desk sergeant receiving the call that the officers had already been there.

The officer who had led the investigating party, and knocked on the door, then took the telephone and asked Mrs. Curry why someone had not answered the door when he knocked.

Mrs. Curry replied that the family was afraid of violence and had decided to keep the door locked. Macon Police Chief Ben Watkins stated that a full investigation would be made.

Can't Pay Augusta $24,000, Union Says

AR JNL-CAST 11-15-53

AUGUSTA, Ga., Nov. 14 (AP)— City councilmen were faced with the problem today of whether a union must pay for all emergency protection provided by the city during a bus strike.

Richmond County Superior Court has ordered the striking bus drivers union to repay approximately $24,000 to the city and the Augusta Coach Co. for damages and emergency protection costs.

The court said all costs must be paid before it would consider any application for bail for convicted union official R. S. Dixon.

* * *

THE UNION, through its attorney, I. S. Peebles, told the city council's finance committee it did not have enough money to pay the costs.

The union involved is the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric and Motor Coach Operators of America (AFL).

Peebles appeared before the committee in an attempt to arrive at some agreement which would fulfill the terms of the court order.

Some members of the city council said neither the council nor the finance committee has authority to compromise the terms of the court ruling.

* * *

NEVERTHELESS, committee members told Peebles they would be glad to hear from him again after he conferred once more with union leaders and was prepared to make a definite offer. They refused to assure him, however, the offer would be accepted.

The five-month-old bus strike is still on but buses are operating on schedule, manned by nonunion drivers.

11-29-53

The Atlanta Journal
★ AND ★
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

VIEWS OF TH

• Editorials • Southeast Empire Reports • Re

W. HORACE CARTER PUT FAMILY'S SAFETY AT STAKE IN KKK FIGHT
Tabor City, N.C., Editor Shown With Wife, Children Linda, Rusty

Staff Photos—Dallas Buck

WILLARD COLE, WHITEVILLE, N.C., EDITOR, TOOK CHANCE
Shown at Home With Wife and Daughter, Mary Joe

TWO PRIZE-WINNING N.C. EDITORS FOUGHT FOR PRINCIPLE IN STAMPING OUT KKK

By JAMES SAXON CHILDERS
Associate Editor, The Atlanta Journal

COLUMBUS COUNTY, N.C., Nov. 28—It was Sunday afternoon, July 22, 1950, and farmers ambled along Railroad Street in Tabor City, N.C. Others propped against the wall of the feed store, talking and taking things easy. July is a slow season in Tabor City; the farmers are just a month away from auctioning their tobacco.

That afternoon, sort of close and sultry, eased on to sundown and it was dark when the siren sounded. Folks opened the doors of their homes and looked out, but there wasn't any fire and they wondered why the siren wailed.

and throughout that night, sleepless, he figured what to do. Was the Klan coming back to devil the South again, after it had been stomped out in so many places—Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, the Carolinas? Was it coming back?

And what was he to do? Would the next issue of his paper carry a paragraph mentioning the parade? He was sweating at daybreak when he pledged himself to risk his paper, himself, and the safety of his family to fight the damnable thing that had defiled his town. A newspaper worth its ink dares everything in battling evil; no matter the risks it runs.

Young Carter told his wife what he wanted to do. She said go ahead. He pointed out the threat to their nestegg which, to the last penny, was invested in the paper. She said

in state and national prisons; in one, in particular, where the Imperial Wizard is a flabby-fleshed kitchen helper, flour-smeared and stinking of grease and tallow, as he cooks for a gang of convicts. The Grand Titans and the Great Giants, jerked out of their green robes with the red and golden crosses on their backs, now sweep out cells and scrub jail corridors.

Smashed as an organization, the Klan showed up in court without its hoods. And the Klan was just a bunch of yokels and yahoos, individual cowards, who had a grudge against somebody and, swaggering in mob power, dragged them out and beat them for spite, beat them for the fun of

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That afternoon, sort of close and sultry, eased on to sundown and it was dark when the siren sounded. Folks opened the doors of their homes and looked out, but there wasn't any fire and they wondered why the siren wailed.

One fellow heard the beckoning cry and told his wife, "Believe I'll walk down and see what's causing all the fuss." He was W. Horace Carter, editor of the Tabor City Tribune. He was 30 at the time.

The lead car in the parade, its siren sounding, had a blazing neon cross riveted to the front bumper. It rose high, telling the people that the Ku Klux Klan had come. There had been rumors about the Klan organizing over in South Carolina, just a mile across the line. Now the rumors were true and the Klan was riding into Tabor City where young Carter lived.

CARTER, COLE WON AWARD
Pulitzer Prize Medal

The motorcade eased by, the dome light in each car burning, hooded men inside peering out. The siren kept wailing. The cars moved past, 32 of them.

Farmers stood still, staring as the last tail-light blinked out. Negroes grabbed their children and hurried away, clutching their Saturday night groceries and getting out of town.

Carter told his wife what he'd seen and throughout that night, sleepless, he figured what to do. Was the Klan coming back to devil the South again, after it had been stomped out in so many places—Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, the Carolinas? Was it coming back?

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Young Carter told his wife what he wanted to do. She said go ahead. He pointed out the threat to their nestegg which, to the last penny, was invested in the paper. She said go ahead. He told her of the danger to himself, to her, their home and their children. She said go ahead.

In fulfillment of the newspaper code, his next issue trumpeted the truth about the Klan and The Tribune's defiance:

"In this democratic country, there is no place for an organization of the calibre of the Ku Klux Klan. An organization that works outside the law is unfit for recognition in a country of free men. Saturday's episode is a black eye to our area and an admission that our law enforcement is inadequate . . ."

Another Speaks Out

Sixteen miles away in the same county, in the town of Whiteville, was another editor, Willard G. Cole, of the News Reporter. Cole, some months before, had heard talk of the Klan organizing and he spoke out against it.

Now he joined Carter and, together, the two men strode into one of the nastiest, meanest fights ever fought by newspapers against a bunch of hooded cowards who, bold in their gang strength, terrorized a countryside, dragged men and women—most of them white, with only now and then a Negro—from their homes and beat them with straps cut from sawmill belts. Beat them bloody.

The two editors never backed down. Almost every time their papers went on the streets of Tabor City and Whiteville, into the homes of Columbus County, the brutalities of the Klan were recounted and the indictment of the hooded organization was repeated.

Threats came to Carter and to Cole by letters. Men stopped them on the street and spoke their warnings. The head of the Klan visited Carter and in a letter ordered him to stop his editorials. Cole was notified that if he didn't stop writing editorials, he might get fixed so he couldn't write anything.

The two editors published the threats and, in adjoining columns, continued their editorials calling for all decent men to join in ending this flouting of democracy, this dare to law and order.

LESLIE S. THOMPSON
He Risked Paper, Safety in Fight

Carter's three-year-old son asked his father: "When is the Klan going to beat you?"

Family Makes Pact

Cole and his wife and their sixteen-year-old boy joined in a frightful pact. The wife had a shotgun. The son had a carbine. They pledged among themselves, Cole insisting on it, that if the Klan came to the house and dragged him away, his wife and his son would start shooting and no matter who fell, not even if Cole himself went down, they would fire so long as a single Klansman stood on his feet.

This was the spirit of the two Southern editors, a pair of country boys, running country newspapers, a weekly in Tabor City and a semi-weekly in Whiteville.

They kept fighting until the state sent in its agents. The FBI moved in: some of the beating victims had been carried across the Carolina line.

The end of the fight can be seen today in state and national prisons; in one, in particular, where the Imperial Wizard is a flabby-fleshed kitchen helper, flour-smeared and stinking of grease and tallow, as he cooks for a gang of convicts. The Grand Titans and the Great Giants, jerked out of their green robes with the red and golden crosses on their backs, now sweep out cells and scrub jail corridors.

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First Klan Convictions

They stood in court, the bedraggled country thugs, and pleaded guilty. Some were sent to the roads and some to prison—and some of them still are there. Others were fined. Others were given suspended sentences.

For the first time in the United States, Klansmen were convicted for Klan activities, convicted in both state and federal courts. It was the first time Klansmen had failed to influence and manipulate officers of the law and juries, both grand and petit, in such a way as to go scot-free, shaming the due process of law. It was the first time that Klansmen walked into court and were hauled away to prison.

The phony empire of the KKK was bared and wrecked in that part of the Carolinas. Men in Tabor City, in Whiteville, in all Columbus County, now could answer their doorbells at night without fear. They could hold up their heads without shame. And the nation was strengthened by this victory of decency and justice.

The two editors, Carter and Cole—what of them?

They were awarded the Certificate of Merit of the North Carolina Press Association.

They were awarded the Distinguished Service Plaque by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

They were given the Sidney Hillman Foundation Award.

Carter was named Man of the Year of the North Carolina Junior Chamber of Commerce. (Cole couldn't qualify because he is 47, past the Junior Chamber age limit of 35.)

Pulitzer Prize Awarded

May 4, 1953, their two newspapers were jointly awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Disinterested and Meritorious Public Service, the first time that this highest award has gone to a weekly newspaper, the Tabor City Tribune—circulation 1,600; and a semi-weekly, the News Reporter of Whiteville—circulation 5,600.

Who are these two men of the South, these two editors of whom the South is so proud? What of their background out of which came such intelligence and courage?

The story about the two of them, perhaps the chief interest in their past, is the lack of anything particularly notable. They are just the run of the South, born on Southern rural soil, and they prove that such a heritage, such an environment, is good enough to breed men of character, of determination, of such fortitude that they will risk everything in a fight where a principle is at stake.

Both Carter and Cole were born in North Carolina, each born on a farm. Each had a tough time getting through school and Cole didn't get very far, dropping out after high school. Carter went on to the University of North Carolina, working eight hours a day and paying his way through.

In the summers, Carter hauled ice, worked in hotdog stands and did his first newspapering, writing sports, for a semi-

Turn to Page 5F

EXTRA THE NEWS REPORTER EXTRA

10 FLOGGERS NABBED

Two Former Cops Bagged In Roundup

NEWS REPORTER ON FEB. 16, 1952 TOLD OF ARREST OF 10 KU KLUX KLANSMEN BY FBI AGENTS
Cole Bobtailed Klan Slogan in Front Page Photo, Leaving It Only "Yesterday"

NEXT SUNDAY'S MAGAZINE: GOV. TALMADGE GIVES

The Atlanta Journal AND

Editors Fought for Principle Against Klan

Continued From Page 1F

weekly, The Stanley News and Press, in Albemarle, N.C.

Varied Jobs

Cole worked as a doffer in a cotton mill, worked with a road crew, worked at first one job and then another until he walked into the office of The Wilkes Journal, a North Wilkesboro weekly, and got a job as a handyman.

During the war, Carter was in the Navy, enlisting as an apprentice seaman, ending as an ensign serving at sea. Cole was making out as best he could after a nervous breakdown that sent him hunting health and stability into Panama, Costa Rica and back to Akron, Ohio, where he worked for the Firestone Aircraft, making wings for the C-46. He invented a drilling device which speeded production and won him an award of $230.

It won him more than that. It won him back his confidence and, despite repeated attacks of malaria he had picked up in Costa Rica as a tractor operator, he looked anything in the face and was not afraid. "After what I'd been through, after the long tussle within myself, this fight with the Ku Klux Klan wasn't anything to be scared of."

Carter went to Tabor City in 1946. He went to get a job. Before long, he founded the Tabor City Tribune. Total assets: one second-hand desk, one $15 typewriter, himself and his wife.

Today, seven years later, he and a partner of the same age, Mark C. Garner, own five newspapers: the Tribune in Tabor City, the Myrtle Beach Sun, the Ocean Beach News, the Conway Field, the Loris Sentinel.

The partnership does an annual business of about $150,000.

Carter's greatest profit is Linda, his 7-year-old daughter, and Rusty, his 4-year-old son.

Folks Liked Him

Cole drifted into Tabor City, too, and took a job as executive secretary of the Tabor City Merchants Association. Folks liked him and, a year later, Leslie S. Thompson, publisher of the News Reporter in nearby Whiteville, approached Cole and they hit it off.

Thompson asked Cole to edit the paper. Cole said he would, if he could have a free rein. Thompson agreed and kept his word so true that when Cole began to fight the Klan, Thompson let him alone even though Thompson's paper, his property and he himself were in the same risk that Cole was taking.

Cole's son, John William, age 19, is now a sophomore at Duke University. His daughter, Mary Joe, age 22, is a graduate of Meredith College and is married. Prem P. Singh, her husband, is a postgraduate student in the School of Business Administration at Harvard.

Both papers, the Tabor City Tribune and the Whiteville News Reporter, do job printing and Carter prints a paper he doesn't own, the Fairmont, N.C., weekly, printing it under contract.

There are 11 employes at the paper in Whiteville. There are eight in Tabor City, but Carter has a total of 27 employes on all his five papers.

Other Jobs Offered

Both Cole and Carter have been offered newspaper jobs in the South and in other parts of the country. Neither is interested in leaving Columbus County, North Carolina.

"No better place in the world than the South," Cole said. "And I'd rather live in a small town. You know everybody. Everybody is your neighbor."

That's true, too. I talked to lots of folks in Whiteville—Hugh Nance, sheriff of the county (who played a strong part in cleaning out the Klan); Floyd Whitman, chief of police; L. P. Ward, produce dealer and farmer; Herman Leder, owner of a department store; John McNeil, druggist. They all said Willard Cole was a good man, a good citizen who had done a heap of good in Whiteville.

I talked with Ralph Collier in Whiteville, and Bobby Brooks, two of the Klansmen who had been convicted and were out of prison on suspended sentences. They said they liked Mr. Cole. Liked him plenty. It was a good thing he fought the Klan. "No telling how much trouble we might have got into, if we'd kept going," said young Brooks, whose father, Early Brooks, is still in a Federal penitentiary for his part in the Klan floggings.

Elected Mayor

As for the people of Tabor City and what they think of Carter, they elected him mayor of their town at the last election. Elected him by a vote of five to one. "We don't get a chance to vote for a Pulitzer Prize winner every election," A. C. Edwards, agent for the Atlantic Coast Line, told me. And E. W. Fonville, president of the Tabor City Marketing Company, said: "We were proud to vote for so fine a young man as Horace Carter."

We people in the South haven't fixed everything just right as yet, not by a long shot. We've got a lot to do. But we can have full faith in our future so long as we keep on breeding men like Horace Carter and Willard Cole.

SUGAR CANE STRIKE IN LA.

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

In 1879, the Knights of Labor led a strike of ex-slaves on the sugar cane plantations of Louisiana. It was broken by the state militia, and the strike leaders who had just been freed from slavery were sent to prison for trespassing on the property of the planters.

Last month, in 1953, the first strike began on the same plantations. Little had changed in seventy five years. The working and living conditions were about the same. And the plantation owners were about the same.

The strike involves over two thousand cane workers, about three quarters of them Negro, who are organized into the National Agricultural Workers Union, AFL.

It has been met by bitter and violent anti-union tactics on the part of the plantation owners.

An injunction has been sought by the owners denying that the workers have a right to organize. The theory is that since they are covered by a government wage-fixing program, and are not specifically mentioned in various labor laws, that they have no right to organize. If the injunction were to be sustained—enjoining the workers from "restraining trade"—the organization of agricultural workers would be set back to the time of the 1879 strike in Louisiana.

In some areas, overseers have been deputized by law enforcement

(Continued on page 8)

Sugar Cane Strike in Louisiana

(Continued from page 1)

officers. Under the guise of legality, they are able to terrorize and intimidate the strikers.

In other areas, eviction suits have been brought against the workers—to date 200 families (a thousand people) have been faced with eviction.

Still another strike breaking technique is the cutting off of water, fuel and light.

The Dixiecrat American Sugar Cane League libelously attacked the National Sharecroppers Fund, an organization attempting to help the union, as being a Communist front. This smear attempt is made against a group whose board includes such well known anti-Communists as Dr. Frank Graham and Norman Thomas.

Wages

In 1937, Congress passed a law empowering the Secretary of Agriculture to determine a "fair and reasonable" wage rate on sugar cane and beet plantations.

This year, Secretary of Agriculture Benson set the "fair and reasonable wage." It is $3.85½ for a nine-hour day—or something over forty cents an hour, but not too much over. The figures become much worse when they are put into the context of an annual wage.

Skilled workers in this area receive $1,000 to $1,200 a year.

For unskilled labor, the figure is between $700 and $800 a year.

The average annual wage for all field workers is between $500 and $600.

A survey of the Bureau of National Affairs indicated that in 1947-52 period, an income of $3,871 was necessary for a family of four. Yet among these plantation workers a household of 10 or 12 children is not unknown.

In addition, the workers are only payed for work when they arrive in the fields—although an hour's work on a machine might be required before then.

Paternalism

The entire wage-living-condition set up is intensified by the paternalism of the owners. Small loans, company houses, company stores and the incredibly low wage rates manage to keep the worker close to the slavery from which he was theoretically liberated by the Civil War.

Moreover, as Stephen Ryan pointed out in America, the situation involves the exploitation of illiterates and of Negroes. The workers in the field have been apathetic to union organization in many instances. Living in a near-feudal world that has changed little since the militia broke the strike in 1879, often illiterate, they sometimes would defend their boss as a "good boss" because of a small loan or bail put up for a Saturday night spree.

The Negro is caught—as he is almost everywhere in the South—because the racist structure of society relegates him to the job which the white man doesn't want. He maintains the plantation system, out of the sweat of his labor, because color lines bar him from any decent kind of job.

Housing is in the same condition as wages: feudal. Running water is rare. Tank cars are used to bring in water in some areas (all the easier for the owners to cut the water supply off), and in other sections, water from stagnant bayous is used for drinking water. On other plantations, rain water is used.

Catholic Support

Catholic priests and laymen have been actively supporting the organization of these workers for years. Union meetings have been held in parish halls. According to the America article, the Josephite Fathers, who work among the Negroes in the sugar cane district, have been particularly militant.

The Catholic Committee of the South issued a forthright statement on the issues in the strike: "That issue — transcending all others—is one on which the Catholic Committee of the South may not remain silent—regardless of the validity of conflicting claims of management and labor relative to wages, housing or conditions of work, and that is the basic, moral right of any workers, industrial or agricultural, to organize.

"Catholic employers in particular, but all employers in general, are reminded of the clear language of Pope Leo XIII when he stated: 'We wish to be understood as referring in a special manner to the working classes, who assuredly have the right to unite into associations for the promotion of their interests, a right acknowledged by the Church and unopposed by nature." (Longinque Oceani) . . .'

"In addition to the right to organize every man has the obligation, where necessary, to protect the security of his economic interests, not only for his own welfare, but also for the welfare of his family. In the formation of a union, the agricultural workers are exercising their God-given right and seeking better to secure the economic and social welfare of their families."

Other support has come. On October 17, the Cuban Federation of Labor and its affiliate, the Sugar Workers Federation, advised the AFL of their solidarity with the strike and requested information as to action that should be taken to help. They were requested to embargo all raw sugar produced in Cuba and shipped to refineries owned by Louisiana Sugar Corporation, whose plantation workers are on strike.

George Meany, President of the AFL, wrote H. L. Mitchell, Agricultural Workers President, "The American Federation of Labor will use its best efforts to prevent any group of workers from being denied their fundamental right to organize into a trade union and bargain with their employers on matters concerning wages, hours and other conditions of employment."

The issues are clear:

The employers must accept the existence of a union which speaks for the workers (the original strike vote was 1,808 for, 8 against); and the employers must admit the right of agricultural workers to organize.

Only then can the feudalism and racist exploitation of the plantation system be fought and overthrown. Only then can the workers of the Louisiana sugar cane fields go beyond 1879—and emancipate themselves from paternalism and company violence and peonage.

Probe Case of Pair In Hospitals After Friday Night Flare

LHOUSE & INFMO 12-12-63

The brutal beating of a father and his son by town officers and a mob of whites estimated at 20 or more last Friday night near Columbia came to light here Wednesday as relatives of the men, both in hospitals and under sedatives, sought assistance.

The victims are identified as Edisto DeVeaux, who is said to live about one mile out of Eastover, and his son, Herman DeVeaux, who lives at Gadsden.

The father, said by relatives to have sustained head injuries, a cut or stabbed stomach and other hurts, is a patient at the Columbia Hospital. The younger DeVeaux is at the Veterans Hospital. The father is a veteran of World War One; the son of World War Two.

Both are charged with being drunk and resisting an arrest. Their cases were reportedly being investigated late Wednesday by sheriff S. S. Sligh's office and, among other things, pending sufficient recovery of the pair to permit questioning when they weren't under the influence of opiates.

Mrs. Ophelia DeVeaux, wife of one and mother of the other man, along with their eldest son Enoch DeVeaux and his wife said that the father, driving a 1951 light green Chevrolet, had taken his son Herman into town about ten thirty Friday night to collect some money an unidentified man is said to have owed him. As they entered town, they told newsmen, they were stopped by two town officers and charged with over-running a stop sign. The son was driving. There were no other passengers reported in the car at the time.

Relatives say that the father protested the charge and a dispute followed. Mrs. DeVeaux said her husband told her that the officers summoned help and that some 20 or more white men quickly joined them, the combined groups soundly beating and injuring them.

In Jail All Night

The two men remained in jail at Eastover until near or shortly after noon Saturday, being removed to the respectively named hospitals.

Both have been released from custody pending a trial under bond. The father is out on $200 bond and the son $100. Relatives said word of the arrests and beatings reached them late Friday night.

THE CHILD

NOVEMBER 1950

Childrens Youth

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A Child Welfare Organization working for More and Better Schools,
and for Adequate Health and Social Welfare Services for the Nation's 50 Million Children

Kindly address your reply to office checked: ☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. ☒ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

May 12, 1952

TO THE APC BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND NATIONAL COUNCIL MEMBERS:

This letter is to report to you the progress made on the plan, which was voted at our last Board of Directors meeting, to present child welfare and education planks to the Political Party Conventions.

After consultation with several of you this is the way we have tentatively decided to go about it. First, we will try to get a prominent Republican and a prominent Democrat to be our spokesmen before the Platform Committees of the respective conventions. We hope to have two good people lined up for that job shortly, but in case the two we have in mind cannot accept, we will be grateful for your idea as to who would be good and who could be persuaded to do it.

We propose to send letters to prominent members of each party telling them of our plan and urging them to write their ideas to the pre-Convention Platform Committee of their party. In a second letter we will ask them to send us a carbon of the letter so our spokesmen can present it to the Convention Committee. Please send us the names and addresses of prominent Republicans and Democrats to whom you think such letters should be written. Be sure to designate their party.

In accordance with Board action, we will invite the cooperation of other organizations in this venture. Enclosed is a preliminary draft of the planks we propose to submit. They are the result of considerable discussion with party leaders and others in the field, but it is not too late to consider any ideas you have to improve them.

We have had nothing but encouragement from all with whom we have discussed our plan. It seems evident that such planks as those we propose would strengthen each of the party platforms. Most people agree that we must emphasize to party leaders that parents want it made crystal clear that while the U. S. strengthens its ramparts against aggression, it will not neglect the children who will become the citizens and leaders of tomorrow. I hope I may have as soon as possible your lists, your suggestions, and your criticisms, if any. Thank you!

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

Encs.

See reverse side for the APC's Officers, Board of Directors, and National Council

The APC's Officers, Board of Directors and National Council Members

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MELVYN GORDON LOWENSTEIN—Attorney, New York; Secretary, Baby Ruth Foundation

Executive Director—in Washington Office

ADA BARNETT STOUGH

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BASIL O'CONNOR, President, Nat'l Foundation for Infantile Paralysis; Former President, American Nat'l Red Cross

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MR. LEO PERLIS, National Director, Nat'l CIO Community Services Committee

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MISS ELIZABETH WICKENDEN, Former Washington Representative of the American Public Welfare Association

MRS. JOSEPH WILLEN, Chairman, Legislative Committee of Nat'l Council of Jewish Women

The Chairman, the first two Vice-Chairmen and the Secretary (see other side) are also members of the Board of Directors

*A member of the APC's National Council which is in the process of formation

PLANKS ON CHILD WELFARE AND EDUCATION

PROPOSED FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM

The education and welfare of children has long been a strong tenet of the Democratic party. During its nineteen years of leadership, active and effective programs for children have been promoted and encouraged. In this time of emergency, when the long-term security of the country is at stake, we recognize more than ever our responsibility toward those who will soon be guiding the affairs of the nation. Adequate provisions must be made for their education, health and welfare. Expenditures for these purposes will not only contribute to our defense against possible aggression but they are wise investments for a nation desiring to live in peace. To this end the Democratic Party pledges its support of:

ADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN

Recognizing the shortage of school buildings and the limitation of educational opportunity in many States, we will endeavor to establish:

A Federal Aid to Education program which will include aid for school construction and for the maintenance of public elementary and secondary schools throughout the country.

A Federal Scholarship Program under which capable students unable financially to attend college or university may obtain such an education.

ADVANCEMENT OF THE HEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE NATION'S CHILDREN

In accordance with the tradition and past record of the Party, we will continue to support:

The extension of the activities of the U. S. Children's Bureau to enable it to expand its research program and to help the States to work more effectively in the fields of maternal and child health, rehabilitation of crippled children, parent education and the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

The continuation of the National School Lunch Program to reduce malnutrition and assure a more healthful citizenry for the future.

Provisions to meet the needs of children whose mothers are helping to produce the material for defense, children whose uniformed fathers are sharing the military burden, and children of migratory workers.

Planks proposed by the
AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE
National Office: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
Washington Office: 132 Third St., S. E.

Welfare, Child

PLANKS ON THE EDUCATION AND WELFARE OF THE NATION'S CHILDREN

PROPOSED FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM

The Republican Party recognizes that our long-term strength and security lies in the children of today who must direct and defend the nation of tomorrow. We believe that the education, training, health, and well-being of these children are important parts of any defense program as well as wise investments for the future.

To that end the Republican Party pledges its support of:

ADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN

Because of the shortage of school facilities and the inability of many local communities to finance such building, we will support:

A program of Federal aid to the States for the construction of public school buildings; and the construction and maintenance of schools in the critical defense areas.

ADVANCEMENT OF THE HEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE NATION'S CHILDREN

Without violation of the traditional principle of the sanctity of the home and in accordance with the accepted principle of Federal-State partnership, we will specifically support:

The extension of the activities of the U. S. Children's Bureau, (established under a Republican President) to enable it to expand its research program and to help the States to work more effectively in the fields of maternal and child health, rehabilitation of crippled children, parent education and the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

The continuation of the National School Lunch Program as a means of reducing malnutrition and assuring more healthful citizens for the future.

Provisions for essential services for children whose mothers are helping to produce defense materials, children whose fathers have been called to the armed forces, and children of migratory workers.

Planks proposed by the
AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE
National Office: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
Washington Office: 132 Third St., S. E.

Let's Talk About TOMORROW

The New York Times, January 22, 1954

LEAFLET WILL AID IN ADVISING YOUTH

Child Guidance Group to Put Out Pamphlet to Help in Counseling on Jobs

Half the youngsters who enter the nation's high schools drop out before they graduate. The shortage of vocational counselors in schools being what it is, even those who remain may get no more than one five or ten minute guidance interview in their school years.

Mindful of this situation, specialists for the National Child Labor Committee are putting final touches to a new guidance leaflet which—though intended primarily for teachers—may be equally interesting and stimulating to parents.

Mrs. Florence Taylor and Miss Gloria Bley of the research department of the committee explained yesterday that the pamphlet, "Let's Talk About Tomorrow," was designed to help those without vocational counseling training to supplement the work of guidance specialists. Too many youngsters, they declared, leave school without much preparation for getting a job. This lack of information often leads to confusion, wasted time and wasted motion.

"We believe," Miss Bley said, "that much of this waste can be prevented if the youngsters can be stimulated to think about preparation for jobs while still in school."

Points for Family Talks

Although a formal outline for parent-child discussions of job futures would be unrealistic and out of keeping with the facts of family life, Miss Bley said many of the points covered in the new pamphlet might well be raised by parents in informal talks on this subject with their young. Copies of the pamphlet, to be available in about two weeks, will be 10 cents from the National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16.

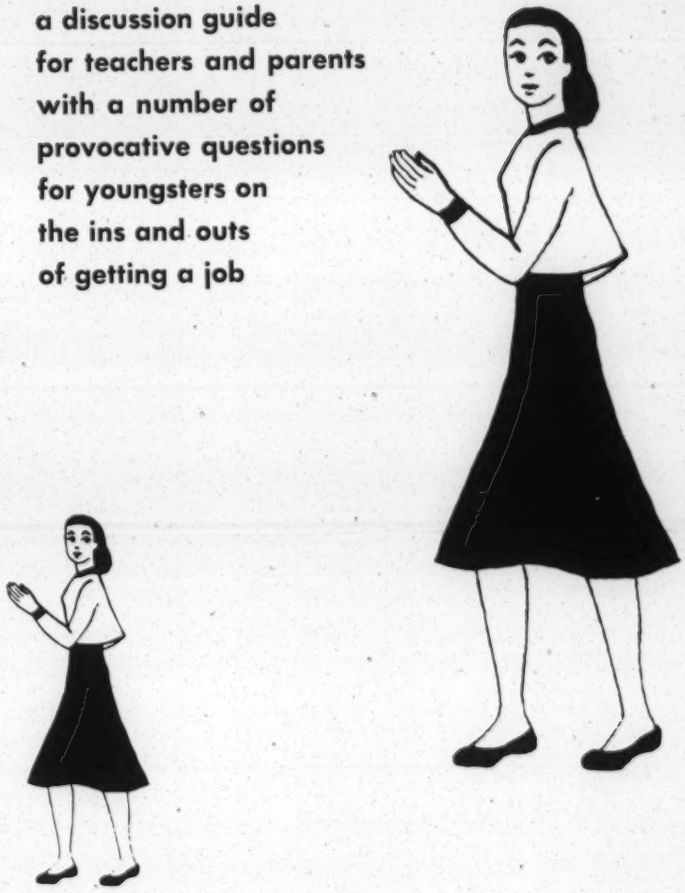
In thinking about the "right" job future, both parents and adolescents might want to consider the matter of preference, based on the individual's interests, abilities and training, and its relationship with existing employment materials. Some young persons prefer working with tools and machines; others with books, ideas or people. Many like to work with others; some do their best work alone.

Discussion of points such as these might lead into a general talk about job direction and stimulate thinking of youth on such points as job-suitability and the changing labor market.

Other topics considered in the outline are the school as preparation for employment, first steps in finding a job, necessary papers for employment, applying for work, the interview and, finally, keeping the job and advancing in it.

The pamphlet follows logically the development of a similar publication for use soon in Philadelphia schools in connection with a special week set aside to stress preparation for employment. The original leaflet contained considerable material specifically on Pennsylvania labor laws and regulations, which is presented in more general form in the newer edition.

a discussion guide for teachers and parents with a number of provocative questions for youngsters on the ins and outs of getting a job



Available Now!

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE
419 Fourth Ave. • New York 16, N. Y.

I enclose $..... for .....copies of *Let's Talk About Tomorrow*. (Single copies 10¢, 50 or more 8¢, 100 or more 5¢ each)

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Your Child
A Must List for Parents!
Seven popular and fascinating Government publications covering CHILD CARE from birth to the "teens." Selected by Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C.

CHECK PUBLICATIONS DESIRED

TO ALL OF US, the welfare, health, and growth of our children is uppermost in our minds. We strive daily to better ourselves and our children; to provide them with good homes, healthful food, constructive recreation, and adequate education. Realizing this, and appreciating the feelings of parents, the Superintendent of Documents has carefully selected, and listed here, several of the more popular Government publications dealing with the care and guidance of children from birth to their "teens."

Several of these books have reached the best-seller stage and are followed closely by the others, but regardless of their sales records, all of these publications have a common aim—to help you better understand your children and guide them through life.

PRENATAL CARE

☐ Although the first edition of this booklet appeared over a third of a century ago, its recent and revised edition has been gaining new readers by the hundreds. Read by thousands of parents, it helps both mothers and fathers prepare for parenthood. It does not, and is not intended to, take the place of a doctor, but supports his professional advice and guidance. (1949) 76 pages, with illustrations.

Catalog No. FS 3.209:4/2 **15 cents**

INFANT CARE

☐ Undoubtedly, this amazing book on the care of infants is one of the most widely read publications of our time. It gives to you the information usually requested by all parents in caring for their baby—especially a first baby. Based on the experience of many doctors, and designed to help parents understand their doctor's advice, many phases of infant care, such as feeding, clothing, sanitation, and others, are interestingly presented in this much-requested book. (1947) 126 pages, with illustrations.

Catalog No. FS 3.209:8 **15 cents**

YOUR CHILD FROM ONE TO SIX

☐ After a child's first year, parents often look for someone or something to turn to when they face the problems of properly caring for their children. This manual is an excellent source of information for these parents. It gives information on preserving health and preventing diseases, teeth, food and eating habits, sleep and sleep habits, clothing, play, the child's development, and the sick child. There is also a chapter on communicable diseases and their symptoms. If you want well-considered advice from the best authorities, you should have this manual on child care. (1945) 147 pages, with illustrations.

Catalog No. FS 3.209:30 **20 cents**

YOUR CHILD FROM SIX TO TWELVE

☐ While innumerable books have been written about the infant and the preschool child, few have been devoted to the school-age child. This booklet covers that 6–12 period, which is just as important as the years that have been passed. It is offered as a means of helping parents who are seeking help in the guidance of their school-age children. (1949) 141 pages, with illustrations.

Catalog No. FS 3.209:324 **20 cents**

GUIDING THE ADOLESCENT

☐ A parent's interest in the welfare of his child begins long before birth and lasts all his life, but his methods of expressing this interest necessarily undergo many changes as his child grows up. This booklet shows the parent how to guide his child through the difficult period of adolescence, giving him helpful hints on the child's physical growth and development, mental changes, and social conduct. (1949) 83 pages, with illustrations.

Catalog No. FS 3.209:225 **25 cents**

FOR THE CHILDREN'S BOOKSHELF

☐ For the young child books are pleasure-giving; they encourage the love of beauty and they broaden a child's world. This pamphlet provides the concerned parent with a selected list of books that children will enjoy and profit from. The list provides the titles of the books, grouped into classes with reference to the child's interests and levels of development. (1949) 41 pages, with illustrations.

Catalog No. FS 3.209:304/2 **15 cents**

HOME PLAY AND PLAY EQUIPMENT FOR THE PRESCHOOL CHILD

☐ Play is the child's way of learning, of finding out about everything in the world around him; and since play is a serious thing to a child, it should be planned for seriously by his parents. Here is a complete guide for supervising your child's play. It tells about his playing alone and with other children; talks about parties and Christmas; describes toys, books, and pictures; and shows how to make practical, healthful, and safe outdoor play equipment for the preschool child. (1946) 19 pages, with illustrations.

Catalog No. FS 3.209:238 **15 cents**

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VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The figures presented herein were accumulated during the summer and late summer of 1966. While they do not represent the final registration figures for the November elections, the difference is not expected to be large. The figures were compiled from a variety of sources---public and private, official and unofficial.

For four states---Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia---complete or near-complete county-by-county figures showing white and Negro registration were not available. For these four states, statewide estimates have been made, based on the best information obtainable.

For two states---Florida and Mississippi---figures did not indicate the race of a sizeable number of registrants. These have been divided between the white and Negro columns on the basis of VEP estimates.

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NEGRO-WHITE VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

STATE	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alabama*	1,353,058	481,320	1,192,075	246,396	88.1	51.2
Arkansas	850,643	192,626	598,000	115,000	70.3	59.7
Florida***	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9
Georgia**	1,797,062	612,910	1,378,005	289,545	76.7	47.2
Louisiana	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1
Mississippi***	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9
North Carolina	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0
South Carolina	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4
Tennessee	1,779,018	313,873	1,375,000	225,000	77.3	71.7
Texas	4,884,765	649,512	2,600,000	400,000	53.3	61.6
Virginia	1,876,167	436,720	1,159,000	205,000	61.8	46.9
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,309,704	2,620,359	70.2	52.2

*Even division of 10,000 voters not registered by race.

**Two-thirds and one-third Negro-white division of 14,000 voters not registered by race.

***A later Mississippi figure put white registration at approximately 481,000 and Negro registration at 163,000. The October figure for Florida pushed white registration to 2,160,587 and Negro registration to 303,245.

A L A B A M A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Autauga	6,353	3,651	6,932	2,308	100+	63.2
Baldwin	22,236	4,527	19,692	1,242	88.6	27.4
Barbour	7,338	5,787	9,825	3,666	100+	63.3
Bibb	5,807	1,190	8,087	933	100+	78.4
Blount	14,368	378	13,709	140	95.4	37.0
Bullock	2,387	4,450	3,323	3,197	100+	71.8
Butler	8,363	4,820	7,850	1,803	93.9	37.4
Calhoun	44,739	9,036	33,472	4,404	74.8	48.7
Chambers	15,369	6,497	11,889	1,439	77.4	22.1
Cherokee	8,537	752	9,651	482	100+	61.6
Chilton	12,861	1,947	16,006	747	100+	38.4
Choctaw	5,192	3,982	5,833	3,024	100+	75.9
Clarke	7,899	5,833	10,336	2,564	100+	44.0
Clay	6,470	926	8,534	399	100+	43.1
Cleburne	5,870	385	7,493	139	100+	36.1
Coffee	14,221	2,985	11,334	1,002	79.7	33.6
Colbert	21,680	4,575	20,569	2,818	94.9	61.6
Conecuh	5,907	3,635	5,559	2,084	94.1	57.3
Coosa	4,201	1,794	5,678	956	100+	53.3
Covington	18,446	2,876	16,486	1,010	89.4	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Crenshaw	6,310	2,207	6,469	1,213	100+	55.0
Cullman	25,848	285	24,622	122	95.3	42.8
Dale	14,861	2,743	11,658	1,414	78.4	51.5
Dallas	14,400	15,115	12,787	10,513	88.8	69.6
DeKalb	23,878	441	26,680	217	100+	49.2
Elmore	12,510	4,808	15,710	2,813	100+	58.5
Escambia	12,779	5,685	15,631	1,825	100+	32.1
Etowah	48,565	7,661	41,820	4,120	86.1	53.8
Fayette	8,277	1,291	9,141	664	100+	51.4
Franklin	12,412	645	13,616	725	100+	100+
Geneva	11,357	1,606	10,321	585	90.9	36.4
Greene	1,649	5,001	2,001	3,927	100+	78.5
Hale	3,594	5,999	4,515	4,096	100+	68.3
Henry	5,165	3,168	6,629	1,459	100+	46.1
Houston	22,095	6,899	15,604	1,813	70.6	26.3
Jackson	19,298	1,175	18,526	629	96.0	53.5
Jefferson	256,319	116,160	175,087	62,992	68.3	54.2
Lamar	7,503	1,027	9,927	367	100+	35.7
Lauderdale	31,089	3,726	18,434	1,339	59.3	35.9
Lawrence	10,509	2,471	14,731	1,315	100+	53.2
Lee	17,547	8,913	13,470	2,818	76.8	31.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Limestone	16,173	3,579	14,272	1,278	88.2	35.7
Lowndes	1,900	5,122	2,823	2,758	100+	53.8
Macon	2,818	11,886	4,997	7,130	100+	60.0
Madison	54,516	10,666	41,333*	3,183*	75.8	29.8
Marengo	6,104	7,791	7,288	5,799	100+	74.4
Marion	12,656	403	16,418	267	100+	66.3
Marshall	26,997	637	17,174	152	63.6	23.9
Mobile	121,589	50,793	107,455*	24,794*	88.4	48.8
Monroe	6,631	4,894	7,542	2,497	100+	51.0
Montgomery	62,911	33,056	43,514	19,268	69.2	58.3
Morgan	30,955	4,159	25,741	1,194	83.2	28.7
Perry	3,441	5,202	5,495	3,847	100+	74.0
Pickens	7,336	4,373	7,407	1,717	100+	39.3
Pike	9,126	5,259	11,788	3,180	100+	60.5
Randolph	9,196	2,366	10,230	1,182	100+	50.0
Russell	13,761	10,531	12,682	3,932	92.2	37.3
St. Clair	12,244	2,035	11,044	906	90.2	44.5
Shelby	14,771	2,889	13,208*	985*	89.4	34.1
Sumter	3,061	6,814	3,775	3,392	100+	49.8
Talladega	25,635	9,333	21,389	3,406	83.4	36.5
Tallapoosa	15,310	4,999	17,807	1,818	100+	36.4
Tuscaloosa	47,076	15,332	29,049	5,707	61.7	37.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walker	28,148	2,890	26,885	1,277	95.5	44.2
Washington	5,293	2,297	7,690	1,469	100+	64.0
Wilcox	2,624	6,085	3,639	3,765	100+	61.9
Winston	8,559	47	11,179	40	100+	85.1
TOTALS	1,353,058	481,320	1,187,075	241,396	87.7	50.2

*Figures do not include a total of more than 10,000 voters for whom race is not designated in Madison, Mobile, and Shelby counties.

F L O R I D A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alachua	30,555	9,898	24,767	6,214	81.1	62.8
Baker	3,203	807	3,445	554	100+	68.6
Bay	31,940	4,964	23,223	3,330	72.7	67.1
Bradford	5,580	1,345	4,900	893	87.8	66.4
Brevard	58,433	6,494	63,271	4,147	100+	63.9
Broward	189,517	27,009	179,977	19,713	95.0	73.0
Calhoun	3,434	582	4,091	379	100+	65.1
Charlotte	8,659	427	11,588	346	100+	81.0
Citrus	5,174	829	6,626	589	100+	71.0
Clay	9,508	1,276	9,443	1,013	99.3	79.4
Collier	8,163	1,364	8,173	623	100+	45.7
Columbia	8,092	3,122	8,676	2,517	100+	80.6
Dade	537,448	75,573	373,413	50,621	69.5	67.0
De Soto	6,339	1,343	4,564	1,010	72.0	75.2
Dixie	2,138	363	2,775	371	100+	100+
Duval	203,804	58,430	134,175	36,691	65.8	62.8
Escambia	76,688	18,041	58,651	13,058	76.5	72.4
Flagler	1,789	846	1,944	391	100+	46.2
Franklin	3,186	779	3,428	537	100+	68.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Gadsden	11,711	12,261	6,338	4,237	54.1	34.6
Gilchrist	1,513	154	1,737	110	100+	71.4
Glades	1,061	741	1,130	269	100+	36.3
Gulf	4,196	1,138	3,652	710	87.0	62.4
Hamilton	2,486	1,621	2,683	1,087	100+	67.0
Hardee	6,734	552	5,475	354	81.3	64.1
Hendry	3,430	1,180	3,322	756	96.8	64.1
Hernando	5,689	1,151	5,597	719	98.4	62.5
Highlands	10,997	2,251	10,587	1,547	96.3	68.7
Hillsborough	213,950	31,114	152,995	19,803	71.5	63.6
Holmes	6,131	249	6,472	199	100+	79.9
Indian River	13,182	2,637	11,713	1,376	88.9	52.2
Jackson	14,087	5,390	11,370	3,515	80.7	65.2
Jefferson	2,383	2,600	2,470	1,540	100+	59.2
Lafayette	1,536	152	1,767	102	100+	67.1
Lake	30,535	6,438	25,241	2,665	82.7	41.4
Lee	30,636	4,677	31,301	1,668	100+	35.7
Leon	28,241	12,322	25,360	7,240	89.8	58.8
Levy	4,483	1,568	3,730	536	83.2	34.2
Liberty	1,525	240	2,073	155	100+	64.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Madison	4,380	3,067	4,250	2,023	97.0	66.0
Manatee	42,291	5,278	35,354	3,493	83.6	66.2
Marion	21,001	9,283	22,129	6,006	100+	64.7
Martin	9,291	1,753	9,106	1,225	98.0	69.9
Monroe	25,512	2,919	16,781	2,077	65.8	71.1
Nassau	7,054	2,076	5,680	1,476	80.5	71.1
Okaloosa	30,816	2,097	23,818	1,289	77.3	61.5
Okeechobee	2,870	533	3,140	419	100+	78.6
Orange	137,780	21,771	98,598	10,344	71.6	47.5
Osceola	11,697	1,122	10,049	609	85.9	54.3
Palm Beach	119,342	29,541	104,229	17,204	87.3	58.2
Pasco	22,329	2,391	23,461	1,160	100+	48.5
Pinellas	255,369	18,121	216,174	11,155	84.6	61.6
Polk	97,314	19,224	73,713	10,045	75.7	52.2
Putnam	13,095	5,089	9,056	2,049	69.2	40.3
St. Johns	13,771	4,331	10,225	2,241	74.2	51.7
St. Lucie	17,238	6,527	14,837	3,933	86.1	60.3
Santa Rosa	14,710	1,082	13,043	740	88.7	68.4
Sarasota	49,533	4,125	42,833	2,100	86.5	50.9
Seminole	24,372	7,050	17,125	2,989	70.3	42.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Sumter	5,396	1,523	5,308	911	98.4	59.8
Suwannee	6,409	2,149	5,388	1,083	84.1	50.4
Taylor	5,454	1,724	5,439	939	99.7	54.5
Union	2,880	1,082	2,049	171	71.1	15.8
Volusia	74,209	11,615	63,253	6,881	85.2	59.2
Wakulla	2,120	753	2,681	602	100+	79.9
Walton	7,958	1,086	7,816	857	98.2	78.9
Washington	5,364	1,021	5,596	840	100+	82.3
TOTALS	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9

G E O R G I A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Appling	5,862	1,401	7,286	1,187	100+	84.7
Atkinson	2,486	812	3,202	800	100+	99.2
Bacon	4,203	536	4,535	264	100+	49.3
Baker	1,139	1,285	1,517	722	100+	56.2
Baldwin	16,109	9,235	6,555	1,871	40.7	20.3
Banks	3,850	213	3,405	63	88.4	29.6
Barrow	7,865	1,332	6,230	403	79.2	30.3
Bartow	14,942	2,373	15,594	1,417	100+	59.2
Ben Hill	5,931	2,436	3,607	977	60.8	40.1
Berrien	6,179	964	5,133	575	83.1	59.6
Bibb	60,429	26,812	27,084*	5,251*	44.8	19.6
Bleckley	4,508	1,350	3,613	172	79.8	12.5
Brantley	2,854	384	3,005	300	100+	78.1
Brooks	5,059	3,711	3,320	591	65.6	15.9
Bryan	2,289	1,111	2,335	1,165	100+	100+
Bulloch	10,101	4,337	8,528	2,196	84.4	50.6
Burke	4,358	6,600	3,835	1,595	88.0	24.2
Butts	3,195	2,099	4,101	936	100+	44.6
Calhoun	1,654	2,393	1,895	509	100+	21.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Camden	3,447	2,059	3,140	1,431	91.1	69.5
Candler	2,714	1,200	2,996	965	100+	86.4
Carroll	19,234	3,595	13,201	1,965	68.6	54.7
Catoosa	12,370	172	11,231	75	90.8	43.6
Charlton	2,077	810	2,539	444	100+	54.8
Chatham	78,118	37,563	54,676	21,174	70.0	56.4
Chattahoochee	8,061	1,830	462	119	5.7	6.5
Chattooga	11,460	1,025	8,983	927	78.4	90.4
Cherokee	13,964	617	13,749*	608*	98.5	100+
Clarke	23,895	6,740	13,897	4,723	58.2	70.1
Clay	1,130	1,441	968	256	85.7	17.8
Clayton	23,996	2,456	17,725	723	73.9	29.4
Clinch	2,373	1,256	2,350	371	99.0	29.5
Cobb	63,291	4,568	29,680*	1,800*	47.0	39.6
Coffee	9,682	2,977	11,224	1,304	100.+	43.8
Colquitt	13,982	4,081	12,778*	1,673*	80.0	41.0
Columbia	5,096	2,364	4,278	801	83.9	33.9
Cook	5,213	1,755	5,513	652	100+	37.2
Coweta	11,891	5,579	11,919	2,352	100+	42.2
Crawford	1,596	1,611	1,468	354	92.0	22.0
Crisp	6,451	3,858	6,301	1,805	97.7	46.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Dade	4,803	70	4,242	60	88.3	85.7
Dawson	2,148	1	2,373	0	100+	.0
Decatur	9,070	5,515	8,144	1,218	89.8	22.1
DeKalb	148,167	12,407	120,129	7,862	81.1	63.4
Dodge	7,392	2,328	7,013	1,871	94.9	80.4
Dooly	3,581	2,866	4,392	890	100+	31.1
Dougherty	29,897	14,163	13,715*	4,800*	45.9	33.9
Douglas	8,595	1,268	8,653	955	100+	75.3
Early	4,013	3,277	4,048	502	100+	15.3
Echols	832	246	838	19	100+	7.7
Effingham	4,008	1,756	3,974	569	99.2	32.4
Elbert	7,752	3,127	9,335	1,315	100+	42.1
Emanuel	7,627	3,005	6,318	2,098	82.8	69.8
Evans	2,738	1,308	2,355	547	86.0	41.8
Fannin	8,111	31	8,494	18	100+	58.1
Fayette	3,585	1,190	300	6	83.7	5.1
Floyd	38,230	5,949	24,932	2,600	65.2	43.7
Forsyth	7,328	4	6,539	0	89.2	.0
Franklin	7,611	776	7,599	112	99.8	14.4
Fulton	247,892	117,049	172,112	69,885	69.4	59.7
Gilmer	5,431	7	7,997	3	100+	42.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Glascock	1,281	351	1,487	22	100+	6.3
Glynn	18,750	6,762	8,628	2,715	46.0	40.0
Gordon	11,441	669	8,643	358	75.5	53.5
Grady	7,205	3,364	4,461	809	61.9	24.0
Greene	3,565	2,998	3,395	2,570	95.2	85.7
Gwinnett	24,299	1,841	22,633	1,515	93.1	82.3
Habersham	10,676	518	7,276	507	68.2	97.9
Hall	27,726	2,789	16,750	1,149	60.4	41.2
Hancock	1,727	3,576	1,661	1,706	96.2	47.7
Haralson	8,571	642	7,375	412	86.0	64.2
Harris	3,310	3,102	3,749	757	100+	24.4
Hart	7,382	1,832	6,481	425	87.8	23.2
Heard	2,661	590	3,067	365	100+	61.9
Henry	6,429	3,539	8,161	3,015	100+	85.2
Houston	17,742	4,228	13,390	1,976	75.5	46.7
Irwin	3,759	1,602	4,527	688	100+	42.9
Jackson	10,225	1,309	7,850	693	76.8	52.9
Jasper	1,926	1,705	2,152	735	100+	43.1
Jeff Davis	4,116	909	6,293	108	100+	11.9
Jefferson	4,937	4,780	4,524	4,306	91.6	90.1
Jenkins	2,985	2,210	2,764	652	92.6	29.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Johnson	3,455	1,261	3,329	555	96.4	44.0
Jones	2,655	2,185	2,695	956	100+	43.8
Lamar	4,078	2,118	3,758	1,030	92.2	48.6
Lanier	2,158	756	1,807	364	83.7	48.1
Laurens	13,176	6,248	13,490	4,195	100+	67.1
Lee	1,427	1,795	1,373	177	96.2	9.9
Liberty	5,310	3,176	2,950	2,594	55.6	81.7
Lincoln	1,974	1,336	2,500	519	100+	38.8
Long	1,527	635	2,255	1,081	100+	100+
Lowndes	20,746	8,459	13,093	2,680	63.1	31.7
Lumpkin	4,500	79	4,413	105	98.1	100+
McDuffie	4,625	2,740	8,030	931	100+	34.0
McIntosh	1,643	1,823	1,612	1,935	98.1	100+
Macon	3,171	4,077	3,514	1,644	100+	40.3
Madison	5,962	989	4,823	106	80.9	10.7
Marion	1,353	1,609	1,563	236	100+	14.7
Meriwether	6,547	4,990	5,402	1,871	82.5	37.5
Miller	3,095	946	1,594	153	51.5	16.2
Mitchell	6,055	4,971	5,592	1,242	92.4	25.0
Monroe	3,607	2,652	4,077	809	100+	30.5
Montgomery	2,520	1,288	2,449	745	97.2	57.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Morgan	3,415	2,469	1,667	993	48.8	40.2
Murray	6,209	51	6,210	25	100+	49.0
Muscogee	74,662	22,549	30,485	7,366	40.8	32.7
Newton	9,045	3,767	6,110	984	67.6	26.1
Oconee	3,228	681	2,554	120	79.1	17.6
Oglethorpe	2,964	1,709	2,873	328	96.9	19.2
Paulding	7,353	603	8,170	529	100+	87.7
Peach	3,650	4,562	2,930	1,011	80.3	22.2
Pickens	5,264	251	6,034	195	100+	77.7
Pierce	4,432	1,135	4,518	610	100+	53.7
Pike	2,584	1,643	2,601	669	100+	40.7
Polk	15,065	2,443	12,381	1,709	82.2	70.0
Pulaski	3,018	1,843	3,128	336	100+	18.2
Putnam	2,297	2,204	2,446	725	100+	32.9
Quitman	581	707	670	160	100+	22.6
Rabun	4,392	43	4,237	33	96.5	76.7
Randolph	2,878	3,663	2,598	867	90.3	23.7
Richmond	61,315	24,785	37,498	12,313	61.2	49.7
Rockdale	4,708	1,512	4,829	877	100+	58.0
Schley	961	903	1,142	210	100+	23.3
Screven	4,557	3,729	3,698	1,144	81.1	30.7

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Seminole	2,648	1,255	3,017	418	100+	33.3
Spalding	16,657	5,252	11,178	2,872	67.1	54.7
Stephens	9,975	1,355	9,518	743	95.4	54.8
Stewart	1,465	2,681	1,793	619	100+	23.1
Sumter	7,730	6,710	8,321	3,040	100+	45.3
Talbot	1,437	2,507	1,406	661	97.8	26.4
Taliaferro	917	1,073	1,052	1,165	100+	100+
Tattnall	7,377	3,135	6,515	2,995	88.3	95.5
Taylor	2,767	2,004	3,071	495	100+	24.7
Telfair	4,938	2,087	4,459	1,622	90.3	77.7
Terrell	3,038	4,057	3,305	449	100+	11.1
Thomas	13,179	7,644	8,697*	1,652*	66.0	21.6
Tift	10,211	3,513	7,828	1,637	76.7	46.6
Toombs	7,513	2,444	7,571	920	100+	37.6
Towns	2,942	1	2,600	0	88.3	.0
Treutlen	2,473	968	2,050	564	82.9	58.3
Troup	20,579	8,577	12,817	2,856	62.3	33.3
Turner	3,422	1,535	2,853	477	83.4	31.1
Twiggs	1,969	2,255	1,749	317	88.8	14.1
Union	3,457	1	3,500	0	88.4	.0
Upson	1,159	3,615	6,675	888	59.8	24.6
Walker	26,511	1,388	31,415	1,131	100+	81.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walton	9,392	3,076	6,565	963	69.9	31.3
Ware	15,671	4,763	12,994	2,720	82.9	57.1
Warren	1,911	2,224	1,938	1,380	100+	62.1
Washington	5,373	5,451	5,367	1,672	99.9	30.7
Wayne	8,204	1,878	7,878	1,171	96.0	62.4
Webster	775	975	826	231	100+	23.7
Wheeler	2,236	824	2,172	682	97.1	82.8
White	4,047	169	4,631	230	100+	100+
Whitfield	24,437	1,085	19,767	991	80.9	91.3
Wilcox	3,309	1,282	3,840	541	100+	42.2
Wilkes	3,621	3,101	4,052	1,039	100+	33.5
Wilkinson	3,135	2,279	3,302	715	100+	31.4
Worth	6,324	3,776	6,246	823	100+	21.8
TOTALS	1,797,063	612,910	1,373,388	280,212	76.4	45.7

*Totals do not include more than 14,000 registered voters for whom race is not indicated. Most of these are in Bibb, Cobb, Dougherty and Thomas counties. A smaller number is found in Cherokee, Colquitt and several other counties.

L O U I S I A N A

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Acadia	22,399	4,557	21,651	4,118	97	90
Allen	8,357	2,310	8,303	1,981	99	86
Ascension	10,110	4,171	9,116	2,688	90	64
Assumption	5,877	3,237	5,356	1,997	91	62
Avoyelles	15,845	4,717	13,657	2,396	86	51
Beauregard	8,682	2,145	9,123	1,182	100+	55
Bienville	5,617	4,077	5,130	1,693	91	42
Bossier	23,696	6,847	15,460	1,117	65	16
Caddo	87,774	41,749	60,494	10,141	69	24
Calcasieu	62,987	14,924	49,151	9,396	78	63
Caldwell	3,843	1,161	3,944	377	100+	32
Cameron	3,642	239	3,485	195	96	82
Catahoula	4,110	1,919	4,287	798	100+	42
Claiborne	6,415	5,032	5,300	1,345	83	27
Concordia	5,963	4,582	5,928	1,350	99	30
DeSoto	6,543	6,753	5,866	2,317	90	34
E. Baton Rouge	87,985	36,908	78,497	15,715	89	43
E. Carroll	2,990	4,183	2,577	2,735	86	65
E. Feliciana	7,043	6,081	5,378	2,195	76	36
Evangeline	13,652	3,342	14,869	3,731	100+	100+
Franklin	8,954	4,433	4,584	409	51	9

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Grant	6,080	1,553	6,042	685	99	44
Iberia	20,200	7,165	18,143	4,854	90	68
Iberville	8,733	7,060	7,831	5,252	90	74
Jackson	6,607	2,535	6,274	1,486	95	59
Jefferson	98,103	14,970	92,549	9,404	94	63
Jefferson Davis	12,892	2,881	10,716	1,753	83	61
Lafayette	35,513	9,473	32,872	5,814	93	61
Lafourche	25,737	3,078	25,140	2,215	98	72
LaSalle	6,799	849	7,237	661	100+	78
Lincoln	9,611	5,723	7,480	1,835	78	32
Livingston	12,306	1,818	13,687	1,445	100+	80
Madison	3,334	5,181	2,971*	2,734*	89	53
Morehouse	10,311	7,208	8,154	1,158	79	16
Natchitoches	11,328	7,444	10,357	4,264	91	57
Orleans	257,495	125,752	162,452	52,336	63	42
Ouachita	40,185	16,377	31,044	7,596	77	46
Plaquemines	8,633	2,897	9,746	1,300	100+	45
Pointe Coupee	6,085	5,273	4,834	2,976	79	56
Rapides	44,823	18,141	33,982	6,870	76	38
Red River	3,294	2,181	3,627	969	100+	44

*Race is not indicated for 280 persons registered in Madison Parish.

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Richland	7,601	4,608	6,140	764	81	17
Sabine	8,251	2,143	9,047	1,445	100+	67
St. Bernard	15,836	1,105	18,843	705	100+	64
St. Charles	8,117	2,621	7,840	2,411	97	92
St. Helena	2,363	2,082	2,327	1,520	99	73
St. James	4,892	3,964	4,736	2,834	97	72
St. John	4,982	4,279	4,593	3,047	92	71
St. Landry	25,550	14,982	23,129	11,650	91	78
St. Martin	9,781	4,664	9,824	3,449	100+	74
St. Mary	17,991	7,176	15,986	5,179	89	72
St. Tammany	16,032	5,038	18,727	2,920	100+	58
Tangipahoa	22,311	9,401	20,654	4,323	93	46
Tensas	2,287	3,533	2,237	719	98	20
Terrebonne	24,393	5,464	19,646	1,711	81	31
Union	7,021	3,006	6,585	1,079	94	36
Vermilion	19,710	2,429	19,977	2,424	100+	100-
Vernon	9,279	1,268	10,311	751	100+	59
Washington	16,804	6,821	16,157	3,330	96	49
Webster	15,713	7,045	11,008	3,163	70	45
W. Baton Rouge	3,974	3,502	3,791	1,749	95	50

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
W. Carroll	6,171	1,389	4,516	186	73	13
W. Feliciana	2,814	4,553	1,113	1,817	39	40
Winn	6,790	2,590	7,092	1,362	100+	53
TOTALS	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1

M I S S I S S I P P I

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Adams	10,888	9,340	6,306	6,005	57.9	64.3
Alcorn	13,347	1,756	8,603	398	64.4	22.7
Amite	4,449	3,560	3,831	949	86.1	26.7
Attala	7,522	4,262	NV	NV		
Benton	2,514	1,419	2,419	956	96.2	67.4
Bolivar	10,031	15,939	6,209	5,732	61.9	36.0
Calhoun	7,188	1,767	NV	NV		
Carroll	2,969	2,704	3,077	1,248	100+	46.1
Chickasaw	6,388	3,054	6,620	535	100+	17.5
Choctaw	3,728	1,105	NV	NV		
Claiborne	1,688	3,969	1,679	2,906	99.4	73.2
Clarke	6,072	2,988	5,211	1,026	85.8	34.3
Clay	5,547	4,444	3,535	1,695	63.7	38.1
Coahoma	8,708	14,604	7,215	7,761	82.8	53.1
Copiah	8,153	6,407	8,382	1,455	100+	22.7
Covington	5,329	2,032	4,339	937	81.4	46.1
De Soto	5,338	6,246	5,592	2,129	100+	34.1
Forrest	22,431	7,495	14,827	2,064	66.1	27.5
Franklin	3,403	1,842	3,919	358	100+	19.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
George	5,276	580	4,625	123	87.7	21.2
Greene	3,518	859	3,147	264	89.4	30.7
Grenada	5,792	4,323	5,962	1,752	100+	40.5
Hancock	6,813	1,129	5,574	510	81.8	45.2
Harrison	55,094	9,670	17,450	3,833	31.7	39.6
Hinds	67,836	36,138	63,952	15,663	94.3	43.3
Holmes	4,773	8,757	5,080	4,655	100+	53.1
Humphreys	3,344	5,561	2,861	1,283	85.5	23.1
Issaquena	640	1,081	768	446	100+	41.3
Itawamba	8,523	463	6,258	66	73.4	14.2
Jackson	24,447	5,113	NV	NV		
Jasper	5,327	3,675	4,643	976	87.2	26.6
Jefferson	1,666	3,540	1,913	2,049	100+	57.8
Jefferson Davis	3,629	3,222	3,443	1,833	94.8	56.8
Jones	25,943	7,427	NV	2,077(est.)		28.0
Kemper	3,113	3,221	3,342	369	100+	11.4
Lafayette	8,074	3,239	4,784	778	59.2	24.0
Lamar	6,489	1,071	6,062	174	93.4	16.2
Lauderdale	27,806	11,924	19,895	5,343	71.5	44.8
Lawrence	3,878	1,720	NV	1,074(est.)		62.4
Leake	6,754	3,397	6,358	849	94.1	24.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Lee	18,709	5,130	11,403	736	60.9	14.3
Leflore	10,274	13,567	NV	7,161(est.)		52.8
Lincoln	11,072	3,913	NV	NV		
Lowndes	16,460	8,362	9,813	1,267	59.6	15.1
Madison	5,622	10,366	6,334	5,991	100+	57.8
Marion	8,997	3,630	10,810	1,227	100+	33.8
Marshall	4,342	7,168	4,741	2,562	100+	35.7
Monroe	13,426	5,610	NV	NV		
Montgomery	4,700	2,627	4,250	591	90.4	22.5
Neshoba	9,143	2,565	6,783	953	74.2	37.1
Newton	8,014	3,018	6,198	1,127	77.3	37.3
Noxubee	2,997	5,172	NV	NV		
Oktibbeha	8,423	4,952	8,443	889	100+	17.9
Panola	7,639	7,250	6,555	2,411	85.8	33.2
Pearl River	9,765	2,473	NV	NV		
Perry	3,515	1,140	NV	NV		
Pike	12,163	6,936	8,760	2,162	72.0	31.2
Pontotoc	8,772	1,519	6,398	261	72.9	17.2
Prentiss	9,535	1,070	6,810	112	71.4	10.5
Quitman	4,176	5,673	3,391	1,382	81.2	24.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Rankin	13,246	6,944	12,321	1,504	93.0	21.7
Scott	7,742	3,752	5,677	705	73.3	18.7
Sharkey	1,882	3,152	1,768	433	93.9	13.7
Simpson	8,055	3,186	NV	NV		
Smith	6,597	1,293	NV	NV		
Stone	2,965	868	2,473	114	83.4	13.1
Sunflower	8,785	13,524	8,287	2,325	94.3	17.1
Tallahatchie	5,099	6,483	4,913	1,174	96.3	18.1
Tate	4,506	4,326	3,980	1,429	88.3	33.0
Tippah	7,513	1,281	5,957	374	79.2	29.2
Tishomingo	8,068	359	5,248	54	65.0	15.0
Tunica	2,011	5,822	1,558	505	77.4	8.7
Union	9,512	1,626	7,033	298	73.9	18.3
Walthall	4,536	2,490	4,261	1,293	93.9	51.9
Warren	13,530	10,726	12,169	5,229	89.9	48.7
Washington	19,837	20,619	12,683	5,094	63.9	24.7
Wayne	5,881	2,556	4,838	370	82.2	14.4
Webster	4,993	1,174	NV	NV		
Wilkinson	2,340	4,120	2,777	1,127	100+	27.3
Winston	6,808	3,611	NV	NV		

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Yalobusha	4,572	2,441	3,511	235	76.8	9.6
Yazoo	7,598	8,719	7,580	1,050	99.7	11.9
TOTALS	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9

Note: Race is not indicated for many recent registrants in a number of Mississippi counties. Where these figures occurred, they have been divided between the races in the totals above. Most are counted as Negro registration, since it is thought that most of these recent registrants are Negroes. NV indicates statistics not available when these figures were assembled.

NORTH CAROLINA

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alamance	42,755	7,429	47,604	4,801	100+	64.6
Alexander	8,370	506	10,478	460	100+	90.9
Alleghany	4,588	119	6,899	83	100+	69.7
Anson	7,847	5,218	6,800	1,700	86.7	32.6
Ashe	11,276	115	13,038	110	100+	95.6
Avery	6,507	124	6,081	41	93.4	33.1
Beaufort	13,737	6,196	10,144	1,114	73.8	18.0
Bertie	6,156	6,261	5,925	3,879	96.2	61.9
Bladen	9,173	5,147	10,109	2,721	100+	52.9
Brunswick	7,602	3,170	10,298	2,588	100+	81.6
Buncombe	72,249	8,510	67,653	6,565	93.6	77.1
Burke	29,506	1,921	34,657	2,247	100+	100+
Cabarrus	35,165	5,380	31,463	2,899	89.5	53.9
Caldwell	25,520	1,723	22,486	1,938	88.1	100+
Camden	1,988	1,054	1,923	417	96.7	39.6
Carteret	16,030	1,932	12,087	1,065	75.4	55.1
Caswell	6,026	4,129	5,200	1,600	86.3	38.7
Catawba	38,542	3,296	22,068	1,557	57.3	47.2
Chatham	11,227	4,026	13,722	900	100+	22.3
Cherokee	9,102	226	9,055	152	99.5	67.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Chowan	3,825	2,507	3,424	822	89.5	32.8
Clay	3,112	37	2,454	25	78.9	67.6
Cleveland	30,356	6,474	19,883	2,490	65.5	38.5
Columbus	17,830	7,382	16,458	5,459	92.3	73.9
Craven	22,994	8,242	12,001	3,473	52.2	42.1
Cumberland	58,279	18,789	25,794	7,461	44.3	39.7
Currituck	2,845	1,076	2,574	378	90.5	35.1
Dare	3,467	237	NV	NV		
Davidson	41,462	4,491	31,839	2,404	76.8	53.5
Davie	8,898	1,080	9,967	966	100+	89.4
Duplin	14,477	6,955	15,812	3,185	100+	45.8
Durham	47,098	19,475	37,022	16,389	78.6	84.1
Edgecombe	15,515	12,330	12,247	3,624	78.9	29.4
Forsyth	87,219	24,952	68,221	17,028	78.2	68.2
Franklin	9,842	5,554	10,642	1,853	100+	33.4
Gaston	64,154	8,365	43,288	4,185	67.5	50.0
Gates	2,714	2,344	3,061	1,289	100+	55.0
Graham	3,324	125	NV	NV		
Granville	11,584	6,996	10,022	2,475	86.5	35.4
Greene	4,793	3,268	4,257	777	88.8	23.8
Guilford	116,748	27,292	84,838	16,711	72.7	61.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Halifax	16,496	13,766	17,529	4,821	100+	35.0
Harnett	20,061	6,150	15,326	3,799	76.4	61.8
Haywood	23,055	500	22,182	393	96.2	78.6
Henderson	21,062	1,170	17,419	651	82.7	55.6
Hertford	5,606	6,102	4,605	3,025	82.1	49.6
Hoke	3,998	3,747	2,984	1,375	74.6	36.7
Hyde	2,201	1,100	1,970	399	89.5	36.3
Iredell	31,094	5,517	23,338	2,958	75.1	53.6
Jackson	9,227	841	7,234	148	78.4	17.6
Johnston	28,259	6,395	22,188	2,550	78.5	39.9
Jones	3,248	2,251	4,508	1,571	100+	69.8
Lee	12,041	2,803	11,537	1,882	95.8	67.1
Lenoir	19,260	10,293	15,448	3,670	80.2	35.6
Lincoln	14,893	1,546	16,591	1,491	100+	96.4
McDowell	14,693	755	14,232	626	96.9	82.9
Macon	8,573	180	8,168	67	95.3	37.2
Madison	9,574	75	8,098	42	84.6	56.0
Martin	8,052	5,683	7,706	2,027	95.7	35.7
Mecklenburg	123,787	34,150	98,779	18,087	79.8	53.0
Mitchell	7,977	29	7,083	8	88.8	27.6
Montgomery	8,119	2,075	7,855	1,387	96.7	66.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Moore	15,733	4,803	12,821	2,136	81.5	44.5
Nash	21,761	10,573	14,837	2,655	68.2	25.1
New Hanover	31,641	10,569	22,241	6,788	70.3	64.2
Northampton	6,178	7,304	6,062	4,016	98.1	55.0
Onslow	33,988	5,015	14,995	2,694	44.1	53.7
Orange	19,385	4,978	16,619	3,265	85.8	65.6
Pamlico	3,708	1,593	3,207	807	86.5	50.7
Pasquotank	9,409	4,936	6,079	2,127	64.6	43.1
Pender	5,631	4,085	5,486	1,672	97.4	40.9
Perquimans	3,083	2,027	2,291	985	74.3	48.6
Person	9,994	4,227	9,664	2,070	96.7	49.0
Pitt	22,621	13,575	27,039	4,449	100+	32.8
Polk	6,104	766	8,408	683	100+	89.2
Randolph	33,477	2,591	23,421	1,245	70.0	48.0
Richmond	16,019	5,514	13,985	3,515	87.3	63.7
Robeson	20,851	21,424	12,904	9,401	61.9	43.9
Rockingham	33,438	7,398	26,419	4,289	79.0	58.0
Rowan	42,866	7,209	32,219	4,332	75.2	60.0
Rutherford	24,020	2,572	23,986	1,515	99.9	58.9
Sampson	17,378	8,203	22,491	7,510	100+	91.5
Scotland	7,812	4,686	4,913	1,644	62.9	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Stanly	22,056	2,164	19,136	1,322	86.8	61.1
Stokes	11,786	1,025	7,500	1,500	63.6	100+
Surry	26,796	1,423	37,075	955	100+	67.1
Swain	3,878	756	6,547	81	100+	10.7
Transylvania	8,687	405	8,509	398	97.9	98.3
Tyrrell	1,597	849	1,089	422	68.2	49.7
Union	20,044	4,423	13,209	1,428	65.9	32.3
Vance	11,005	6,520	8,145	2,507	74.0	38.4
Wake	76,799	22,856	62,912	12,022	81.9	52.6
Warren	4,439	5,490	5,207	2,562	100+	46.7
Washington	4,365	2,643	3,855	1,308	88.3	49.5
Watauga	9,639	126	10,927	94	100+	74.6
Wayne	29,349	15,754	17,527	4,939	59.7	31.3
Wilkes	23,779	1,444	24,440	1,826	100+	100+
Wilson	20,566	10,770	12,503	3,096	60.8	28.7
Yadkin	13,039	576	NV	NV		
Yancey	7,856	76	8,917	68	100+	89.5
TOTALS	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0

NOTE: Non-white figures include Indians, but these are not a major portion of the statewide total. NV indicates statistics not available at the time the figures were assembled.

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Abbeville	8,733	3,215	7,113	1,099	81.4	34.2
Aiken	33,646	10,040	32,958	8,585	97.9	85.5
Allendale	2,531	3,205	3,018	1,626	100+	50.8
Anderson	47,542	9,598	31,718	2,924	66.7	30.5
Bamberg	4,371	3,807	4,485	1,407	100+	37.0
Barnwell	5,652	3,242	7,029	1,759	100+	54.3
Beaufort	12,098	7,247	6,378	3,999	52.7	55.2
Berkeley	10,122	7,619	10,649	4,717	100+	61.9
Calhoun	2,623	3,318	2,663	1,621	100+	48.9
Charleston	77,909	35,499	52,815	17,422	67.7	49.1
Cherokee	16,037	3,360	14,824	1,757	92.4	52.3
Chester	11,172	5,664	11,123	2,558	99.6	45.2
Chesterfield	12,099	5,219	10,597	3,965	87.6	76.0
Clarendon	5,223	7,735	5,436	5,339	100+	69.0
Colleton	8,203	6,180	8,527	2,705	100+	43.8
Darlington	16,706	9,900	14,940	4,364	89.4	44.1
Dillon	8,725	5,529	7,593	2,840	87.0	51.4
Dorchester	7,121	5,370	8,624	3,941	100+	73.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Edgefield	4,103	3,764	4,128	1,022	100+	27.2
Fairfield	4,975	5,536	4,894	2,227	98.4	40.2
Florence	27,047	15,951	24,770	7,759	91.6	48.6
Georgetown	8,855	7,173	8,418	4,189	95.1	58.4
Greenville	102,365	18,605	67,538	8,700	66.0	46.8
Greenwood	19,218	6,764	15,977	2,914	83.1	43.1
Hampton	4,711	4,052	4,889	2,355	100+	58.1
Horry	27,518	7,429	20,132	2,889	73.2	38.9
Jasper	2,689	3,333	2,879	2,079	100+	62.4
Kershaw	11,258	5,903	11,434	3,034	100+	51.4
Lancaster	16,213	4,762	17,465	1,944	100+	40.8
Laurens	19,775	6,818	11,149	6,222	56.4	91.3
Lee	4,394	5,446	4,616	2,564	100+	47.1
Lexington	28,774	4,782	25,002	2,519	86.9	52.7
McCormick	1,915	2,248	2,153	972	100+	43.2
Marion	8,103	7,684	7,204	3,047	88.9	39.7
Marlboro	8,230	5,932	8,462	1,514	100+	25.5
Newberry	12,204	4,954	10,833	1,884	88.8	38.0
Oconee	19,762	2,230	13,761	1,226	69.6	54.9
Orangeburg	16,381	17,355	16,039	8,397	97.9	48.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Pickens	24,015	2,356	17,339	1,077	72.2	46.1
Richland	79,050	32,670	55,509	19,265	70.2	59.0
Saluda	5,573	2,327	5,583	1,104	100+	47.4
Spartanburg	73,317	17,047	58,200	7,782	79.4	45.7
Sumter	22,004	15,380	13,849	9,238	63.0	60.1
Union	12,826	4,125	12,969	1,715	100+	41.6
Williamsburg	7,560	10,535	9,285	5,810	100+	55.1
York	31,799	10,196	23,094	4,516	72.6	44.3
TOTALS	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4

7- 1966

To what extent do federal examiners influence the level of Negro voter registration in the Southern counties to which they are assigned? What is the effect of organized registration campaigns, particularly those assisted by the Voter Education Project?

A study by the Voter Education Project seeks to answer these questions. Registration figures were compared for counties with federal examiners, with VEP programs, with both and with neither.

The results follow a predictable pattern. Highest Negro registration figures are found in those counties with both federal examiners and VEP-assisted programs. Next comes counties with federal examiners, followed by counties with VEP programs. Lowest registration levels are found in those counties with neither.

As of late June, federal examiners had been assigned in 41 counties in four states. They had registered a total of 122,905 persons. No federal examiners have been assigned in Georgia or Virginia or in 26 North Carolina counties which come under provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

At the time of the comparisons, there were only two counties in South Carolina with federal examiners and only two in Mississippi with VEP-affiliated programs. Mississippi counties with neither were selected at random from various sections of the state. Alabama and South Carolina counties were chosen from the area immediately surrounding counties with federal examiners and VEP programs.

Urban counties were excluded because these counties generally have long-standing registration programs and other special histories which set them apart from rural counties. Louisiana was not included for lack of recent and adequate parish-by-parish registration figures. Federal examiners have been assigned to five Louisiana parishes.

Georgia furnishes a state example of low Negro registration where no federal examiners are present. Georgia's Negro registration is second lowest at 43.1 per cent of the Negro voting age population. In the adjoining states of Alabama and South Carolina, the figures are 48.9 per cent and 50.3 per cent respectively. Mississippi has the lowest Negro registration: 30.9 per cent of the voting age population.

The Voter Education Project assists, through small grants, programs of registration, citizenship education and leadership training in 11 Southern states. For further information about the attached tables, contact Marvin Wall, research director, Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303,

(Area Code 404, 577-2986).

ALABAMA

BOTH	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Hale	3,940	5,999	
Perry	3,719	5,202	
Marengo	5,535	7,791	
	13,194	18,992	69.5
FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Greene	3,801	5,001	
Wilcox	3,932	6,085	
Lowndes	2,353	5,122	
Dallas	10,260	15,115	
Elmore	2,717	4,808	
Autauga	2,275	3,651	
	25,338	39,782	63.7
VEP			
Sumter	3,369	6,814	
Choctaw	2,971	3,982	
Conecuh	1,822	3,635	
Barbour	3,487	5,787	
	11,649	20,218	57.6

NEITHER

Clarke	2,495	5,833	
Monroe	2,380	4,894	
Butler	1,731	4,820	
Pike	3,015	5,259	
Bullock	2,980	4,450	
Russell	3,901	10,531	
Washington	1,403	2,297	
Crenshaw	1,210	2,207	
Escambia	1,755	5,685	
	20,870	45,976	45.4

MISSISSIPPI

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
BOTH			
Coahoma	7,553	14,604	51.7
FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Leflore	6,868	13,567	
Neshoba	904	2,565	
Jones	2,568	7,427	
Jefferson	3,038	3,540	
Claiborne	1,937	3,969	
Holmes	4,891	8,757	
Carroll	1,036	2,704	
DeSoto	1,825	6,246	
Madison	5,871	10,366	
Jeff Davis	1,843	3,222	
Benton	942	1,419	
Clay	1,624	4,444	
Humphreys	787	5,561	
Walthall	1,328	4,540	
Newton	1,075	3,018	
Simpson	882	3,186	
Warren	5.116	10,726	

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Jasper	721	3,675	
Noxubee	1,461	5,172	
Rankin	1,503	6,944	
Winston	1,003	3,611	
	47,223	114,659	41.2
VEP PROGRAM			
Issaquena	377	1,081	34.9
NEITHER			
Lincoln	392	3,913	
Panola	2,186	7,250	
Sunflower	2,059	13,524	
Attala	866	4,262	
Amite	847	3,560	
Alcorn	139	1,756	
Franklin	338	1,842	
Sharkey	398	3,152	
Washington	4,811	20,619	
Pontotoc	243	1,519	
Choctaw	159	1,105	
Harrison	3,482	9,670	
Lauderdale	5,306	11,924	

Lowndes	1,260	8,362	
Pike	2,090	6,936	
Tunica	468	5,822	
Wilkinson	597	4,120	
Adams	5,829	9,340	
Montgomery	67	2,627	
George	115	580	
Yazoo	1,051	8,719	
Lee	709	5,130	
Stone	101	868	
Scott	664	3,752	
Lafayette	775	3,239	
Quitman	1,238	5,673	
	36,190	149,264	24.2

SOUTH CAROLINA

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
BOTH			
Clarendon	5,182	7,735	67.0
FEDERAL EXAMINER			
Dorchester	3,836	5,370	71.4
VEP			
Williamsburg	5,356	10,535	
Sumter	7,791	15,380	
Beaufort	3,963	7,247	
	17,110	33,162	51.6
NEITHER			
Georgetown	4,119	7,173	
Orangeburg	8,289	17,355	
Bamberg	1,332	3,807	
Barnwell	1,759	3,242	
Lee	2,554	5,446	
	18,053	37,023	48.8

of these three men serves notice that he has not changed his mind. The system, it will be recalled, would draft all able-bodied young men in their 18th year, put them through basic training for six months at $30 a month, then give them six months of special training, and thereafter return them to civilian life as trained reservists, in which status they would remain, subject to automatic call in the event of a national emergency, until they were 26. The big argument that will be made for UMT is that under the present system many young men who had previously served as soldiers overseas were forced to don the uniform and fight once more in Korea, whereas many younger men who contrived the right sequence of deferments for education, marriage and employment escaped service altogether. The big argument against UMT is the danger of militarism inherent in it by reason of its universality and its permanence. Granted that such a system may be more equitable than Selective Service, something more than equality of sacrifice is required; namely, that our system also do as much as any manpower system can to minimize the danger of war. We doubt whether President Eisenhower desires to leave behind him as the most lasting monument of his administration a system of permanent conscription.

School Man Fired as 'Controversial'

BY A VOTE of four to three, the Houston board of education has discharged George W. Ebey, assistant superintendent of schools in this city of 600,000. Dr. Ebey was first charged with disloyalty, and when these accusations were proved false he was fired for being a "controversial figure," and because he did not "attack the Communists." The prime movers behind this job of character lynching did not have the courage to make their names known during the three months that the case set Houston in turmoil, and have not yet disclosed their identities. They operated through John P. Rogge, an attorney, who pressed the charges before the school board and in the newspapers. As if on signal, the "Minute Women" and others whose interest in education is wholly political, supported Mr. Rogge with outcries for Dr. Ebey's discharge. After hearing Rogge and Ebey the board employed some former FBI agents, the "General Research Company," to sift the charges and report on the truth concerning Dr. Ebey's loyalty. At a cost to Houston of nearly $6,000, General Research last week turned in a 348-page report. It followed Dr. Ebey's career through his life in California, Hawaii and Oregon; into and out of honorable military service; into and out of the American Veterans Committee. They did not find a single person who thought that Dr. Ebey was disloyal, that he had ever been a Communist, that he was anything but what he professed—an American citizen whose politics generally coincided with the New Deal. On the basis of this report the superintendent of schools recommended continued employment of Dr. Ebey. Although the original charges had been disproved, the board fired the assistant superintendent anyway. Meanwhile a transformation took place in public opinion. People who had been on the fence came down—on Dr. Ebey's side. The school board minority said: "We have just begun to fight." This minority would be greatly helped if the National Education Association were to issue the kind of report on Houston it issued on the Chicago schools a few years ago. The situations are comparable: the educational system of a great city caught in the grip of a conscienceless machine. Machine control of Chicago schools was broken by the N.E.A. report. The Houston machine should also be exposed.

Bishop Oxnam's Challenge

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

Washington, D.C., July 22.

FROM EARLY afternoon until midnight yesterday, one of the most courageous of American churchmen voluntarily confronted the House committee on un-American activities. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam called on the committee to repent of "practices that jeopardize the rights of free men won after a thousand years of struggle for political and religious freedom." He sought redress for damage done him over a period of nearly seven years by the committee's practice of releasing material "much of which is irrelevant and immaterial, some of which is false and some of which is true, but all prepared in a way capable of creating the impression that I have been and am sympathetic to communism and therefore subversive." And he demanded, respectfully but firmly, that Representative Donald L. Jackson, Republican and Congregational Christian from California, apologize on the floor of the House of Representatives for saying there on March 17, 1953, that Bishop Oxnam had "served God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week over . . . a long period of time."

Bishop Oxnam was not given the apology due him. The House committee treated him with gingerly courtesy, but it showed no sign of repenting, of cleaning up its files or of changing its ways. The most it would do was to vote unanimously at the end of the day that Bishop Oxnam is not affiliated with the Communist party. It then divided on strict party lines, five Republicans to four Democrats, on the question whether he had given aid and comfort to communism through association with Communist-front organizations. But the issues raised yesterday were not settled by such actions.

I

Both sides were keenly aware that the eyes and ears of the nation were following what was being said and done in the crowded caucus room of the older of the two House office buildings. Bishop Oxnam had spent weeks in studying the correspondence, the writing, the engagement lists, the addresses of a busy lifetime. The cross-examination yesterday revealed that the committee had also gone to extraordinary lengths, including the recent taking of secret testimony from witnesses not previously called before it, to prepare for its encounter with the bishop. It had its own ways of knowing of the great concern with which citizens everywhere, and particularly churchmen, viewed the approach of the hearing. All media of mass communication sought and got facilities for covering the meeting. A rising volume of mail, incessant ringing of the telephone and a swelling number of callers drove the large

staff of the House committee to the limit of endurance. As one of its minor problems, I can testify both as to the pressure on the staff and the courtesy with which it carried out its work.

An hour before the hearing was due to open, capitol police were having a hard time holding back the crowd which sought admission. The room was packed long before the gavel fell. In the front row were representatives of the American Council of Churches, whose leaders got 100,000 signatures to a petition that Congress investigate the clergy. They could have secured front seats only by the special favor of somebody connected with the committee. Before the meeting opened and during recesses, one of these men, a "Captain" Bundy, busily circulated at the front of the room talking with persons he seemed to know on the staff of the House committee. Eight or ten rows to the rear sat Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the National Council of Churches, Francis S. Harmon, chairman of its budget committee, and two or three other persons connected with the National Council as officers or staff. None of them engaged in lobbying.

The meeting was finally called to order by Representative Harold Velde, an Illinois Republican and a Methodist. He said Bishop Oxnam was being heard at his own request because he claimed he had been "in some way harmed" by the committee. The chairman said the hearing was not to be interpreted as representing an intention on the part of the committee to investigate religion or the churches. He warned that the committee would tolerate "no personalities," that it was concerned solely with the accuracy of the information in its files and not with factional disputes between church groups. He said he would tolerate no demonstrations from the crowd in support of or opposition to any person or statement.

Bishop Oxnam was then sworn and took the witness chair. As a special favor he was permitted to have sit next to him Charles P. Parlin, a New York attorney. Mr. Parlin did not speak, presumably because he was not permitted to do so, although the counsel for the House committee, Robert Kunzig, held the floor for long periods as he conducted the interrogation of Bishop Oxnam. The second concession made by the chairman to the bishop was to give him 15 minutes to read an opening statement. This he announced constituted no precedent.

II

Bishop Oxnam's statement declared in its first sentence that he sought "redress for damage done me by the release of information in the 'files' of this committee." He said that such releases, made by the committee during the last seven years, had been used by "private agencies" as evidence of Communist sympathies. Even a member of the House committee on un-American activities, he said, had been so deceived by them. He then quoted the March 17 speech of "a member of this committee" who accused him of "serving God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week" and said if that committee member could be misled, others could be more easily deceived. The bishop then spelled out his creed, which makes him reject communism: he believes in God, whereas communism is atheist; he believes in Christ and a spiritual view of life, whereas communism rejects Christ and is based on a philosophy of materialism; he is for freedom, and communism for dictatorship. He said: "I have been actively opposed to communism all my life. I have never been a member of the Communist party." He cited his entire record as proof of his desire "to make the free society impregnable to communist attack," and declared: "Loyalty to my family, my church and my country is fundamental to me; and when any man or any committee questions that loyalty, I doubt that I would be worthy of the name American if I took it lying down."

III

Bishop Oxnam then denounced the House committee's practice "of releasing unverified and unevaluated material designated as 'information' to citizens, organizations and members of Congress," and formally requested the committee to stop the practice, clean up its files and admit its inaccuracies and misrepresentations. He said the reports released "are the result of inexcusable incompetence or of slanted selection," and that they bring loyalty into question, damage reputation and "turn attention from the Communist conspirator, who pursues his nefarious work in the shadows, [to the] patriotic citizen who is disgraced in public." The bishop then asked the committee to question him about seven false statements made in material released by the House committee.

Referring to a claim by Representative Jackson that "all" pertinent information relative to an individual appears in the files, the bishop asked why his own file contained only derogatory information, with no reference to ten high honors, which he named, that had come to him as a citizen and as a churchman. "We cannot beat down the communist menace by bearing false witness against fellow Americans. The Communist wants a divided America," he said. "I believe this committee will wish to end a practice that plays into Communist hands." He then called on the committee to reform its procedure (1) by abolishing the "public" files, (2) by correcting its file on Bishop Oxnam so as to make it tell the truth, and (3) by publicly announcing its "mistakes" in his case. Further, he asked that Representative Jackson apologize on the floor of the House of Representatives for "his unprecedented and untrue statements made there concerning me." Oxnam ended by stating his belief that "the churches have done and are doing far more to destroy the Communist threat to faith and to freedom than all investigating committees put together."

Chairman Velde immediately objected to Bishop Oxnam's reference to Jackson as a violation of the rules, but Jackson said he made no protest, so the matter was dropped. This was the first of a series of rulings made by the chair against the bishop. The most spectacular of these came during the cross-examination of the bishop for his membership in the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship, a wartime association. The bishop pointed out that his membership ended in 1943, and produced a carbon copy of his letter of resignation. He said others, from Secretary Hull down, were members; that Russia was our ally. He then attempted to read a commendation of the organization, written in November 1945, by President—then General—Dwight D. Eisenhower. The chairman interrupted him by ruling that he was out of

order, but protests from members of his committee as well as a spontaneous chorus of exclamations from the audience made Mr. Velde quickly reverse his ruling.

Bishop Oxnam was asked to name the man who invited him to join this organization and he named a mathematics professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In response to questions the bishop said he did not know the professor, but had his secretary verify his status on the M.I.T. faculty, whereupon Oxnam took it for granted the man was trustworthy. Committee counsel then pointed out that the mathematics professor had been "identified" as a Communist by three men on three occasions since 1951 and that the Massachusetts organization or its national body had been cited as subversive by various bodies, including the House committee on un-American activities, at various times since 1944. Bishop Oxnam said he had observed nothing subversive about either the professor or the organization during the time he knew them. Representative Kit Clardy, Republican and Methodist of Michigan, took this opportunity and several others of similar character during the day and evening to make this an argument for the usefulness of the House committee on un-American Activities: it could detect Communists where well meaning citizens on "sucker lists" saw nothing amiss.

IV

As the hearing wore on throughout the afternoon and evening, it became clear that Bishop Oxnam's effort to persuade the committee to correct its record was meeting with little success. He had asked to be interrogated on seven points in which the "public" file on him, as published in the *Washington Post*, had erred. Instead the committee counsel, taking a leaf from the book of Senator McCarthy, began to insert in the record new charges based on testimony the bishop had no means of knowing about. Bishop Oxnam protested against adding to the record instead of clearing it, but got nowhere. Fortunately he had providently brought heavy brief cases full of pertinent material from his own files. In this way he was able to answer, usually with documentation, even the charges he did not anticipate concerning a variety of allegedly dubious relationships. One of the questions went back to 1922, when the present bishop was a young pastor in Los Angeles and a candidate for the board of education. In every case the bishop was able to show that he was not a member of any organization when it was declared to be subversive or when it acted in a subversive manner.

But the committee also knew it was on trial, and it acted to justify its existence by the employment of several devices. One was to enter into its record items which were shown to Bishop Oxnam and his counsel only when they demanded to see them, and of which, it was clear, members of the committee itself were often ignorant. Thus the wave of accusations always raced ahead of any possible disproof. Another device was to insert into the record on each organization or section of the interrogation a final item. It summarized all accusations against the organization without mentioning such relevant material as that the bishop, for example, had denied ever having anything to do with the organization or any knowledge of it. The record therefore begins with the charge that Bishop Oxnam was a member of the American League Against War and Fascism, for example, and ends with findings of the subversive character of the organization without mentioning that the charge against the bishop was false. The bishop protested against this practice also, but to no avail.

Still another device by which the committee attempted to save face was the claim of its counsel, backed by comments from Representatives Clardy or Jackson, that findings of subversion were "retroactive"—in spite of the constitutional provision against *ex post facto* operation of laws in the United States. Finally, the repeatedly demonstrated hostility of the chairman to Bishop Oxnam tended to impute guilt where it did not exist. In addition to the instances referred to, he accused the bishop of dragging religious controversy into the hearing when the bishop tried to reply to a quotation by the committee's own counsel from Louis Budenz. When Representative Clardy protested on the floor of the House that the bishop had "continually attacked all investigating committees, including this one," and was criticized in turn by the bishop, Chairman Velde ruled a reply by Bishop Oxnam out of order, saying he regretted "very much that the bishop had brought personalities into this discussion in the first place."

As the grueling interrogation ground on into the night, it became evident that Bishop Oxnam's physical endurance, intellectual stamina and spiritual self-control were not going to crack. Then the division in the House committee, which ran straight through on party lines, began to show up more clearly. Increasingly the questions which helped the bishop to bring out his side of the case came from the Democratic side of the long committee table, and those which were intended to defeat the stated purpose of the hearing came from the Republican majority. This raised the question whether it was not time for Republican policy strategists to reconsider the role of Chairman Velde and his colleagues on the House committee. What kind of position is the party which a majority of the Protestants of America support getting itself into with this kind of inquisition of a Protestant leader?

V

A second question is even more revealing of the true nature of the processes that find expression through the kind of charges that are brought against Bishop Oxnam, which even though unsupported by fair examination of the evidence are damaging through endless repetition. That is the question of the only partly concealed link between some members—possibly a majority—of the committee and the irresponsibles of the American Council of Churches. The quickness with which Chairman Velde suppressed the one mention of the American Council of Churches when it came up in the interrogation indicates that he realizes something at least of its character. Yet how did its representatives rate a front-row position at the most crowded hearing held in Washington in many a day? How did it happen that the American Council rushed its petitions to investigate the clergy to Washington? Is it coincidence that the organs of the American Council seem to be fed by hidden springs from the House committee's proceedings? And why did a member of the American Council group yesterday tell a questioner who sought to learn the identity of the group: "We are all from Congressman Jackson's office"?

H.E.F.

DOROTHY DANDRIDGE, 1954

ETH TAYLOR, 1953

7 3-60

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, SUNDAY, J

Herald Tribune—UPI telephoto

AMERICAN BEAUTIES—Eight of the nation's fifty-one entries seeking the Miss U. S. A. crown as they arrived at Miami Beach airport. The winner will be the U. S. entry in the Miss Universe pageant. Left to right: Sandy Chudy, New Jersey; Mary Rodites, New York; Evelyn Bly, Alaska; Lorelei Sue White, Rhode Island; Joan Cresleigh, New Hampshire; Terry Trip, Maine; Barbara Feldman, Massachusetts, and Joyce Trautwig, Connecticut.

Associated Press wirephoto

Corrine Huff, Miss Ohio, taking off yesterday for Miami Beach.

'Very Beautiful'

Ohio Girl Is 1st U. S. Negro To Vie for Miss Universe

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, July 2 (UPI).—Miss Corrine Huff, a Negro, was named "Miss Ohio" last night and flew to Miami Beach today for a crack at the Miss Universe title.

"To my knowledge, she is the first Negro ever to win a 'Miss State' designation," the local sponsor of the Miss Ohio contest said.

Miss Huff will compete in the eight-day pageant, starting today, for the Miss U. S. A. title and the opportunity to enter the Miss Universe contest. She was the runner-up in the Miss Ohio contest, conducted here June 26 and 27.

Winner Too Young

She received the title last night after the winner found out she was too young to compete and withdrew. Miss Huff, a Youngstown telephone operator, replaced Kathy Justice, who will not be eighteen until October.

Miss Justice flew to Miami Beach to enter the Miss U. S. A. contest. There she learned she was too young to qualify. She telephoned her parents at Poland, Ohio. Near here, and told htemfi They withdrew her from the contest. Jim Gardner, a local realtor and sponsor of the Miss Ohio competition, then announced that Miss Huff would replace Miss Justice.

Miss Huff, nineteen, who lives here with her aunt and uncle, who is an attorney, was named runner-up by the contest's five judges—a state Senator, a municipal judge, a fashion model, a radio announcer, a television personality and a cosmetologist.

Mr. Gardner said Miss Huff is "a very beautiful girl."

The contestants in the Miss Universe contest are chosen on a basis of beauty, poise and personality.

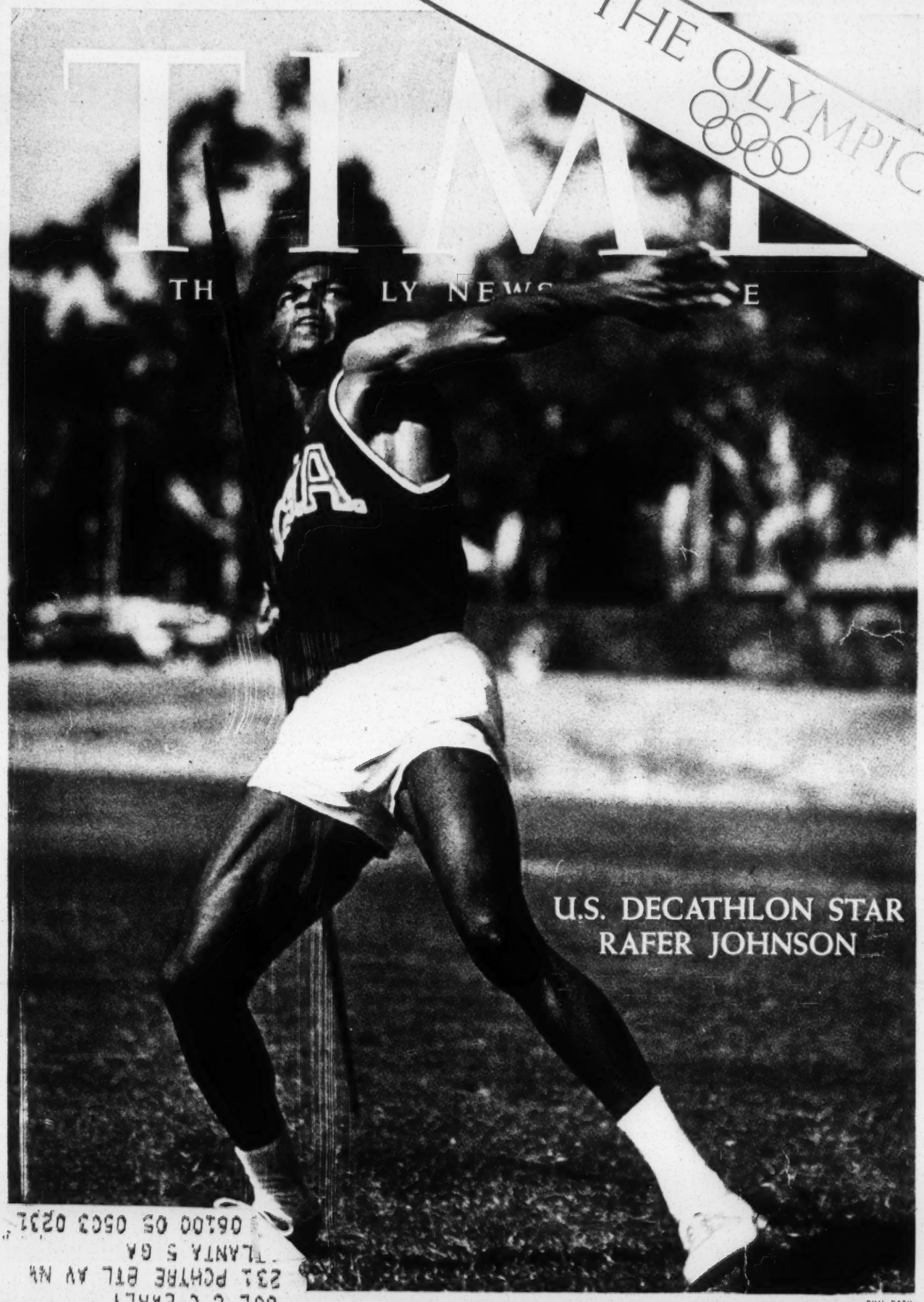
TWENTY [illegible] CENTS

AUGUST 29, 1960

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

THE OLYMPICS



U.S. DECATHLON STAR
RAFER JOHNSON

PHIL BATH

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VOL. LXXVI NO. 9

"To Do a Little Better"

(See Cover)

All roads led to Rome. Day after day, the swarm of tourists dumfounded white-coated policemen with questions in a dozen languages. In the Olympic Village, the world's finest athletes relaxed in new dormitories that even provided outsize beds (called "De Gaulles") for the long-legged likes of U.S. basketball players. Through the streets roamed husky, black-jacketed South Africans, slim Burmese in sandals and red sweat suits, and Russians handing out bronze pins engraved with space Luniks. Long after midnight, officials found a Liberian marathoner, stop watch in hand, patiently plodding mile after mile. "It's quiet now," he explained, "and cool." In their practice sessions, tough Pakistanis played the American schoolgirl sport of field hockey with startling violence. Hungarians struck sparks with their shining sabers, bull-necked Turkish and Iranian wrestlers charged and grunted like affronted rhinos.

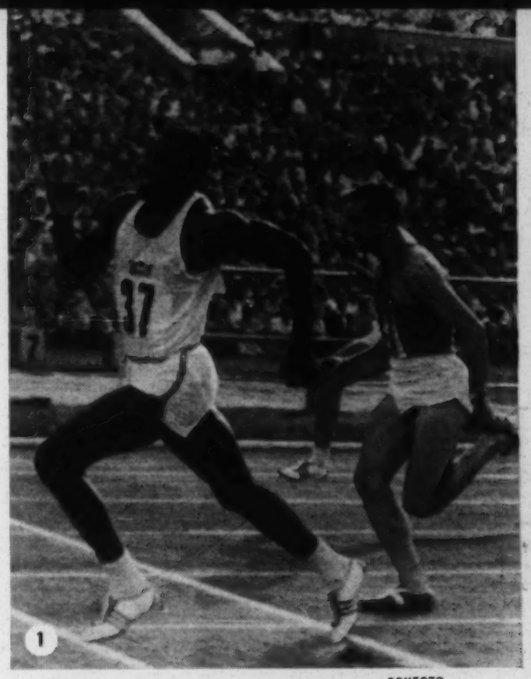
All this was prelude to the moment this week when Rome sends 6,200 bewildered pigeons fluttering into the sky, touches a flame to the traditional torch and opens the 1960 Olympic Games. By any standard, the games look to be the greatest in history. To see a record number of 7,000 athletes from a record number of 85 countries, spectators spent a record $3,200,000 for tickets before the first event was held. Among the athletes were scores of strong-willed and strong-muscled individualists, men and women with the zeal to toil through tedious years of training and the control to reach their peak in the brief, intense flurry of competition. Even in such a high-caliber group, a dignified U.S. Negro named Rafer Johnson stood out.

By character as well as by prowess, Rafer Johnson, 25, comes close indeed to fulfilling the ancient Olympic ideals of the dedicated, all-around athlete. His event is the ten-part (*see cuts*) decathlon—a whole track meet in miniature—which combines the classic demands of speed, stamina, strength and spirit. At 6 ft. 3 in., 196 lbs., Johnson seems to have been molded especially for the decathlon. He has the slim, knobby-kneed legs of a sprinter. But above his trim, 35-in. waist, he is built like a weight man, with a torso that mushrooms to a 46-in. chest, and shoulders that are thick with slabs of muscle.

"He Is Gentle." Even more important, Johnson has shown a monastic dedication to sport that would please the most spiritual of Olympic enthusiasts. He has shrugged off crippling injuries. In competition he has cheered on his most dangerous opponents. Says the Rev. Louis Evans, pastor of Los Angeles' Bel Air Presbyterian Church: "This is a most remarkable human being. He is as gentle as a child, and yet he is tremendously competitive."

This summer Johnson scored 8,683 points* in the decathlon to break by 326 points the world record of Russia's Vasily Kuznetsov, 28. In the eyes of many coaches of many sports, this qualifies Johnson as the finest athlete in the world. Johnson remains unsatisfied. "Rafer has always seen his objectives with almost frightening clarity," says a friend. The present objective—amounting almost to an obsession—of Decathlon Star Rafer Johnson is to win a gold medal in Rome.

* In the decathlon, each competitor's performance in each of the ten events is measured against a formidable 78-page book of tables.



SOVFOTO

DECATHLON 100-METER: Johnson (10.5) Yang (10.6), Kuznetsov (10.7)

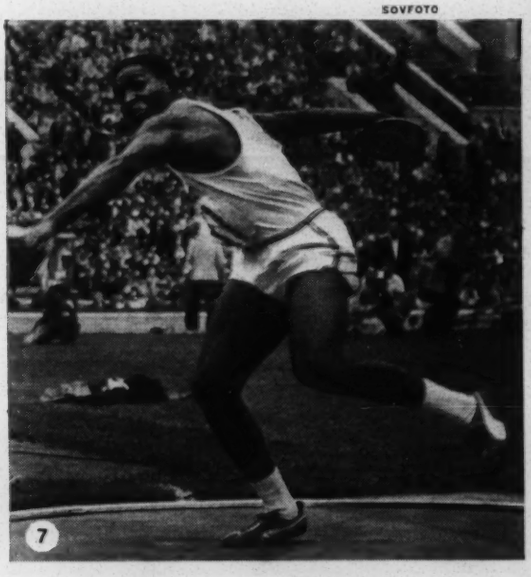
"He's a Gentleman." Rafer Johnson's struggle to win a gold medal in the two-day event next week in many ways reflects the keenness of competition at the 1960 Olympics. It is the challenge of his career. He knows his top foes all too well. One of them, Formosa's Yang Chuan-kwang, 27, is a fellow student at U.C.L.A., has shared Johnson's workouts for the past two years. Lean and limber as bamboo, Yang is improving with impressive speed. And Johnson's duel with Russia's Kuznetsov dates back to the Melbourne Olympics in 1956, when Johnson finished second and Kuznetsov third to New Jersey's Milt Campbell. In 1958, Johnson defeated Kuznetsov in Moscow in the dramatic U.S.-U.S.S.R. track meet. Twice, Kuznetsov has taken away Johnson's world record; twice, Johnson has won it back. Says Johnson: "I know Kuznetsov well enough to know three things about him. He's a fine athlete. He's a gentleman. And he's a competitor."

400-METER RUN: Johnson (47.9) Yang (48.0), Kuznetsov (48.6)

ASSOCIATED PRESS

110-METER HIGH HURDLES: Yang (14.1) Johnson (14.2), Kuznetsov (14.4)

SOVFOTO



DISCUS: Johnson (170' 6½") Kuznetsov (165' 9"), Yang (138' 5½")

PHIL BATH

BROAD JUMP: Yang (25' 5")
Johnson (24' 9¼"), Kuznetsov (24' 7")

UPI

SHOTPUT: Johnson (52')
Kuznetsov (50' 9½"), Yang (46' 7¾")

HIGH JUMP: Yang (6' 4¾")
Johnson (6' 3"), Kuznetsov (6' 2¾")

Man to Man. The competition between Johnson, Kuznetsov and Yang will be just one of the dozens of clashes that will decide the unofficial team title in Rome. Russia, the winner in 1956, is favored again largely because of strength in such sports as weight lifting and women's track, plus a crack gymnastic team that will pick up a dozen or so gold medals, offsetting U.S. superiority in men's track. Inevitably, the scoring of the Olympics by newsmen and public as a testing of national prestige will be decried by officials. The rule book plainly states: "The Olympics are a contest between individuals." Says Avery Brundage, president of the International Olympic Committee: "When the gun is fired, each man knows he's on his own. The whole principle of the Olympics is man-to-man competition."

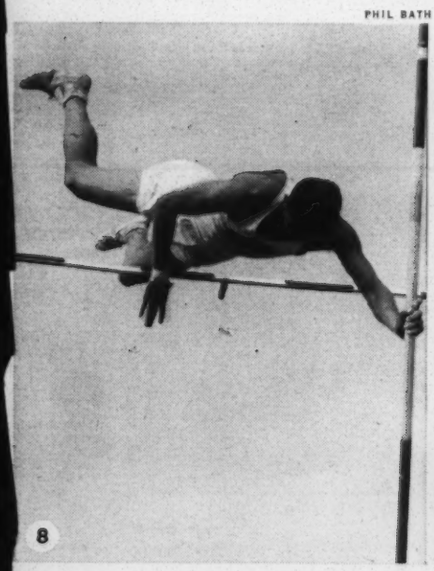
Man-to-man competition, most evident in the decathlon, is present throughout the Olympics. In each event, the Olympic idea and ideals are the same. Among the best athletes who will, like Johnson, be on their own when the gun fires:

¶ In the 1,500 meters—the prestige race of the Olympics—Australia's **Herb Elliott,** 22, will take on the world, including Ireland's **Ron Delany,** winner of the gold medal in 1956, and the U.S.'s fast-improving **Dyrol Burleson.** World record holder in the 1,500 meters (3:36) and in the mile (3:54.5), Elliott has been hampered by a bad left foot this year, and some critics claim that he is not the runner he was since getting married in May 1959. But Elliott has recently been training as of old, loping up sand dunes to strengthen his legs for what should be the finest race of the Olympics. Insists his coach, goateed Percy Cerutty: "Herb Elliott is more mature, faster, stronger and dedicated. He's faster right now than he ever was."

¶ In the 100- and 200-meter dashes, California's rangy **Ray Norton,** 22, will face half a dozen international stars who will need only the slightest break to beat him to the gold medals. Norton is the favorite because of his consistency under pressure and a smooth, driving stride that picks up speed as the race goes on. The long shot: West Germany's **Armin Hary,** 23, a Frankfurt department store clerk, who gets off the mark fast, ran the 100 meters in a world record time of 10 sec. Hary suffers from brittle nerves, and in preparation for the stress of Rome has been taking long walks in the country. In the end, Norton's chief threats will probably be his American teammates, such as **Dave Sime,** 24, in the 100, and **Stone Johnson,** 20, in the 200.

¶ In the shotput, the U.S. whales will wage a private war that will likely produce the most fascinating field event on the

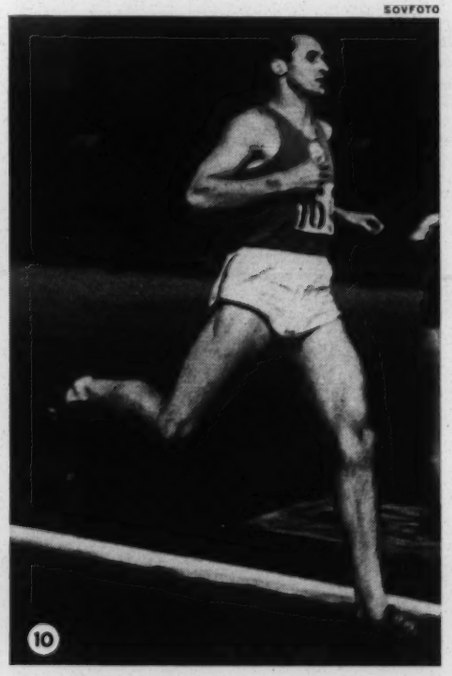
PHIL BATH



POLE VAULT: Yang (14' 2½")
Kuznetsov (14' 1¼"), Johnson (13' ¼")

JAVELIN: Johnson (238' 2")
Yang (233' 2½"), Kuznetsov (222' 2½")

SOVFOTO



1,500-METER RUN: Kuznetsov (4:45.2)
Yang (4:51), Johnson (4:54.2)

program. Back for a try at his third gold medal is California's **Parry O'Brien,** patriarch of the herd at 28, whose best effort this year (63 ft. 5 in.) nonetheless stands a poor third to that of Arizona's 20-year-old **Dallas Long** (64 ft. 6½ in.) and Kansas' **Bill Nieder,** 26, the world record holder (65 ft. 10 in.). As the equalizer, O'Brien counts on his imposing reputation to demoralize his teammates, but Army Lieut. Nieder, who dislikes the hulking sight of his rival, says disdainfully: "O'Brien can't 'psych' me out." Top foreign challenger is Britain's **Arthur Rowe,** a blacksmith who shows off to fans by licking a red-hot bar, practices behind a neighborhood pub, and despite a commendable toss of 62 ft. 1 in., is expected to be completely psyched by the Americans in Rome.

¶ In the jumping events, three U.S. world record holders are expected to land on the winner's stand. High Jumper **John Thomas,** 19, lectures himself before each attempt ("Now, John, don't duck your head into the bar"), takes his own advice so well that no one thinks his best jump of 7 ft. 3¾ in. is his peak. Pole Vaulter **Don ("Tarzan") Bragg,** 25, has hauled his fullback's body (6 ft. 3 in., 197 lbs.) up 15 ft. 9¼ in. Broad Jumper **Ralph Boston,** 21, holds the unofficial world record of 26 ft. 11¼ in., will likely get his strongest competition from Germany's **Dr. Manfred Steinbach,** 27, whose best jump of 26 ft. 8½ in. was disqualified because of a tailwind.

¶ In women's track, Tennessee State's **Wilma Rudolph** is the star of a U.S. team that is determined to score some surprises against the strong Australians and Russians. The 17th child in a family of 19, Wilma had rheumatic fever as an infant, did not walk until she was seven, and then wore braces for a couple of years. Star pupil of Shotputter O'Brien is **Earlene Brown,** a 25-year-old Los Angeles housewife, who is now up to a hefty throwing weight of 225 lbs. for the shot and the discus, after slimming down to 194 lbs. to have a baby.

¶ In men's swimming, Australia's barrel-chested **John Konrads,** 18, will be the man to beat in the 400 and 1,500 meters. The greatest swimmer in history, Konrads drives himself six miles a day in training, gulps as many as 18 vitamin pills before a race, treats distance events as sprints and holds seven world records. But Konrads may have to swim faster than ever before to beat Teammate **Murray Rose,** 21, winner of both the 400 and 1,500 meters at Melbourne's 1956 Olympics, and Japan's stocky **Tsuyoshi Yamanaka,** 21, who has smoothed out his rough arm stroke. In the 200-meter butterfly, Indiana's bull-shouldered **Mike Troy,** 19, will be the surest gold-medal swimming prospect for the U.S. The world record holder (2:13.2), Troy fattens up on milkshakes and slims down with as many as three workouts a day.

¶ In women's swimming, California's 16-year-old **Chris von Saltza** will be the favorite in the 400 meters, the top race for the girls. Holder of the world record (4:44.5), Chris is the long and leggy (5 ft. 10 in., 140 lbs.) blonde leader of a strong U.S. team. Chris planes high and flat in the water like a surfboard, has a sea lion's endurance—and a teen-ager's superstition about a good-luck plastic frog, which she solemnly stations by her starting block before a race. Her challengers: Australia's **Dawn Fraser,** 22, an octogenarian by swimming standards, and the slumping, doubt-ridden **Ilsa Konrads,** the 16-year-old kid sister of John. World Record Holder Fraser will be the favorite in the 100 meters (her main threat: Chris von Saltza), and a dark horse in the 100-meter butterfly, thereby stands an outside chance of winning three gold medals on her own, plus a fourth for the 400-meter freestyle relay.

A Champion Apart. With so extraordinary an assemblage of great athletes concentrated in Rome, why do so many Olympic performers and coaches look upon Rafer Johnson as a champion apart? The answer lies deeper than a lifetime of phenomenal athletic performance. For the spirit of the Olympic games is more than the will to win: it is the quality of competing with honor, courage and character. Says Calvin Johnson (no kin), a long-time friend of Johnson's and a doctor now in training to be a medical missionary: "I've never met anyone like him, in medicine, the clergy, wherever. He has a profound respect for other people, and a profound humbleness."

Rafer Johnson was born to Elma and Lewis Johnson in a town named Hillsboro, south of Dallas. He was just 18 months old when his family moved to an all-Negro district of Dallas. There Rafer spent his early years in a bitter little world of segregation, discrimination and poverty. "I don't care if I never see Texas again," Johnson says, with a rare flash of anger. "There's nothing about it I like. If my family had stayed in Texas, I not only wouldn't be representing the U.S. in the Olympic Games—I wouldn't even have gone to college."

In 1945 Lewis Johnson moved his growing family of three boys and two girls to California, where he caught on as a section hand for the Southern Pacific. The family ended up in the quiet town of Kingsburg (pop. 1,500), 20 miles south of Fresno in the heart of the San Joaquin Valley. For a year, with nothing but a ragged curtain as a dividing "wall," the seven Johnsons made their home in a boxcar on a siding near a cannery.

In time they were befriended by Edward Fishel, owner of a small animal-feed processing plant, who hired Rafer's father as a handyman, his mother as a domestic, moved the family out of the boxcar and into a small house. Things went fine until the town's police chief told the Fishels to fire the Johnsons, then threatened Mrs. Johnson herself: "I don't want to see the sun set on any niggers in this town." The Fishels stood their ground, the Johnsons ignored the threats, and nothing further happened. The police chief later left the job.

"A Decathlon Man." There never was any doubt that Rafer would be an athlete. "First thing I remember about Rafer," says Benton Bowen, co-publisher of the weekly Kingsburg *Recorder,* "was that my daughter came telling that the principal had asked the new boy to stop hitting the baseball so hard—he was breaking all the bats."

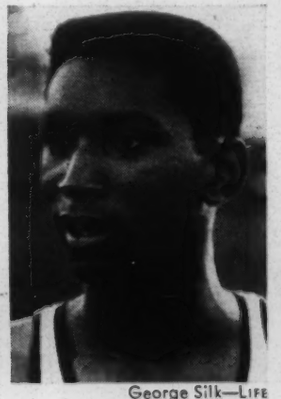
As a high school athlete, Johnson became a legend. In football, he led Kingsburg to three league championships, as a granitic, 195-lb. left halfback averaged over 9 yds. per carry. In basketball, he averaged 17 points a game. In baseball, he hit over .400. But track was his sport—anything in track. In Johnson's junior year, Track Coach Murl Dodson drove

Horstmüller
HARY

Fred Lyon—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED
DELANY

Grey Villet—LIFE
NORTON

Jerry Cooke—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED
ELLIOTT



George Silk—LIFE
THOMAS

When that gun goes off, each man is alone and on his own.

John O'Grady—Sydney *Morning Herald*

AUSTRALIA'S KONRADS

U.S.'S VON SALTZA

At the grey edge of exhaustion, honor, courage and character.

him the 24 miles down to Tulare to watch Local Hero Bob Mathias compete in the event he had won as a 17-year-old in the 1948 Olympics in London and at Helsinki in 1952: the decathlon. "On the way back," says Johnson, "it struck me. I could have beaten most of the guys in that meet. That's when I decided to be a decathlon man." Only four weeks later, Johnson won California's Junior A.A.U. Decathlon Championship. In his senior year, Johnson won it again, then went off to the National A.A.U. Championship in Atlantic City. Competing against the biggest names in U.S. track, he finished a respectable third. That should have been enough to please an 18-year-old, but it did not satisfy Rafer Johnson. He hadn't won.

Triumph & Defeat. At least two dozen colleges bid for Johnson. He chose U.C.L.A. "because there was something about the atmosphere I liked." To concentrate on the decathlon, Johnson passed up college football, much to the frustration of the late coach Red Sanders, who saw in Johnson a future brilliant tailback in U.C.L.A.'s single-wing formation. Freshman Johnson improved fast enough in the decathlon to win the 1955 Pan American Games in Mexico City, celebrated by scoring 7,985 points at a welcome-home meet in Kingsburg—thereby breaking Mathias' world record by 98 points.

In 1956, Johnson won his first national championship and became the favorite to win the Olympics that November in Melbourne. Then his battered left knee, injured in high school football, began to swell. Just before the games Johnson tore a stomach muscle. It was painful even to walk, worse to run. Each jump ripped the muscle more. Johnson's two agonizing days came to a climax in the final event, the 1,500 meters. To finish second behind Milt Campbell and to stave off Kuznetsov, Johnson needed to run the best 1,500 of his career. He did. "Sure it hurt," says Johnson, "but what was I going to do? Quit? I was representing the U.S. I had to break five minutes. I could feel the Russian breathing down my neck all the way."

The Russian was still breathing down Johnson's neck in 1958 during the U.S.-U.S.S.R. track meet in Moscow. Weeks before, Kuznetsov had set a world record of 8,014 points. In one of the memorable duels in sports history, Johnson defeated Kuznetsov 8,302 *v.* 7,897 to regain the world record—and find himself a hero to the Russians. Johnson was kissed on the cheek by Kuznetsov, a bouquet of flowers was pressed into his huge hand, and a band of jubilant Russians later tossed him into the air in triumph. "I'd gone over there thinking we'd be abused one way or the other," says Johnson. "But they cheered the performance, not the man or the nationality." On the strength of his showing in Moscow, Rafer Johnson was named Sportsman of the Year by SPORTS ILLUSTRATED.

"Natural Leadership." Unlike many another star athlete, Johnson did not use his college as a mere mail drop and a spot to hang his spikes. At U.C.L.A., Johnson's record of campus leadership was fully as impressive as his sports achievements. He sparked the basketball team with his clutch play and rebounding. A hard worker if not a great scholar, he kept his grades at a B-minus average, switching from pre-dentistry to physical education as a junior. He was the first Negro to be pledged to the predominantly Jewish fraternity of Pi Lambda Phi. A devoutly religious member of the Swedish Mission Covenant church, he spoke constantly before church groups, was a leader of "Youth for Christ," a nondenominational national campus movement.

In his senior year, Johnson was elected student body president. On the job, Johnson worked so late that he kept waking up at his study desk at daybreak. In June 1959, shortly before graduation, Johnson climbed into the rear seat of a car driven by his brother Jim, dangled his long legs over the back of the front seat and dozed off. He was completely relaxed when a car coming from the opposite direction swerved across the road and hit the Johnson car head on. The impact jackknifed Johnson. Only his fit condition and strong body saved his back from a serious injury that would have ended all decathlon competition then and there. As it was, he suffered a severe muscular strain around the lower spine that knocked him out of another duel with Kuznetsov at the U.S.-U.S.S.R. track meet in Philadelphia in July.

Not until February of this year was Rafer Johnson able to try any real exercise. Then he spent two dreary months jogging or walking around the U.C.L.A. practice field, for up to six hours at a stretch. In April, under the anxious eye of U.C.L.A. Track Coach Ducky Drake, he tried sprint starts. But Johnson and his coach were most afraid of back-wrenching jumps. At last, in late spring, Johnson took a deep breath and started down the pole-vault runway. He cleared the bar—and plummeted into the sawdust without a twinge. Johnson was back on the track.

Johnson launched his comeback at July's National A.A.U. Championships, which also served as the Olympic trials. Though an injury as simple as a pulled muscle might have kept Johnson off the Olympic team altogether, he went all out for a special reason. Kuznetsov had captured his world record and pushed the score to 8,357 points. In the ninth event, Johnson raced smoothly across the grass and sent a silver javelin shimmering into the air. When it landed 233 ft. 3 in. away, Johnson knew he had already passed Kuznetsov's world record. In pure delight, he began sprinting after his toss. Then he suddenly stopped and knelt to pray in the middle of the field, his face wet with tears. In the final event, the 1,500 meters, Johnson increased his world record to a final total of 8,683 points.

Even that score was far from safe that July day on the University of Oregon's track field. Close behind Johnson was his old rival Yang. Though a Formosan, Yang was eligible for the A.A.U. meet, which accepts qualified foreigners. At this point, should he make a fast time in his heat of the 1,500 meters, Yang still had an outside chance of breaking Johnson's newly set world record. When Yang began to falter, Johnson's behavior was characteristic. From the sidelines he cried encouragement: "Keep going! Keep going! It's almost over!" Lifted by Johnson's cheers, Yang finished with the fine score of 8,426 points to pass Kuznetsov—but still short of Johnson's record. That night Johnson sent a telegram home: "I did it with God's help—a new world record."

A Challenge. For the past six years Johnson's life has been dominated by the decathlon. In recent months he lived for

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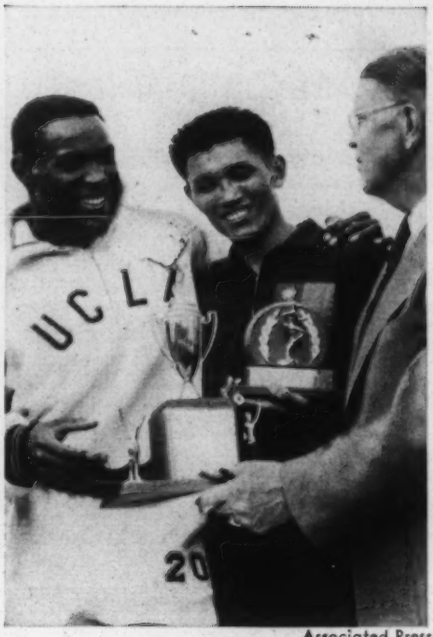
little else. Now a U.C.L.A. graduate student in physical education, Rafer Johnson shares an $83-a-month apartment with his brother Jim, a U.C.L.A. football player and a hurdler of near-Olympic caliber. Johnson has had no time for dates or vacations, and little relaxation beyond strumming a guitar. Every afternoon he got into his 1949 Chevrolet, a vehicle plainly showing its 150,000-mile past, and drove out to the U.C.L.A. field to practice.

There, day after day, Johnson and Yang held their own private meet. Formosa's formidable Yang had been a promising baseball pitcher at home in 1954 when track coaches noticed his running speed and agility, talked him into trying the decathlon. To his astonishment, Yang won the Asian Games that year. In 1958 Yang came to the U.S. for a couple of months to pick up pointers, liked it so well that he learned to speak English and settled down as a physical education student at U.C.L.A. to work with Johnson. At 6 ft. 1 in., 180 lbs., Yang does not have the raw strength of Johnson, but surpasses him in the jumping events. The two are a taciturn pair; the only sounds of their pre-Rome workouts were the explosive "poofs" as they exhaled at the start of a sprint, or anguished grunts from the weight rings. Each day they methodically pushed themselves to the grey edge of exhaustion. Says Coach Drake: "When an athlete goes in for the decathlon seriously, it's not just a matter of physical conditioning and training—it's a whole way of life."

In that sense, the decathlon poses an impossible challenge. No one man can ever hope to be the absolute best in all ten events. The lean sprinter will have trouble with the shot; the beefy weight man will lumber through the 100 meters. Worse yet, the events are cunningly alternated so that the competitor has no chance to use the same muscles and reflexes twice in succession. The cumulative effect is numbing. Because of his rare combination of speed and strength, Johnson is at his best in the 100 meters, 400 meters, the javelin, discus and shotput. But his weight is a handicap in the pole vault and high jump and, like every big man, he detests the 1,500-meter event that closes the two days of struggle. "The whole decathlon is ridiculous," says Johnson, "but the 1,500 meters is insanity." Why does he compete? Johnson gives the perfectionist's answer: "Because every time I walk out there, I think maybe I'll do a little better than the time before."

Johnson Fan. That same answer might well have come from Russia's Kuznetsov. At 6 ft. 1 in., 187 lbs., Kuznetsov, by profession a high school science teacher, has neither the size nor the natural talent of Johnson. To make the most of what he has, Kuznetsov has worked laboriously on his technique in each decathlon event since 1953, now exceeds Johnson in the pole vault and 1,500 meters, compares well with him in the broad jump, high jump and discus. Kuznetsov is proudly grooming his five-year-old son with the



Associated Press

JOHNSON & YANG
The objective amounts to obsession.

same thoroughness: "When we wake up in the morning, Vitya jumps on my bed and I hold him up balanced with one foot on my palm. He's got a long way to go to become an athlete, but now is the time to start training for the future."

Kuznetsov is a Johnson fan: "He is a very fine, tactful and modest young man. I expect he will surpass his previous showing. I am sure that when we meet again in Rome we shall be good friends."

Just Poof. Kuznetsov, Johnson, Yang and a husky long shot from Oregon named Dave Edstrom (best score: 8,176) will likely turn the decathlon competition in Rome into the tensest in history. "It's only going to take one bad event to bump a guy right out of a gold medal," says Coach Drake. "A bad start in the sprints, a puff of wind at the wrong time in the high jump or pole vault, a foul in the shotput or discus, a broken stride in the hurdles, and poof, it could be all over for one of these boys."

Under such pressure, Johnson's greatest asset will be his bedrock of self-reliance, a quality that keeps him from having few really intimate friends, but allows him to work himself up to a cold competitive pitch ten times during the wearying grind of the decathlon. In Rome, Johnson will have an added incentive: he is quitting the decathlon after the Olympics. "I've had it," says Johnson. "It's time I started concentrating on a few other things."

Rafer Johnson would like eventually to travel abroad as a good-will representative for the U.S. State Department. "I know that sort of thing can do a lot to ease tensions," says Johnson. "I like people. I want to do all I can to help them in whatever little way I can." But first there is the matter at hand: a gold medal in Rome. Says Decathlon Star Rafer Johnson: "I am prepared to win—whatever that takes."

The Olympics

In every way it was a wonderful foot race. In at least one way it told more about the 1960 Olympics than any other single event. For nearly three laps, the winner—a hawk-nosed, crane-legged fellow with a familiar, loping stride—stayed back with the pack in the 1,500-meter race. Then, with disheartening ease, he moved past the leaders and began to draw away. Rounding the last turn, he saw his coach waving a white shirt as a signal that he had a chance to break his own world record of 3:36. Thereupon Australia's Herb Elliott, 22, sprinted down the middle of the track and broke the tape at 3:35.6.

Elliott's performance was the equivalent of a 3:52.6 mile. But every bit as remarkable was the fact that across the finish line after Elliott flashed a Frenchman, a Hungarian, a Swede, a Rumanian and the U.S.'s Dyrol Burleson—every one of them under the 1956 Olympic record of 3:41.2 set by Ireland's Ron Delany, who this year took one look at the tough competition and decided not to run.

In a strong sense, the finish of the 1,500-meter race dramatized the central point of the 1960 games: win or lose, never before had so many athletes from so many nations achieved such a high pitch of competitive accomplishment. Among the top events of the Olympics' final week:

¶ In the 400 meters, University of Oregon's Otis Davis, 28, seemed too inexperienced to stand up to the world's best. An itinerant athlete, he had originally signed on at Oregon as a basketball player, turned to track only two years ago. With little sense of pace, he barely qualified for the U.S. track team. In the finals, Davis' strategy was simply to stay with the field, then run every man into the ground. Coming around the turn, he accelerated past the leaders and headed for home at a clip that seemed to have him leaning backwards as his feet tried to run out from under him. Germany's Carl Kaufmann made a gallant dive at the tape, but Davis won in 44.9 sec. to break the world record by .3 sec.

¶ In the pole vault, the U.S.'s outspoken Don ("Tarzan") Bragg, 25, had made such an impression on the Italian press that one paper called him "the handsomest athlete in Rome and perhaps the vainest." Holder of the world record at 15 ft. 9¼ in., Bragg caused a brief flurry when he flubbed his first try at the qualifying height of 14 ft. 5¼ in. But when the competition settled down, Bragg forgot his nerves, his gimpy right knee, and the fact that he had to hoist a heavyweight's body of 6 ft. 3 in., 196 lbs., then cleared 15 ft. 5⅛ in. to break the Olympic record by 5⅝.

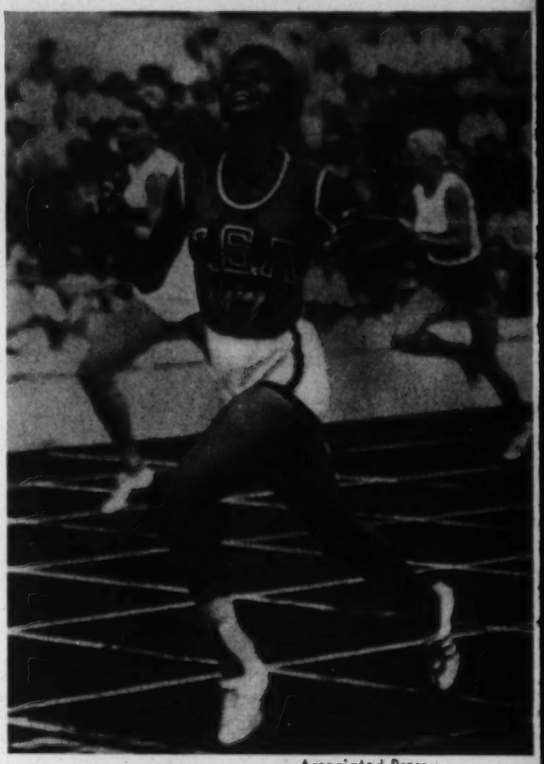
¶ In weight lifting, Russia's genial Alexander Kurynov, 26, had always venerated Hawaii's two-time Olympic Champion Tommy Kono, 30, as one of the world's great athletes. Matched against Kono in the middleweight division, the Russian research scientist quickly forgot his hero worship, scored one of the Olympics' notable upsets by breaking Kono's world record, surpassing him by 22 lbs., with a total of 964½ lbs. in three lifts, and taking the gold medal.

¶ In the 400-meter men's relay, California's Ray Norton, 22, set out to atone for his humiliating, sixth-place finishes in both the 100 and 200 meters. Running the second leg, Norton was so anxious to get going that he sprinted right out of the exchange zone before he got the baton. Duke's Dave Sime, the U.S. anchorman, later finished first by a flicker, but Norton's foul disqualified the U.S. team, gave the gold medal to Germany. "I'm sick up to here with running," said Norton, pre-Olympic favorite to win three gold medals. "When I get back home, I'm not going to move faster than a slow walk."

As expected, Russia easily defeated the U.S. for the unofficial team title by mining a lode of gold medals in such sports as women's gymnastics (5) and women's track (6). Unexpectedly, the proud U.S. men's track team won only nine gold medals (*v.* 15 in the 1956 Olympics), set chauvinistic officials to charging that the best event of American athletes was the marathon of wine, women and song. Lost in the furor was the obvious fact that the U.S. still easily dominated men's track (runner-up Russia had five gold medals) and had, in fact, sprung major surprises of its own on the world by grabbing nine gold medals in swimming, three in wrestling and three in boxing. By far the soundest judgment on the U.S. performances at the 1960 Olympic Games came from Manhattan College's canny George Eastment, a coach of the men's track team: "We're not a race of supermen, and it's about time we realized that the rest of the world can produce athletes too."

ANSA

AUSTRALIA'S ELLIOTT
Even the losers were winners.



Associated Press

TENNESSEE'S RUDOLPH
Over the blocks—and boom.

The Fastest Female

From the moment she first sped down the track of Rome's Olympic Stadium, there was no doubt that she was the fastest woman the world had ever seen. But that was only part of the appeal of the shy, 20-year-old Negro girl from Clarksville, Tenn. In a field of female endeavor in which the greatest stars have often been characterized by overdeveloped muscles and underdeveloped glands, Wilma ("Skeeter") Rudolph had long, lissome legs and a pert charm that caused an admiring Italian press to dub her "the Black Pearl." Last week Wilma Rudolph became the only track star, male or female of any country, to win three gold medals in the 1960 Olympics.

Running for gold-medal glory, Wilma Rudolph regularly got away to good starts with her arms pumping in classic style, then smoothly shifted gears to a flowing stride that made the rest of the pack seem to be churning on a treadmill. She tied the world record of 11.3 sec. in the 100 meters and won the final by three yds. She set an Olympic record of 23.2 sec. in the 200 meters and won the final by another three yds. Then, running with three of her Tigerbelle teammates from Tennessee State, Wilma anchored the winning 400-meter relay team and became the first American girl ever to win three gold medals in track.

The wonder was that Wilma Rudolph could run at all. The 17th in a family

of 19 children, Wilma had a series of crippling childhood diseases, did not walk until she was eight, and then had to wear a high-top, corrective shoe. By high school, Wilma had improved enough to become a four-year, all-state basketball player and to clean up in track. Now a junior at Tennessee State, Wilma is studying to be a teacher (average grade: B plus), has so little trouble winning races in the U.S. that she has sometimes slowed down in mid-sprint to shout encouragement to a teammate.

In Rome Wilma turned out to be about the calmest person on the U.S. squad, contrasting sharply with her steady date, tense and tormented Sprinter Ray Norton. "There's not a nerve in her body," said Ed Temple, her college coach, who also handled the U.S. women's team in Rome. "She's almost lazy. She often goes to sleep between the semifinal and final runs. Then she gets over those starting blocks and—boom—all that harnessed energy explodes into speed."

As her fame grew, Wilma got dozens of telegrams in a smattering of languages. She patiently signed autographs by the dozen as Italian fans threw their books down on the field. The home-town Clarksville *Leaf-Chronicle* ran a laudatory editorial ("an inspiration to the world in general"), and Tennessee's Governor Buford Ellington, who had run for office as an "old-fashioned segregationist," made plans to head the welcome-home party. When the Olympics were done, Coach Temple could find only one fault with the record of the world's fastest woman: "Wilma's never been tested since she came into her form. We don't know how fast she really can go."

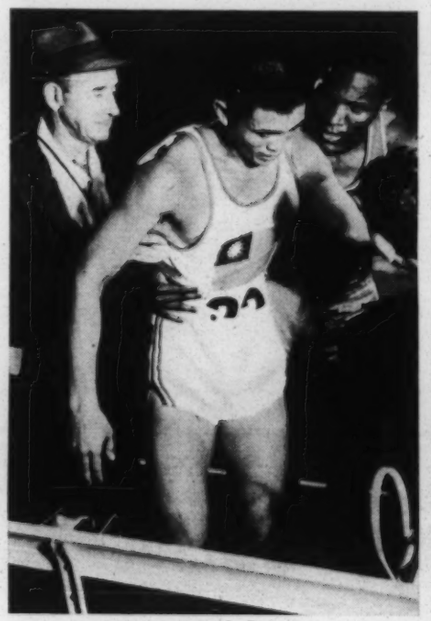
The Champion

In drama and accomplishment, their duel was the most stirring man-to-man competition of the Olympic Games. Drenched by rain, California's strapping Rafer Johnson, 26 (TIME cover, Aug. 29), and Formosa's wiry Yang Chuan-kwang, 27, had struggled until 11 p.m. on the first day of the decathlon—the exhausting, ten-event test that would decide which was the world's best all-round athlete. On the second day, after the two men had wearily completed the ninth event (the javelin), statisticians figured that Johnson led Yang by a cliffhanging 67 points.

"I hope it's all wrapped up before the 1,500 meters," Johnson had said. "I never want to settle one in that thing." But the 1960 Olympic gold medal was to be settled in "that thing": the metric mile, despised by all decathlon men because it demands brute endurance just as their last bit of strength is ebbing away.

"Judas Priest!" Up in the stands in seat 18, row 10, entrance 5 was a short, bald track coach who knew better than any other man just how much the 1,500 meters would cost Johnson and Yang. U.C.L.A.'s Ducky Drake had trained them both. For two days he had alternately worried about Johnson ("He's tense. Loosen up, Ray. Loosen up! Relax"), and exhorted Yang ("Judas priest! Get that blasted head down on that high jump"). Drake guessed that Johnson would forget about winning the 1,500 meters, try simply to stick close enough to Yang to preserve his overall decathlon lead. "If Ray doesn't tie up, he'll dog Yang all the way," said Drake. "He's got the heart to do it."

When the two men lined up in the chilly night, their sweat-soaked bodies reflected light from the flaring Olympic torch. Right from the start, Johnson took his position behind Yang. At the end of the third lap, Yang suddenly let his head loll down to his chest. "Come on, Ray!" yelled U.S. Olympic Basketball Coach Pete Newell in a voice that carried to the track. "Come on, boy. He's fading." As though he had been slapped, Yang snapped his head up and increased the pace. Johnson painfully lengthened his stride.



John G. Zimmerman—Keystone

DRAKE, YANG & JOHNSON
Inch by inch to the end of "that thing."

"Walk, Walk, Walk." Coming into the homestretch, Yang fought to gulp down air, and began his final bid for a gold medal. His lead grew to a foot, two feet, a meter. Inch by inch, Johnson somehow gained it back. Then, with only meters to go, Johnson's legs went dead. Momentum alone carried him to the finish line a bare 1.2 sec. slower than Yang's time of 4:48.5. That was close enough: the race of his career had won Johnson the gold medal by the Olympic record score of 8,392 to Yang's 8,334. Left far behind in the third place with 7,809 points was Russia's Vasily Kuznetsov.

With every rival conquered, Rafer Johnson later reaffirmed his decision to retire from the decathlon. "Tonight I'm going to shower and then just walk for about four hours and look at the moon," said Olympic Champion Johnson. "I don't know where—just walk, walk, walk. I've got to unwind. I'm through, man, I'm through."

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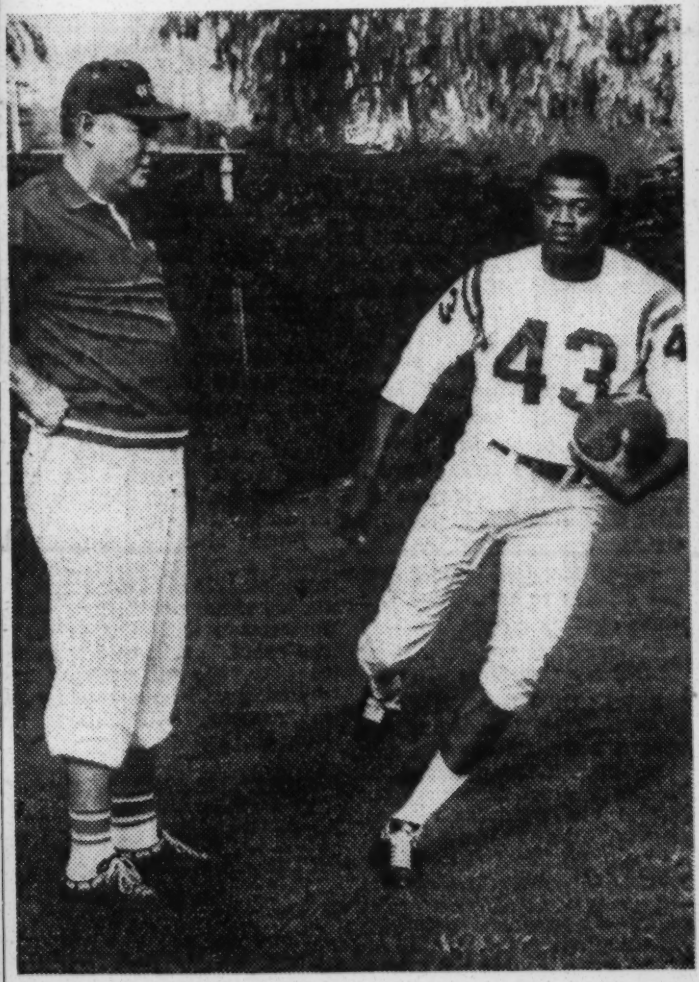


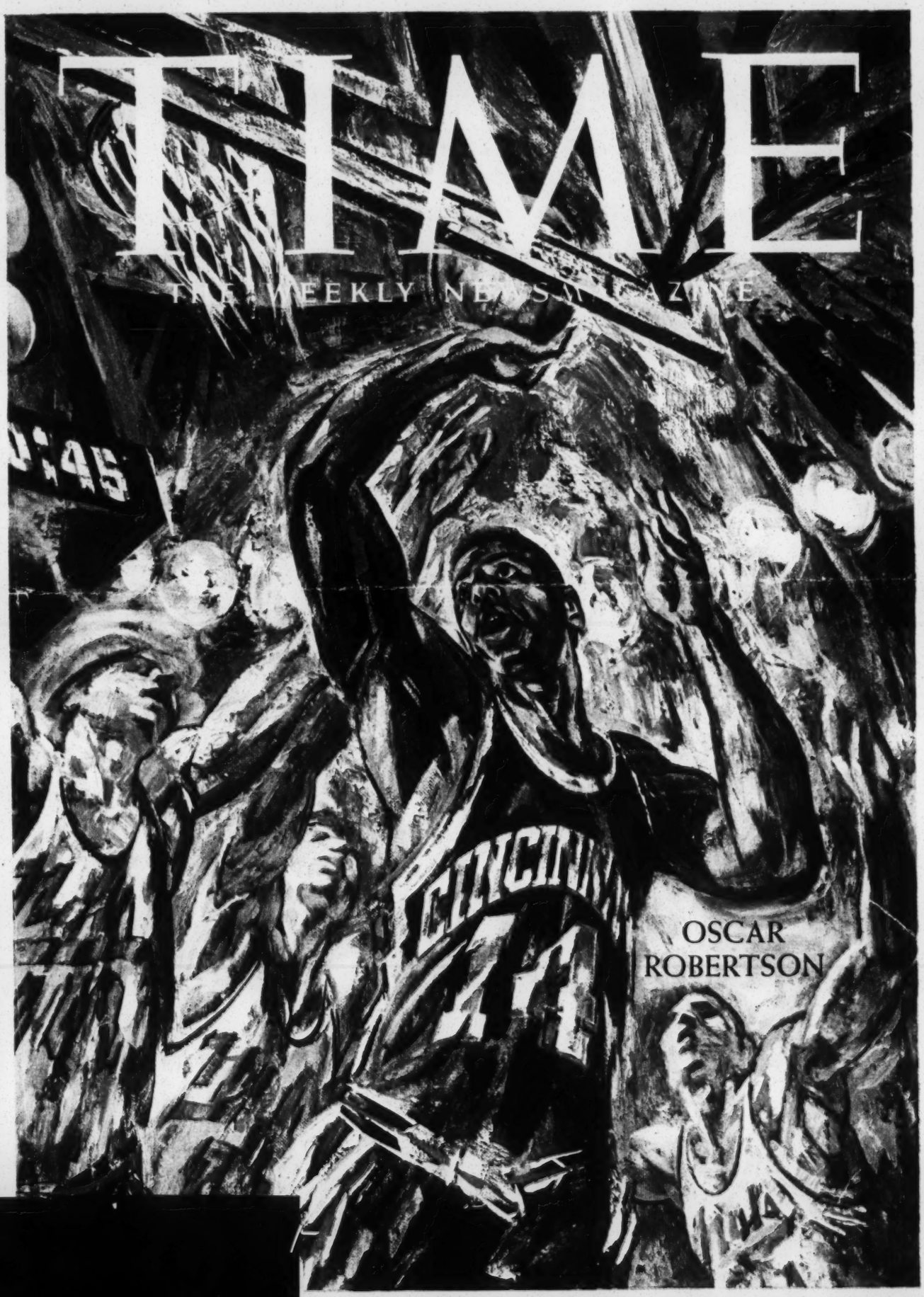
Associated Press Wirephoto

NORTON TRIES ON ANOTHER UNIFORM: Under the gaze of Red Hickey, coach of the San Francisco 49ers, Ray Norton, Olympic sprinter, displays his football form at Redwood City, Calif., where the professional team trains.

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS FEBRUARY 17, 1961

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



(REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.) VOL. LXXVII NO. 8

The Graceful Giants

(See Cover)

These are the golden years for baseball, football and basketball, the big three of U.S. professional sport. Major-league baseball, expanded from coast to coast, has at last become national. Pro football, unequaled in its combination of violence and cunning, plays in stadiums that have been sold out for weeks in advance. Basketball, pro and amateur, is booming as never before.

Baseball has changed little since Babe Ruth first started swatting home runs over fences; football has been largely content to find new uses for old techniques of the pass and the T formation. But basketball, that peculiarly American sport, has undergone a dramatic transformation.

Within recent memory, basketball was a game of pattern plays as formal as any cotillion, of two-handed set shots that were lovely to watch but easy to block, of rules that set officials' whistles to shrilling at the flick of physical contact, and of defensive systems that held most scores well below the 60 mark. By those standards, today's game is absolutely unrecognizable in the professional National Basketball Association, which inevitably sets the style for college, high school and playground basketball.

Fast Break, Screen & Jump. As played by the pros, basketball is a rushing, bruising battle that leaves its gigantic players gasping for breath long after each game. Forcing the pace is a rule that requires a team to take a shot within 24 seconds of getting the ball. This means that at least 75% of the action develops from the kaleidoscopic swirl of the instant, and that play is dominated by:

The fast break, which sends three attackers sprinting down the floor against two defenders, or two against one.

The screen play, in which a player gives a teammate the necessary split second to shoot by planting himself between the shooter and his assigned defensive man.

The one-handed jump shot, which is almost impossible to stop without fouling the shooter.

Gone Goon. Basketball's offensive revolution has sent scores skyrocketing, until it now requires an average of 122 points to win an N.B.A. game. As the game has changed, so have the players. Teams once depended on three or four scorers; now every man on the floor can go over 20 points a game, the old yardstick of success. Says Los Angeles Lakers' Coach Fred Schaus, himself a pro only a few years ago: "It's incredible, but it's true that today's N.B.A. man, an average man, would have been a great star six, seven or eight years ago. Maybe now he's just a fourth or fifth man instead of a star."

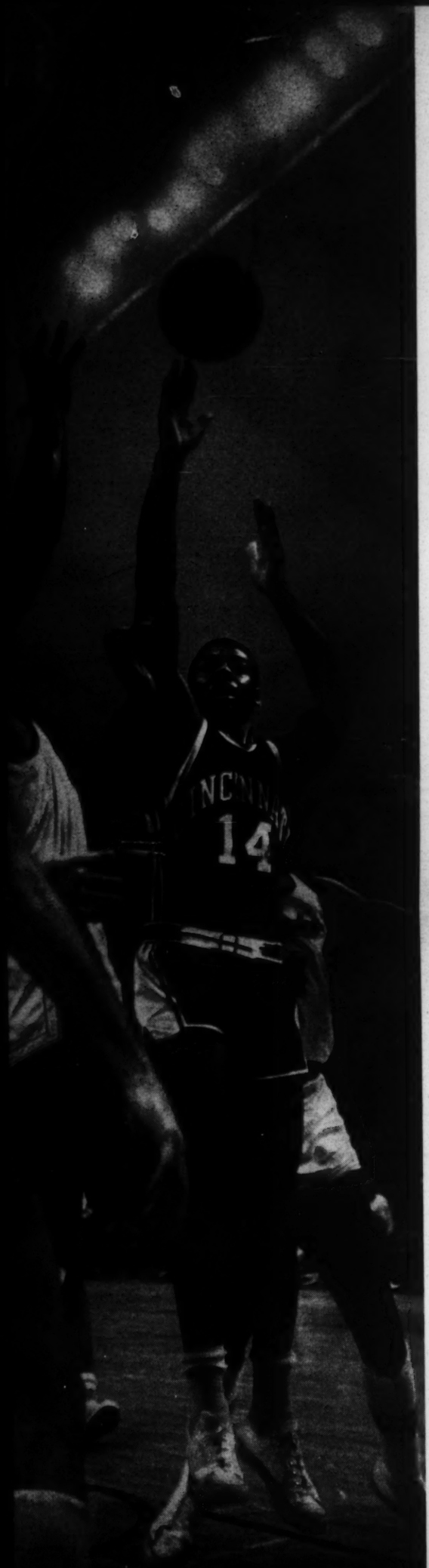
Gone is the day of the glandular goon who could do little more than stand beneath the basket and stuff in rebounds. Philadelphia's Wilt ("The Stilt") Chamberlain, who leads the N.B.A. in scoring with an average 37.8, stands 7 ft. 2 in., but has the speed and agility to be a marvel were he half a foot shorter. St. Louis' Bob Pettit (6 ft. 9 in.) is quick and graceful, Boston's Bill Russell (6 ft. 10 in.) is a defensive and rebounding genius, Los Angeles' Elgin Baylor (6 ft. 5 in.) combines the brute strength of a pro football tackle with the supple coordination of an Olympic gymnast, and even at the advanced age of 32 Boston's Bob Cousy (dwarfish at 6 ft. 1 in.) remains the playmaking wizard of the game.

Complete Courtmen. Yet such are the demands of modern basketball that each of these players has a flaw, however slight. Chamberlain, Baylor and Pettit are less than superior as playmakers. Boston's Russell is an erratic scorer. Not only is the short Cousy no rebounder, but he is no great shakes on defense—despite his flashy interceptions.

Thus the dream of every basketball coach, both in the N.B.A. and among the amateurs, is to find the player who combines all the talents required by the modern game: scoring, playmaking, rebounding and defending. In the N.B.A.'s 1961 season, no player comes closer to fulfilling that ideal of the complete courtman than the Cincinnati Royals' Oscar Robertson, 22, a lithe (6 ft. 4½ in., 200 lbs.) Negro guard who was famed in college, as he is in the N.B.A., as "The Big O."

Last week, as the 1961 basketball teams headed down the stretch, N.B.A. statistics reflected Rookie Robertson's all-round excellence. His 30.1 game average placed him third among the league's scorers, a fact made all the more remarkable because, as Boston's Bill Sharman explains, "I've been the leading backcourt scorer in the league over the last nine years, and the best average I ever got was 22.3 points in 1958. Last year Detroit's Gene Shue beat that with a 22.8 average. Now along comes Robertson as a rookie averaging more than 30." Hitting on 47% of his shots, Robertson stands fifth in N.B.A. in accuracy. His rebounding (10 per game) is vastly respected. And with an average of 9.3 assists per game, Oscar Robertson has replaced the legendary Cousy as the league's leading playmaker.

Even more meaningful than the statistics are the tributes that come from rival players and coaches. Says Cousy himself: "Robertson is the best of his kind ever to come into the league." Says the Detroit Pistons' Coach Dick McGuire: "Oscar is better than Cousy ever was; Oscar is the finest player in basketball." Says Boston's sharpshooting Tommy Heinsohn: "He knows all the phases of the game—passing, shooting, rebounding. If he couldn't pass, you could play him differently, but if you double-team him for a second, you gamble. That calls for a pass, and he'll pass it."



THE BIG O AT WORK
A coach would pay to watch him play.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY WALTER BENNETT

Pure Product. In almost every way, Cincinnati's Robertson is a pure product of the sport of basketball as it has developed in the U.S. The game was invented in 1891 in Springfield, Mass. by a gym instructor named Jim Naismith, who wanted to give his bored classes a switch from the daily grind of calisthenics. Today basketball is played with eager enthusiasm and improving skill by some 50 nations from Chile to China, but it has remained a distinctly American game. Its virtues are obvious: any number can play, indoors or out, in all seasons. It requires nothing more than a ball, and a basket that is much the same whether it hangs from a backboard in Madison Square Garden or a barn door in Kentucky. This season an estimated 150 million Americans will watch games played by some 20,000 high schools, 1,000 colleges, and swarms of amateur teams composed of players ranging from scurrying schoolboys to gimpy grandfathers.

What is more, to millions of Americans the game of basketball is more than a sport—it is the most important event on winter's social calendar. Once the winter wheat is in the ground in towns like Sharon Springs, Kans., there is little else to do but watch the games on Tuesday and Friday nights in the $190,000 school gym, the grandest building in the county. In Ohio, the citizens of Bethel Township regularly drop past Ray Morrison's general store to rock on their heels around the stove and talk of the local high school team (12 and 6 this season) and of Ohio State University's national champions, one of the great clubs of recent years.

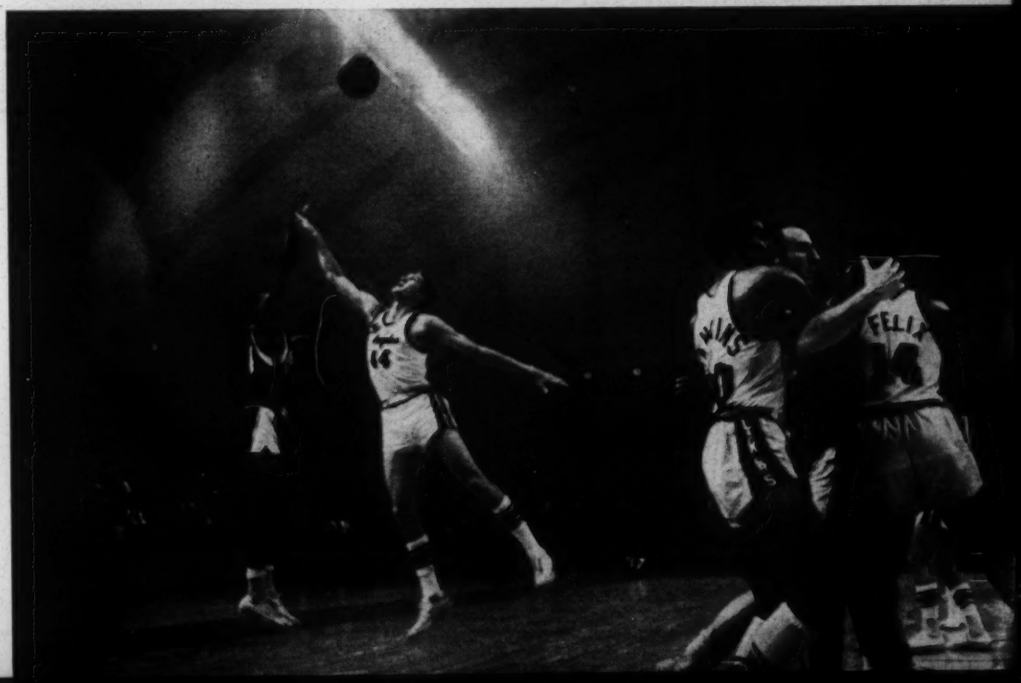
But even the fans of Ohio and Kansas will admit that the biggest, noisiest and best basketball state of them all is Indiana, where every boy seems to be born with a hook shot and a stutter-step dribble. No one in Indiana sees anything odd about the fact that the gym in Huntingburg holds 6,300 persons, although the town's total population is 4,000. Folks from out of town just naturally want to drive in to see the games. Each March, Indiana explodes in the wildest high school tournament in the nation—four frenzied weekends of play that consistently draw more than 1,500,000 fans, last year grossed more than $1,000,000.

Into the Dust Bowl. Oscar Robertson, of course, learned his basketball in Indiana. Born on a farm near Charlotte, Tenn., Oscar was three when his family moved to Indianapolis, where his father landed a job in the city sanitation department. The Robertsons settled precariously in a grim, four-room, tarpaper-roofed house in the black ghetto on the west side of town. Just two blocks away was an outdoor basketball court known as the "dust bowl." In the dust bowl Oscar Robertson discovered basketball.

With no ball to shoot, young Oscar used to shy tin cans at the basket. When he was eight, he got a small ball that he would solemnly wash with soap and water every night. Not until he was eleven did he get his first full-sized ball, the discard of one of the families for whom his

Robertson fires his one-hand jump in time to beat an attempted block . . .

. . . and the battle for the possible rebound begins beneath the backboard.



mother was then working as a domestic.

Everywhere that Oscar went, the ball was sure to go. He early became a basketball perfectionist. Nothing stopped his dribbling practice—eating supper, watching TV, reading. "I've got to control it," he would tell his brother Bailey, who later became good enough himself to win a spot on the Harlem Globetrotters. "I've got to control the dribble." Recalls his mother: "You couldn't sleep at night with that basketball going all the time. Bump! Bump! Bump!"

Cool & Hot. By the time he hit the eighth grade, Oscar was a skinny-armed, precocious hotshot who already was completely confident of his skill. In the city championship he dribbled away the last moments of each quarter, then coolly sank a basket as the last second ticked off.

Between his freshman and sophomore years at the all-Negro Crispus Attucks* High School, Oscar sprouted six inches to a weedy 6 ft. 2 in. (Oscar's height, the family insists, was inherited from a 6-ft. 5-in. great-grandfather, who was born a slave, died in 1954 at 116, reputedly the oldest U.S. citizen.) Playing against some of the best competition in the nation, Oscar made all-state three years, led his team to a 45-game winning streak and two state championships. Says Crispus Attucks' Coach Ray Crowe: "Oscar was good enough in high school to play pro ball."

Against the Grain. The 75 colleges that were after Oscar called so often that his father had the phone disconnected three times. Oscar finally chose the University of Cincinnati, partly because it was fairly close to home, mainly because it played a big-time schedule that hit Madison Square Garden, where he could test his game against the very best. Even after he had landed Robertson, Cincinnati Coach George Smith fretted that someone would steal his protégé. "Every time Oscar left town," recalls Teammate Ralph Davis, who also moved up to the Royals from Cincinnati, "Smith would start phoning campuses to see if he had been stolen."

Robertson was a prize well worth hijacking. In high school he had ranked a solid 16th in a class of 171, but at Cincinnati his grades in business administration fell off to C; Oscar had come to play basketball. He kept at least four basketballs in his room. "When the dribbling stopped," says Davis, who lived next door, "you knew Oscar had gone to bed." By this time Oscar had come to have a paternally protective feeling about a basketball, once chewed out a university publicity man for casually bouncing a ball on the pavement. "You'll ruin that ball. You'll rub off the grain and throw it off balance."

Bank Draft. As a sophomore, making his very first start in Madison Square Garden, Robertson scored 56 points, at the time the biggest night anyone—college or pro—had ever had in that shrine of basketball. Playing forward throughout his college career, Robertson set 14 major national marks, including a game average of 33.8 points. By the time he graduated last spring, he had become the only college player to lead the nation's scorers for three straight years.

Robertson was still a sophomore when he was claimed, under the N.B.A.'s territorial rule, by the Cincinnati Royals, who then sat back nervously to see if he would graduate before the team went bankrupt. Robertson made it just in time, drove a hard bargain with the Royals, who realized that he could always peddle his spectacular talents to the showboating, all-Negro Globetrotters. His three-year contract calls for an annual salary of about $33,000, plus a percentage of the gate that should boost the total take to around $50,000.

Price of Success. Off the court, basketball's new star has not yet learned to cope with the intrusions on his privacy that inevitably come with sudden success. He is diffident except with longtime friends, quietly shrugs off praise of his achievements. Explains his mother: "Deep within, Oscar likes the publicity, but he doesn't want to lose his head and hurt himself." But Robertson is also capable of public flashes of wry humor. When a confused fan once asked what team he played for, Robertson deadpanned: "The Chicago Black Hawks, of course."

Last summer Robertson married petite Yvonne Crittenden, a girl he had met in college and had been too shy to talk to on their first date. Yvonne teaches first grade in Cincinnati, which is almost more than her hero-worshiping pupils can bear. One child proudly uses Yvonne's full married name at every opportunity: "Mrs. Oscar Robertson, may I sharpen my pencil?" "Mrs. Oscar Robertson, may I go to the rest room?" When the Royals are in town, Robertson hunches over the kitchen table and meticulously helps Yvonne keep her school records, takes her dancing (he is accomplished in such steps as the "horse" and the "slop"), spins his records of Fats Domino, and resolutely stays in bed when she goes off to work. "Maybe he thinks he's not going to get enough sleep," says Yvonne. "Maybe all pro basketball players are tired all the time."

Shut-Eye. If they are not, they should be. Pro basketball bristles with violence. Falling players leave slippery smears of sweat on the floor that have to be mopped up with towels. Trainers use freezing sprays of ethyl chloride to relieve the pain of a sprain—and keep the man in the game. An estimated 85% of the pros play with nagging injuries—charley horses, jammed thumbs, pulled muscles—and St. Louis' Pettit and Syracuse's Dolph Schayes have kept going with broken wrists. Robertson himself is just getting over a torn muscle above his right hip, which benched him for five games. After a game, win or lose, the exhausted players slump silently on stools in front of their lockers. Pro basketball is now so much tougher than big-league baseball that Cousy scoffs at any comparison: "One of those guys runs out a triple, and he looks like he needs a stomach pump."

Almost as debilitating as the contact injuries are the rigors of travel. Any N.B.A. team is apt to find itself playing seven games in as many cities within ten days. As the westernmost team, Los Angeles this season will travel 100,000 miles to play a 79-game schedule. Conspicuous as a herd of giraffes, the N.B.A.'s big men have learned to cope with an alien world of threatening doorframes and ridiculously small chairs. At night they drape their

Bettmann Archive

BLOOMER GIRLS IN ACTION (CIRCA 1900)
Once it was as formal as a cotillion.

* Named for the mulatto who was the first man to be killed by British troops in the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

HERE'S FAMED "DIAMOND HORSESHOE" IN METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE PRIOR TO C
It Appear All Seats Are Filled for "Girl of Golden West"; Conductor of Orchestra Is Fau

Harmony Starts at Met

NEW YORK, Oct. 24 (UPI)—Soprano Leontyne Price rode to operatic glory Monday night in the Metropolitan Opera's opening night presentation of grand opera's only horse opera, Giacomo Puccini's "Girl of the Golden West."

Though admittedly not Puccini's most inspired work, this melodramatic tale of love between a California mining camp angel and a handsome bandit proved to be another brilliant vehicle for Miss Price, a Negro singer from Laurel, Miss., who made her debut at the Met last season.

The 4,000 elegantly turned-out fans who paid $93,995 to welcome the Met's 77th season hailed Miss Price's sixth role at the Met with enthusiasm reserved for prima donnas. The audience also loved Jordan, the pure white Arabian horse which carried Miss Price onstage in the last act with the aplomb of an opera pro.

"I am a connoisseur of singing and I love your voice," Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg told Miss Price when he went backstage at the second act intermission to congratulate her. "This is a great performance!"

The Met paid special tribute to Goldberg, who saved the 1961-62 season after it had been canceled in August by assuming the role of arbitrator in a stalemated wage dispute between the opera and its orchestra. He was guest of honor at a reception and brought the best wishes of President Kennedy, whose personal interventi made arbitration possible.

"On behalf of all Americar I welcome the opening of t new season," Kennedy's m sage said. "The discord end let the harmony begin."

Miss Price shared vocal h ors with Richard Tucker, w was singing his 20th role at t Met with accustomed brillianc and Italian Baritone Anseln Colzani, who not only sa splendidly but turned out to the best actor in the cast.

FEATURE *Page*

Associated Press Wirephoto

PRIOR TO OPENING OF SEASON
rchestra Is Fausto Cleva

United Press International Photo

PATRICE MUNSEL ARRIVES WITH HUSBAND ROBERT SCHULER
Gold Lame Gown Designed by Nina Ricci; There's a Dropped Pouf in Back

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United Press International Photo

LEONTYNE PRICE (L), STAR OF MET'S OPENING NIGHT, CONGRATULATED BACKSTAGE
Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg (C) and Opera Great Richard Tucker

Off to Ecumenical Council: A

By Barrett McGurn
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, leader of the largest Negro religious group in the world, arrived in New York yesterday on his way to Rome to serve as one of the Protestant observers at the ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church.

Quiet talks setting up the system of observers already have created "closer relations between Catholics and Protestants which we will never be able to destroy," the presiding officer of the National Baptist Convention of America, commented in an interview.

Dr. Jackson's church claims 5 million members and is the largest American Negro organization, religious or civic.

Rev. Joseph H. Jackson

Dr. Jackson will be th
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at the Catholic council w
begins year-long sessio
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The Pope, said Dr. Jac
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New York Herald Tribune

ncil: A Negro Baptist Leader

Jackson will be the sole st and the only repre- tive of a national church Catholic council when it s year-long sessions a from tomorrow. He said Pope John XXIII himself him whether he would to be an observer when ld the pontiff in an au- last December that ican Negro Protestants to have their own rep- ative. The council is Ca- ism's main law-making and will meet next week e first time in nearly a ry.

Pope, said Dr. Jackson, ked that "there should be eligious oppression" and "religious groups should live together if there is to be peace in the world."

Twelve world Protestant organizations will also be represented by observers.

Hatred among Christian denominations ought to end but the trend toward unity should not go so far as to create one single Christian or Judaeo-Christian church, Dr. Jackson believes. Variety, he said, is precious.

His decision to go to Rome was not without controversy, the minister added. He said that Southern white Baptists sent him a "messenger" cautioning against too close contact with the Pope but his board of directors decided unanimously to thank Pope John by telegram for the invitation.

"A Baptist body doing that," Dr. Jackson laughed. "Almost a miracle in itself."

Observers will be able to submit memoranda and will be allowed to sit in on discussions pertaining to Christian unity but the rest will be a closed-off, internal affair of the Catholic Church, Dr. Jackson commented. He will stay one month.

Dr. Jackson was also in an optimistic mood because of events at the University of Mississippi. He said that he had been criticized as an "Uncle Tim," as a too compliant Negro, but that events had proved him right in urging fellow Negroes to wait until the Federal government should step in at Ole Miss not in the name of Negroes but in the name of human justice and equality.

Massachusetts, Connecticut—Even Georgia

Negroes to the State Houses

By The Associated Press

Negroes score major political gains in Tuesday's elections across the nation. Two were elected to statewide offices for the first time in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

In New York State, however, where a Negro was nominated by a major party for a statewide office for the first time, he went down to defeat along with most of his running mates.

Georgia elected its first Negro state senator in 92 years.

In Pennsylvania, 10 Negroes—nine from Philadelphia and one from Pittsburgh, and all Democrats—were re-elected to the state House of Representatives. And one Philadelphia Negro, Democrat Robert N. C. Nix, was re-elected Congressman.

Negroes didn't fare well in Ohio, Colorado and Oklahoma. One Negro ran for a state office in each of those states and each lost.

Takin for Granted

Edward W. Brooke, who says, "hardly anyone even mentions I'm a Negro any more; I think it's progress," was elected Attorney General of Massachusetts. His opponent, a white man, was Democrat Francis E. Kelly, former lieutenant governor and onetime attorney General. It was Mr. Brooke's fourth try for public office and his first victory. And he was the only Republican elected this time in an otherwise Democratic sweep of statewide offices.

"I didn't hear one racial epithet during the whole campaign," said the 43-year-old Washington, D. C., native who lives in Roxbury with his wife and two children. "I didn't even receive any crank mail. And I don't think I was asked more than five questions on civil rights in the last two months."

Both major parties in Connecticut nominated Negroes for State Treasurer, and so one was sure to win. He was Democrat Gerald A. Lamb, 37-year-old dental technician and a three-term Waterbury city alderman.

The Republicans put up William D. Graham, a Hartford lawyer, for the treasurer nomination last June. A month later, the Democratic state convention found it advisable to come up with a Negro candidate of its own.

Edward R. Dudley, a Negro running for Attorney General on the Democratic ticket in New York State, lost to incumbent Republican Louis J. Lefkowitz. Mr. Dudley is Borough President of Manhattan. In Manhattan, Negro Rep. Adam Clayton Powell jr., D., won re-election in his Harlem district.

In Fulton County, Ga. (Atlanta), Leroy R. Johnston, Negro Democrat, defeated T. M. Alexander, Negro Republican, to become the first Negro state senator in Georgia since the days of Reconstruction.

Another Negro candidate for state senator from Fulton County, Republican Rod Harris, lost to Democrat Oby T. Brewer sr., a white man.

Negro Republican Leodis Harris was beaten in his try to oust four-term Democratic U. S. Rep. Charles A. Vanik in Ohio's 21st district, the Cleveland area.

Also beaten was Negro Robert Rhone, who ran 19th in a race for state representatives in Denver. The top 17 vote-getters were elected.

In a state legislative battle in Oklahoma, Negro Edward M. Porter, R., defeated by Democratic incumbent Bryce Baggett. Both are Oklahoma City attorneys.

The only Negro candidate in Arkansas also lost. He was Dr. William H. Townsend, an optometrist, who ran second in a three-man race for the city board of directors in Little Rock.

A Negro won a Congressional seat in California's 21st District in Los Angeles County against a Negro opponent, and three Negroes were elected to the California state Assembly, also in all-Negro contests.

Associated Press wirephoto

PRECEDENT IN ILLINOIS—Mrs. Edith Hampton, 60, at Democratic headquarters in Chicago early yesterday after she was elected to a Chicago municipal judgeship. Mrs. Sampson is first Negro woman ever elected to the bench in Illinois. She is a widow, a former member of the U. S. delegation to UN General Assembly.

Wills Voted N. L.'s M

MAYS IS RUNNER-UP

By Tommy Holmes
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Mercury-footed Maury Wills has been elected the National League's most valuable player, which seems altogether equitable since the sad-faced little shortstop of the Dodgers fashioned the outstanding individual achievement of the year.

Ty Cobb's record of 96 stolen bases had been in the book so long that, until the 30-year-old Mr. Wills began to go-go-go this season, the 47-year-old mark of the old Georgia Peach seemed inviolate in this era of long-ball hitting.

Wills failed to pass the speedy ghost of Cobb in the old schedule limit of 154 games, but after 165 Dodger games, which included a three-chapter play-off for the pennant, he had committed 104 thefts, an almost unbelievable feat the way the game is played today.

The selection of Wills on the ballets of the committee of 20 baseball writers should be extremely popular even though there was a wide variance among the selectors themselves over the relative importance of speed and batting muscle.

It turned out there were four worthy candidates for the honor —wondrous Willie Mays of the Giants; Tommy Davis, Maury's Dodger teammate, and Frank Robinson, the redoubtable slugger of the Cincinnati Reds.

All four of these fine Negro ball players were named on all of the 20 ballets. All received first-place votes. Eight of these went to Wills, seven to Mays,

More on M.V.P.—P 12

Herald T

MAURY W

s Most Valuable Player

MAURY IS GRATEFUL

Herald Tribune—UPI

MAURY WILLS

By The Associated Press

SPOKANE.

Calm, grateful Maury Wills followed his usual routine yesterday—including an afternoon banjo lesson—with no special celebration after his selection as the National League's most valuable player.

"I was blessed," Wills said when informed he had been voted the league's top honor. "I was helped in everything I did this season."

Wills is still recovering from the strenuous season during which he set a base stealing record of 104. His family wouldn't awaken him for the many telephone calls, so it was late when he learned of his selection.

Wills laid much more stress on dedication than on special abilities for the records and honors that came his way this year.

"I worked hard ever since February—since spring training. You only get out of anything what you put into it. If you put in a little extra, sometime you're going to get something wonderful back," he said.

Wills was gareful for the special help and attention he received from coaches and managers and especially for the aid he got last season from Pete Reiser, of the Dodgers.

Reiser stressed dedication to the game, Wills said, and often kidded him into extra effort when Wills felt too tired and bruised to attempt another stolen base.

Wills has a busy schedule of speeches and personal ap-

More on WILLS—P 12

New York Herald Tribune 1962 Wednesday

NEGROES CRITICIZE KENNEDY

Negro leaders denounced Mississippi segregationists as "savages" and criticized President Kennedy's handling of the Meredith case at a rally Monday night in Harlem.

The rally, billel as a protest against "Mississippi madness," was held at 125th St. and Seventh Ave. It was attended by 600.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Among the 12 speakers were James Farmer, national director of CORE, Percy Sutton, head of the New York branch of the NAACP, and Mrs. Daisy Bates, leader of the Little Rock, Ark. school integration fight in 1957.

Mr. Farmer said that in the President's televised speech Sunday, he "talked about the war records and the courage of the white Mississippian. He did not tell of the black American who from time immemorial has been a hero in this country."

"He told about the court action to let Meredith go to school," Mr. Farmer said. "He failed to tell what Mississippi is doing wrong. He did not say that segregation must go, that Meredith must be allowed to go to classes, that the Federal government has a responsibility it can't shirk."

In Mississippi, he said, "the so-called representatives of the master race are acting like savages. Here in Harlem we are showing Americans throughout the country that we know how to act like human beings."

Mrs. Bates lashed out at the President for acting like a "politican."

"Why did the President hesitate in bringing the situation to a head?" she said. "Simply because he is a politician and there are not enough registered Negro voters in America for him to respect."

During the two-and-a-half-hour rally, which began at 6:30 p. m., police diverted southbound traffic on Seventh Ave. from 126th to 124th St. A speakers' platform was erected in front of the Hotel Theresa.

A colection at the demonstration brought $268.96, including a $100 bill.

During the afternoon, CORE-sponsored rallies were held on two city campuses—City College and Columbia University.

At City, 300 students in the Finley Center Grand Ballroom, 133d St. and Convent Ave., heard four speakers, including the president of the college, Dr. Buell G. Gallagher.

Dr. Gallagher denounced former Army Gen. Edwin Walker, who was arrested yesterday on Federal charges of "rebellion, insurrection and seditious conspiracy." He said: "Walker's rabble are already responsible for at least two deaths by violence.

"We have seen enough of irresponsible speeches and inflammatory actions," Dr. Gallagher said, "to make us certain that the careless word and the public posture are dangerous weapons, especially so when used by (resigned) Army generals with an axe to grind."

A CORE official laid the blame for the two deaths in the rioting to Gov. Ross Barnett and to indecision on the part of the Federal government.

"Now two people lie dead because of Governor Barnett's political mistake and the Federal government's tactical mistake," said Robert Gore, assistant community relations director for CORE.

At Columbia, a rally in the center of the campus—on 116th St. between Broadway and Amsterdam Ave.—attracted 300 students at its height. Two CORE officials spoke at 3 p. m.

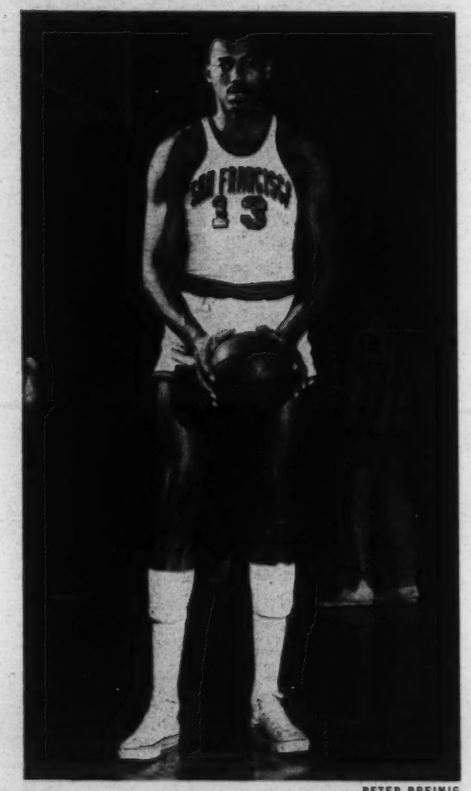
On campuses outside New York City, a white armband was becoming a symbol of support for Mr. Meredith and criticism of violence. An officer of the National Student Association reported that wearing of the armbands, which started last week at Texas Christian University, was spreading to schools in the South and New England.

In Norwalk, Conn., 300 persons joined 11 ministers in a prayer meeting "for James Meredith and the embattled Negroes of Mississippi" on the City Hall steps. The speakers used a special police car quipped with microphones. The meeting, sponsored by the Norwalk branch of NAACP, laste about one hour.

How Do You Stop Him?

He stood there, just to the right of the basket, a placid, 7-ft. 1 1/16-in. giant, watching impassively as his teammates maneuvered the ball in backcourt. The New York Knickerbockers tried to box him in; they clutched at his jersey, leaned against his chest, stepped on his toes. Then Wilt Chamberlain came alive. With the aplomb of a cop palming an apple, he reached out one massive hand and plucked the basketball out of the air. Spinning violently, he ripped clear of the elbowing surge, took a step toward the basket and jumped. For an instant, he seemed suspended in mid-air, his head on a level with the 10-ft.-high basket. Slowly, gently, the ball dribbled off his fingertips, through the net, and the San Francisco Warriors went on to a 142-134 victory. New York Coach Ed Donovan sadly shook his head. "He's phenomenal," he sighed. "How does anyone stop Wilt Chamberlain?"

"A Sort of Anticipation." Nobody does. At 26, Chamberlain is the best basketball player who ever lived. Alone, Chamberlain cannot make his team a consistent winner —last week the Warriors trailed the first-place Los Angeles Lakers by 17 games—but he gives San Francisco fans plenty to crow about. In 1960, his first season as a pro, he was named the National Basketball Association's Rookie of the Year and its Most Valuable Player as well. Nobody ever did that before. Nobody ever averaged 42 points a game throughout a pro career either, or scored 100 in a single night. And nobody comes near matching Wilt's all-time season records for minutes played (3,882), points scored (4,029) and rebounds (2,149)—records that Chamberlain himself breaks almost every year. The N.B.A. record book lists 86 players who have scored more than 50 points in one game, and 57 of them are named Wilt Chamberlain. "Wilt has that something that separates the great from the near great," says the Boston Celtics' Bill Russell, Chamberlain's good friend and bitterest rival. "It's a sort of anticipation. You never know what he's going to do, but you know it's going to be out of the ordinary. The important thing about him is his originality. Nobody ever played basketball the way Wilt Chamberlain does."



PETER BREINIG

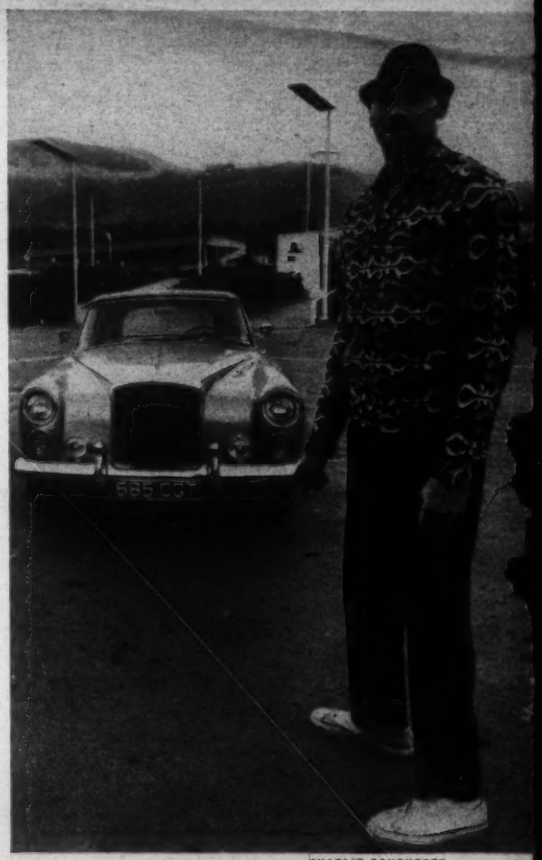
CHAMBERLAIN AT WORK
He can't hide . . .

Most basketball stars have one great talent: Russell's is defense, Elgin Baylor's is shooting, Bob Cousy's is setting up plays and passing. Chamberlain does almost everything, better than anyone else. He is the pros' fiercest rebounder, and his shooting repertory includes such inimitable specialties as the "Dipper Dunk" (in which he simply stretches up and lays the ball in the basket), the "Stuff Shot" (in which he jumps up and rams the ball through the net from above), and the "Fadeaway Jump"—a delicate, marvelously coordinated push shot from 15 ft. away that defensive men literally cannot block without fouling. At the free-throw line, where he is most uncomfortable—and most criticized—Chamberlain does a journeyman's job. He holds the all-time league record for foul shots in one season (835), once sank 28 out of 32 in a regulation-length game. The only man who ever beat that is Boston's Cousy—and he needed four overtime periods to hit 30. "Wilt has backcourt set shots too," says Warrior Coach Bob Feerick. "But he just shoots them now and then to show he can."

Watch Him Walk. The son of a 5-ft. 8-in. handyman in Philadelphia, Chamberlain started drawing attention when he was 15 and playing junior-high ball. He was already 6-ft. 10-in. tall and towered over the other kids like a giraffe. But at first he yearned to be a track, not a basketball star. In high school, he could high-jump 6 ft. 4 in., and put the shot 45 ft. "I gave up track," he says simply, "because there wasn't any money in it." Concentrating on basketball at Philadelphia's Overbrook High School, Chamberlain averaged 36.3 points a game over a three-year span, spent his summers at a resort in New York's Catskill Mountains playing with college stars on a team coached by the Boston Celtics' Red Auerbach. Most overgrown teen-agers seem to have two left feet. Auerbach recalls being startled by Chamberlain's remarkable poise and his lynx-like grace on a basketball court. "The first time I saw Chamberlain," he says, "I just stood and watched him walk. Just watched him walk. It was incredible."

College coaches watched him lope the length of a court in what seemed like five or six giant strides, and some 200 schools eagerly sought Wilt's services—for pay, of course. He was promised room, board, tuition, a car, plane rides home to Philadelphia and $60 a week "pocket money" to go to the University of Dayton, but Chamberlain decided on Kansas, partly because Coach Forrest ("Phog") Allen was the only recruiter who suggested that he could get an education at college too. In his sophomore year, Chamberlain led the Kansas Jayhawkers to the N.C.A.A. finals. Then he quit school, toured the world with the Harlem Globetrotters, and signed on with the Warriors.

Good, Clean & Green. For playing as nobody else does, Wilt Chamberlain gets paid more than anybody else (about $65,000 a year), and he spends it carefully, on himself. Unlike many Negro champions, he does not champion Negro causes. "The best way to help integration," he says, "is to live a good, clean life"—and Wilt Chamberlain's life has the good, clean smell of new money. He owns a swinging Harlem nightclub named Small's Paradise, a summer basketball camp in upstate New York, real estate in Philadelphia, a bulging portfolio of mutual funds, and a 38-apartment development in Los Angeles that he calls "Villa Chamberlain." He sports a sparkling three-carat diamond ring on his left pinky, lives in

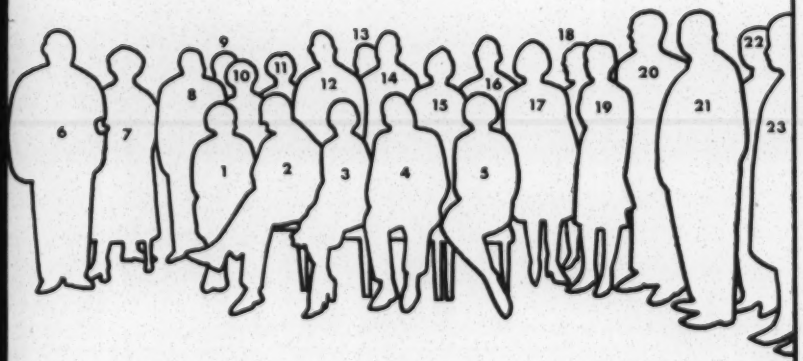


CHARLIE DOUGHERTY

AT PLAY (WITH BENTLEY)
. . . behind dark glasses.

100 YEARS AFTER LINCOLN SET THE SLAVES FREE . . .

—USN&WR Photo



HOSTS AND GUESTS: At a White House reception on February 12 observing the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: In the front row—(1) Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy; (2) Vice President Johnson; (3) Mrs. Johnson; (4) President Kennedy; (5) Mrs. Kennedy. Standing behind them—(6) Dr. Erwin Griswold, dean of Harvard Law School; (7) Mrs. Griswold; (8) Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency; (9) Carl T. Rowan (partly hidden), recently nominated as U.S. Ambassador to Finland; (10) Mrs. Weaver; (11) Mrs. Leroy Johnson; (12) Leroy Johnson, a State senator in Georgia; (13) Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; (14) James Farmer, national director, Congress of Racial Equality; (15) Mrs. Farmer; (16) Dr. Spottswood Robinson, III, dean of Howard University Law School; (17) Mrs. John H. Johnson; (18) Mrs. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., wife of a Michigan Congressman; (19) Mrs. Whitney Young, Jr.; (20) Whitney Young, Jr., executive secretary, National Urban League; (21) John H. Johnson, publisher of "Ebony" magazine; (22) Lee C. White, assistant special counsel to the President; (23) Mrs. White.

Lew Alcindor—Power's Spaceman

15 Years Old and Still Growing

Power's 7-Ft., 1/4-In. Alcindor New Phenom of Basketball

By Sam Goldaper
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

New York City scholastic basketball has produced its share of college and pre standouts, but never a seven-footer. Now that eventuality doesnn't seem too far off.

Probably never in the local history of the sport has anone stirred more interest than a 15-year-old sophomore—Lew Alcindor, of Power Memorial Academy, an Irish-Christian Brothers institution on 60th St. and Amsterdam Ave., in the shadows of Lincoln Center.

The chief reason for the excitement is Alcindor's height. At the moment he measures 7 feet, ¼ inch, and he is still growing.

But can he play basketball? That answer is an emphatic "yes" from some of the top authorities of the game, including Joe Lapchick, the St. John's coach; Ken Norton, of Manhattan, and Eddie Gottlieb, general manager of the San Francisco Warriors.

Basketball coaches have ways of discovering seven-footers, whether they live in New York City or Timbuktu.

The word is out on Alcindor. No one knows it better than Norton. The Jasper coach spoke at a luncheon of the Chicago Basketball Writers in December and mentioned Alcindor.

A writer asked him to spell the name and Norton obliged by spelling it "SINDOR." The school sounded like "Powell" to the reporter.

The following then was reported to have happened:

"No," said Ed Hickey, the Marquette coach. "Its POWER. When we played St. John's in the Garden we worked out in the Power Memorial gym. We had the tallest ballboy we've ever seen and his name is Alcindor . . . Spanish name."

"What's his first name? I've forgotten," said George Ireland, the coach of Chicago Loyola, who had six New Yorkers (four varsity and two freshmen) on his NCAA championship team this year.

"It's Ferdinand Lewis Alcindor, Junior, broke in Seattle coach Vince Cazzetta, who has 6-9 Waverly Davis, a graduate of Power Memorial, on his squad.

Alcindor, or "El Cid" as he has been tabbed by his teammates, came to Power Memorial from St. Jude Parochial School, not far from Manhattan College.

The only child of a 6-foot-2½ New York City Transit patrolman, Alcindor stood 6-8 as an eighth-grader at St. Jude. In his freshman year at Power, he was 6-10½.

Jack Donohue has brought the 220-pounder, who wears a size 16D sneaker and sleeps in a 7-foot-6 bed, along slowly. During his freshman y ear, Alcindor averaged 12 points a game.

The past season, when unbeaten Power won 27 games, the Catholic title and the St. Peter's College Invitational, Alcinder dunked 515 points for a 19.1 average, shot 53 per cent from the floor and 66 per cent from the foul line, and pulled down 444 rebounds, an average of 16 a game.

During his freshman year "El Cid," who eats good size meals (he often tosses in a pizza or a double order of French fries) maintained a 91 per cent average for a top 10 per cent rating in his class of 340.

This year his scholastic average is 89-plus, again in the top 10 per cent among the 300 sophomores.

"The only special practice we have for Lew is rope-jumping," said Donohue. "We keep working on his coordination and his timing.

"After the season Lew plays no basketball at all. During the summer I take him to my camp, where he is a dishwasher. All his spare time is devoted to basketball—three or four hours a day."

Power this past season was likened to some of the best local high school basketball teams of all time. The dynasty will continue into next year and maybe longer.

Back with Alcinder will be Dan Nee, 6-4; Jack Bettridge, 6-2; Arthur Kenny, 6-7, and Jim Manari, 6-2. St. Jude is sending another blossoming giant, Tom Murray, 6-4.

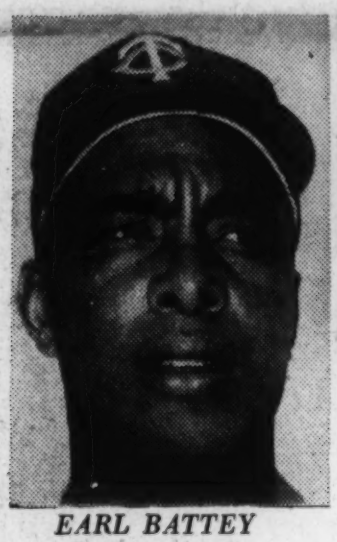
Oh, yes, Power also won the Catholic schools junior varsity and freshman titles.

If Alcindor continues at this rate of progress—and many, including Gottlieb, say it's faster than Wilt Chamberlein's at this age and scholastic stage—the bidding for him will be heavy.

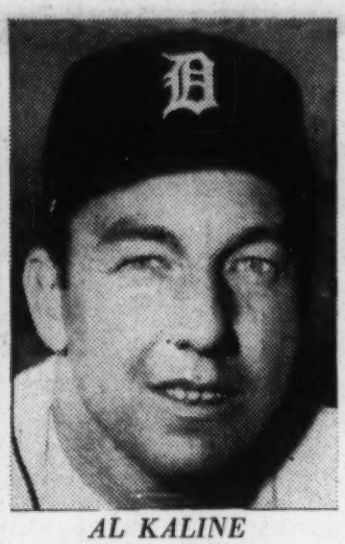
The Knicks, too, will get into the act. They want to see Lew stay in New York City so that they can claim territorial rights to him.

Gene Shue said last season, after seeing Alcinder in a Garden game preceding the Knicks, "We'll trade two future draft choices for him right now."

American League's

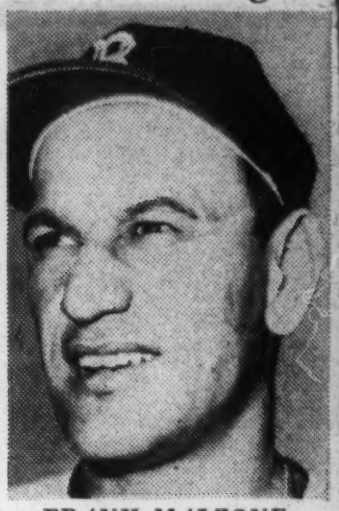


EARL BATTEY
Twins, catcher



AL KALINE
Tigers, rightfield

LEON WAGNER
Angels, leftfield



FRANK MALZONE
Red Sox, third base

All-Star Vote Surprises: Pepito

Mantle Elected, Pearson Will Sub at C

Shortstop Dick Groat of the St. Louis Cardinals led all National League vote-getters and right fielder Al Kaline of the Detroit Tigers was the American League's top vote-getter Saturday as the players selected their starting line-ups for the All-Star game in Cleveland Tuesday.

Groat, acquired by the Cards in a winter trade with Pittsburgh, received a whopping 238 votes to top Los Angeles' Maury Wills. The National League's Most valuable player of 1962 drew only 25 votes.

Kaline, who missed out on the 1962 team because of a shoulder separation sustained just before the voting, was named on 226 ballots. Bob Allison, the league leader in home run and runs batted in got only 25 votes.

The biggest surprise in an otherwise cut-and-dried selection was the one-sided victory gained by veteran Frank Malzone over Baltimore's Brooks Robinson and New York's Clete Boyer for third base honors.

Malzone, currently leading the American League in hitting, received 184 votes to only 67 for runner-up Robinson. Boyer was even further behind.

There were only seven repeaters from the 1962 squads. Five are in the National League. They are Pittsburgh second baseman Bill Mazeroski, St. Louis third baseman Ken Boyer, San Francisco center fielder Willie Mays, Los Angeles left fielder Tommy Davis and Groat.

The American League repeaters are left fielder Leon Wagner of the Angels and catcher Earl Battey of the Twins.

Mickey Mantle, last year's American League starting center fielder, beat Albie Pearson of the Angels for the starting center field berth, 131 votes to 104. Little Albie was named to the starting tem, however, because the Yankee slugger, who suffered a broken bone in his foot on June 5, will not be ready.

In a special vote, Pearson received 90 additional alternate votes on the assumption that Mantle wo lined.

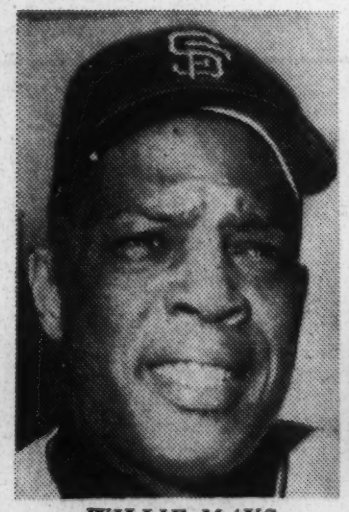
The only two r All-Star compe first baseman Jo the Yankees a Zoilo Versalles c

Pepitone, play full season, be Stuart of the F votes to 62. V scored Luis Ap Orioles, 183 vote ricio was the st stop last year.

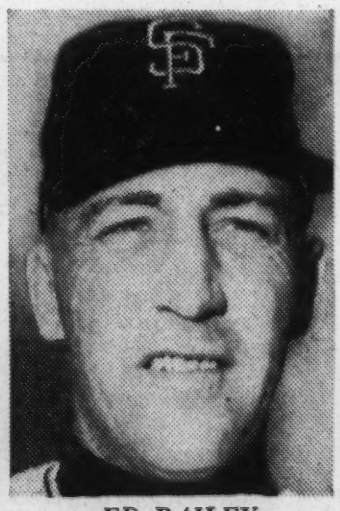
Back on the s was veteran Nell Chicago White feated Bobby R the Yankees for honors.

Eleven teams

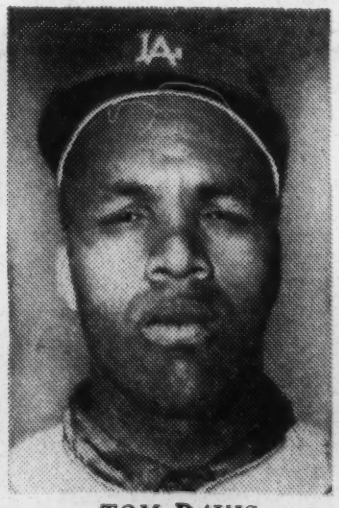
National League's Le



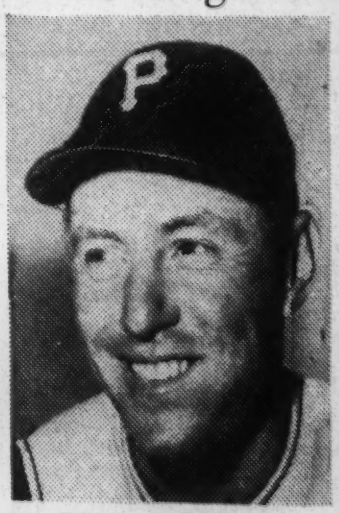
WILLIE MAYS
Giants, centerfield



ED BAILEY
Giants, catcher

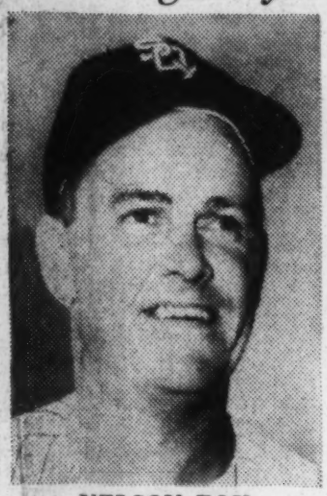


TOM DAVIS
Dodgers, leftfield

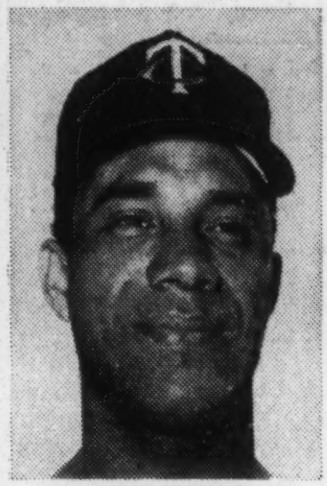


BILL MAZEROSKI
Pirates, second base

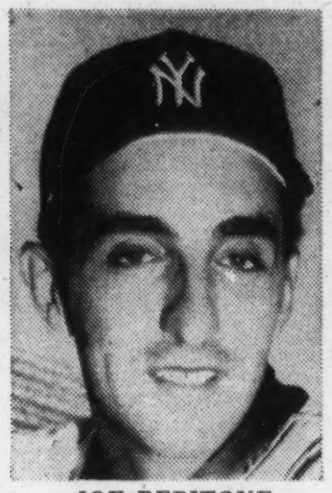
ue's Starting Players



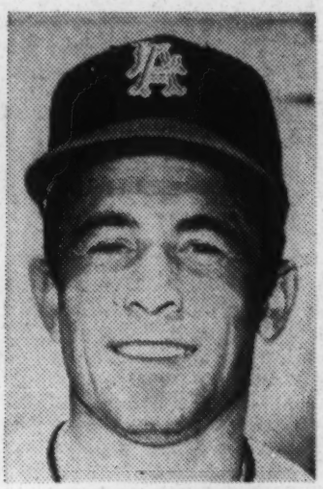
NELSON FOX
White Sox, second base



ZOILO VERSALLES
Twins, shortstop



JOE PEPITONE
Yankees, first base



ALBIE PEARSON
Angels, centerfield

tone at 1st and Malzone at 3rd

at Center

tle would be side-

y two newcomers to competition were man Joe Pepitone of kees and shortstop salles of the Twins. e, playing his first on, beat out Dick the Red Sox, 112 62. Versalles out- is Aparicio of the 33 votes to 46. Apa- the starting short- year.

the starting squad an Nellie Fox of the White Sox. He de- bby Richardson of ees for second base

teams were represented on the All-Star squads. The Cards placed three men, Bill White beat out Orlando Cepada of the Giants for first base to join teammates Groat and Boyer. The Giants, Twins and Angels had two men each.

The National League's second biggest vote-getter was Hank Aaron of Milwaukee, the National League's home run leader. Aaron, beaten out by Roberto Celemente for the right field berth last year, turned the tables on the Pittsburgh outfielder, 230 votes to Roberto's 22.

The pitchers and remaining members of the two 25-man squads will be named during the week. They will be chosen by the rival managers, Ralph Houk of the American League and Alvin Dark of the National.

Top 2 in All-Star Voting

NATIONAL LEAGUE

First base—Bill White, St. Louis, 220; Orlando Cepeda, San Francisco, 38.

Second base—Bill Mazeroski Pittsburgh, 227; Ken Hubbs, Chicago, 14.

Third base—Ken Boyer, St. Louis, 186; Ron Santo, Chicago, 52.

Shortstop—Dick Groat, St. Louis, 238; Maury Wills, Los Anegeles, 25.

Leftfield—Tommy Davis, Los Angeles, 141; Frank Robinson, Cincinnati, 82.

Centerfield—Willie Mays, San Francisco, 168; Vada Pinson, Cincinnati, 82.

Rightfield—Hank Aaron, Milwaukee, 230; Roberto Clemente, Pittsburgh, 22.

Catcher—Ed Bailey, San Francisco, 129; John Edwards, Cincinnati, 82.

AMERICAN LEAGUE

First base—Joe Pepitone, New York, 112; Dick Stuart, Boston, 62.

Second base—Nelson Fox, Chicago, 141; Bobby Richardson, New York, 68.

Third base—Frank Malzone, Boston, 184; Brooks Robinson, Baltimore, 67.

Shortstop — Zoilo Versalles, Minnesota, 183; Luis Aparicio, Baltimore, 46.

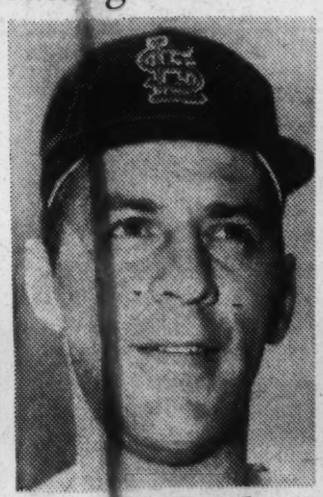
Leftfield—Leon Wagner, Los Angeles, 169; Carl Yastrzemski, Boston, 51.

Centerfield—Mickey Mantle, New York, 131; Albie Pearson, Los Angeles, 104.

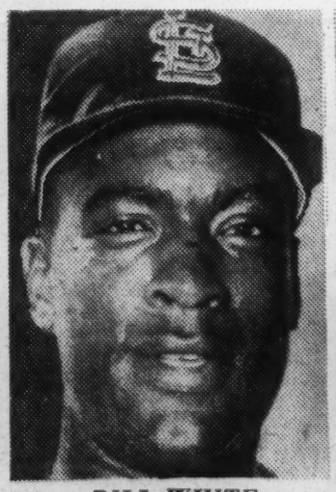
Rightfield—Al Kaline, Detroit, 226; Bob Allison, Minnesota 25.

Catcher—Earl Battey, Minnesota, 196; Elston Howard, New York, 70.

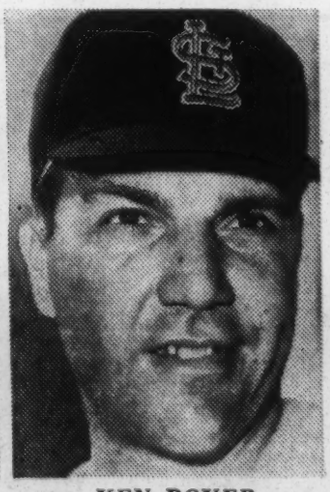
Leading Vote-Getters



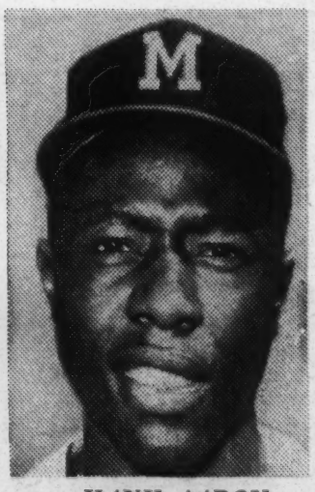
DICK GROAT
Cardinals, shortstop



BILL WHITE
Cardinals, first base



KEN BOYER
Cardinals, third base



HANK AARON
Braves, rightfield

Newsweek

JUNE 24, 1963 25c

Alabama's Vivian Malone

'We owe them—and we owe ourselves—a better country ...'

—PRESIDENT KENNEDY

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Misses Smith, Bueno Win at Orange Before the Deluge

Ashe, 1st Negro, on U. S. Davis Cup Team

By Al Laney
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

SOUTH ORANGE, N. J.

Of course, the grass courts at the Orange Lawn Tennis Club were flooded yesterday, as was everything else in the vicinity, and so the Eastern championships were put so far behind that the prospect now is that both men's and women's finals will not be played before Monday.

Only two of the 16 matches in the third round were played before the rains began about an hour after noon and everybody ran for cover. In these, two of the main players, Margaret Smith, the Australian girl who is Wimbledon and United States champion, and Maria Bueno, who has held both these titles in the past, got through just in time.

Miss Smith defeated Nadine Netter, Scarsdale, 6—2, 6—2, and Miss Bueno beat Carole Wright, 6—4, 6—2.

Davis Cup Squad Named

Then everybody sat around and watched it rain and it was quite clear to everyone within a few minutes that all play was over for the day. Presently came Harcourt Woods, chairman of the Davis Cup committee to announce his group's selections for the team that will play Mexico in Los Angeles, Aug. 16-18.

Two of the members, Chuck McKinley and Dennis Ralston were pretty well known in advance. The other two are Arthur Ashe, the fine Negro youth whose game is improving so rapidly, and Martin Riessen, known principally as a very good doubles player.

Ashe is the first Negro ever to be named to a Davis Cup team and though most people think McKinley and Ralston will play the singles, Ashe is quite good enough already to draw the assignment if Ralston, who is nursing an injured hand, should be unable to play.

Ashe Fine Prospect

And Ashe, who has just passed his 20th birthday, has improved so rapidly and is now so good we are justified in having confidence that he might account for a point in that Mexican series, in which Rafael Osuna and Antonio Palafox will play both singles and doubles.

These two young Mexicans eliminated our team a year ago in Mexico City and then went on to challenge Australia for the cup at Christmas time Down Under. Together they hold the Wimbledon and United Staes doubles title and Riessen apparently was chosen for the team as a doubles replacement for Ralston, again if Dennis' hand will not permit him to play.

Riessen, with Clark Graebner, another Northwestern University student, as partner, has recently won both the National clay court and the Pennsylvania doubles titles and is regarded as our best doubles player other than the top men, McKinley and Ralston.

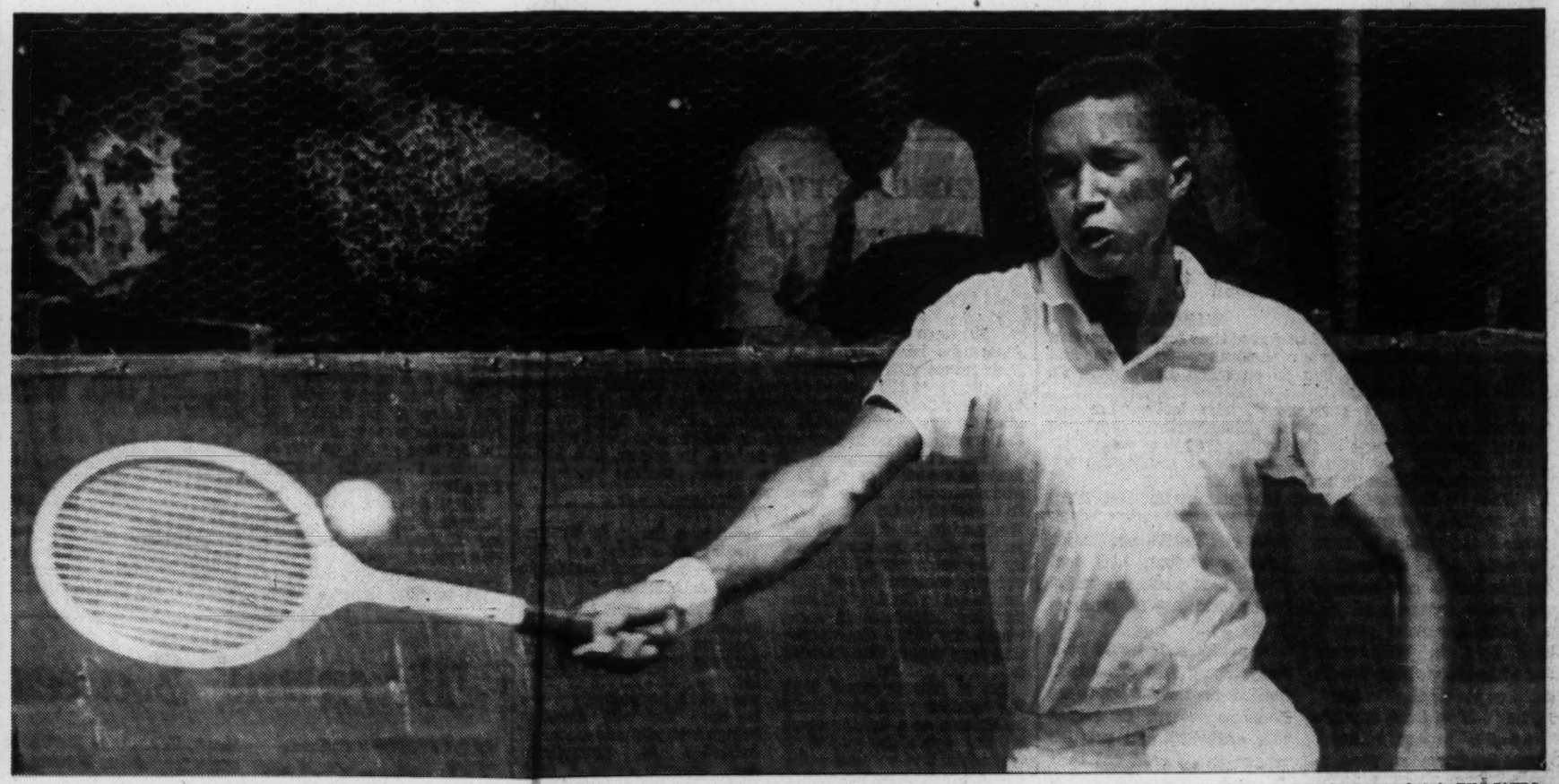
Outlook More Hopeful

Both he and Ashe are as good second-string players as we could name to the team and, since McKinley, who won the Wimledon title a month ago, probably should be good for two singles points, we are in a much more hopeful Davis Cup situation than last year.

Ashe and Graebner will leave for Los Angeles to join the others when their duties are done at Orange. McKinley, who won at Merion last Sunday and took a week off, also is on his way from his home in St. Ann, Mo., and Ralston lives out there.

Meanwhile, the Orange tournament will pick up today where it left off with the 14 remaining third-round singles matches down for decision if the courts are in shape.

The committee announced late in the day that the tournament would end just the same on Sunday. It is a good trick if they can do it and if they can persuade players to play two matches in one day.



Herald Tribune photo by BILL SAURO

Arthur Ashe, 20-year-old UCLA junior, yesterday became the first Negro to be named to a United States Davis Cup squad.

Son a Winner for South Orange Visitors

Ashe's Family Finally Sees Newest Davis Cup Player

By Al Laney
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

SOUTH ORANGE, N. J.

When Arthur Ashe jr., the 20-year-old junior at UCLA, became the first Negro ever to be named to the Davis Cup team during Thursday's deluge at the Orange Lawn Tennis Club, the news was a little slow in reaching Richmond, Va., his home town.

Arthur sr., who is a special officer in the Richmond police department, was quite busy when the word finally came. Mr. Ashe was asigned that day to the parks of the city and was having a mild case of integration demonstration trouble in one of them.

He got that in hand without extreme difficulty and early yesterday morning he and Mrs. Ashe, accompanied by various relatives made it to the club here before young Arthur was called for his match in the third round of the Eastern Grass Court championships.

It is a great honor, the parents feel, that has come to their boy and they are quite conscious of it. People gathered around them, made a fuss over father and son, snapped many pictures and even taped an interview.

Mr. Ashse is a strong athletic-looking man of better than average height himself, but he seems small beside his tall, handsome 6-foot and more son. The father is pleasant, friendly and a fine-looking physical speciment but not so imposing as Arthur jr.

He seemed a little embarrassed to be made so much of. He appeared to think he and Arthur's mother and aunts could just slip into the club without attracting any attention.

Mr. Ashe said naturally they wanted to see the boy before he sets out for Los Angeles and the Davis Cup American Zone final series with Mexico, which is scheduled for Aug. 16-18 at the Los Angeles Tennis Club.

Arthur jr. has been on the tennis circuit pretty m ch ever since school was out in early June playing here and there—even at Winbledon—and hasn't really had time for a visit home.

Asked if any of the family would go to California to see the boy play, Mr. Ashe replied: "Lord, no. I can't afford to travel around the world like Arthur does. I have to get back to my job."

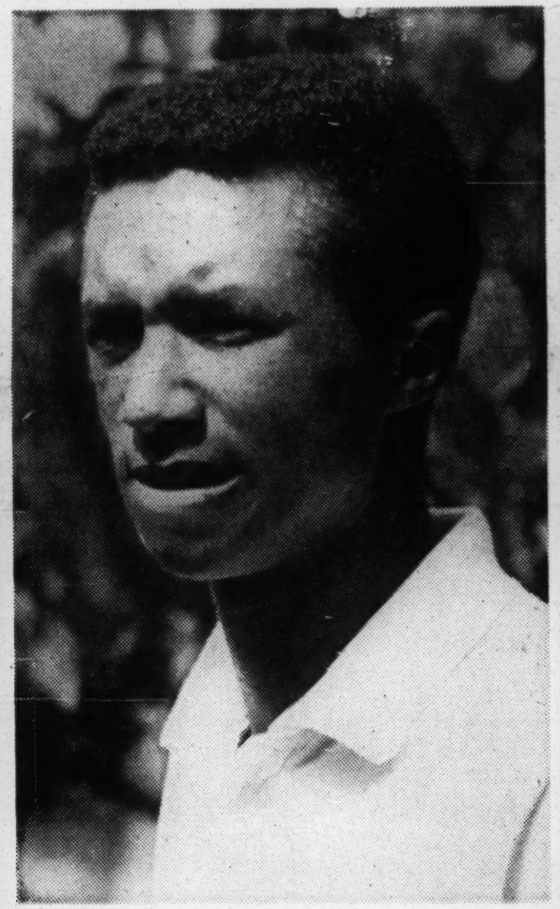
It was pretty obvious that all the Ashes are immensely proud of Arthur. When people let them be and quit asking questions, they all went quietly into the general admission section of the stands and watched while Arthur was playing and beating Keith Stoneman of Greenville, S. C.

They were watching a fine athlete and a fine young man who could teach a lot of other young tennis players how to conduct themselves on court and of it.

Special officer Ashe may have a bit of integration trouble awaiting him when he returns to his Richmond parks, but there is not going to be any problem at all for his son Arthur in the tennis world.

Arthur jr. also is a fine player who is improving so rapidly there is no telling how high he may go.

We have had a Negro woman's champion in Althea Gibson and it certainly is not beyond possibility that we may have in Ashe a winner of the even bigger title in the years ahead.



Herald Tribune photo by BILL SAURO

Arthur Ashe, the United States' newest Davis Cup team member, appears a bit concerned about appearing before his parents who attended yesterday's matches at South Orange. But Ashe set back Keith Stoneman, 7—5, 6—2.

Promotion Chances Better For Negro Army Officers

WASHINGTON (NNPA). — The Department of the Army has ordered its commanders in the field to set up the recuitment and promotion of Negro offficers.

But it wants the job done in what is calls "an orderly manner" so as not to give the impression that these officers are being upgraded on the basis on race alone.

Personnel people at the Pentagon are emphasing that they want more attention paid to non-whites.

After their selection for promotion, qualified Negro officers will also receive greater attention for assignment to the so-called "prjestige" jobs. These jobs generally fall in the area of high command and staff posts.

The most recent strength figures divulged by the Army show that Negro offficers comprise 3.2 percent of all officers on duty. Of the 3,150 colored officers now serving, six are colonels, 117 are lieutenant colonels and 424 are majors.

There is only on Negro general officer in all branches of the military service. He is Major Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., who is chief personnel officer for the Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps do not fare as well as those in the Army. The Air Force has six colonels among its 1,300 colored offficers, but only 67 lieutenant colonels and 124 majors.

The Navy, with a total of 174 colored officers on its rolls, has none above the rank of commander, the equivalent of an Army lieutenant colonel. It has 3 commanders, 17 lieutenant commanders (majors) and 88 lieutenants (captains).

At the bottom of the list is he Marine Corps, which has only 32 colored officers altrogether 7 captains, 16 first lieutenants and 9 second lieutenants.

Jimmy Brown and

Browns' Coach

By Harold Rosenthal
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

In Cleveland the Indians and the Browns occupy office space in cavernous Municipal Stadium, and both have Tower 1 telephone numbers. After that all similiarity ceases; the Browns are en route to a big year under their first-year coach, Blanton Collier, while the Indians are going to spend the off-season trying to squelch rumors that their franchise is being moved.

The Browns move into New York Sunday for the No. 1 game of the N. F. L. season so far and with them comes the game's No. 1 runner, Jimmy Brown. The word is that Collier is running on a happy ship, and Brown is laughing and joking between slashes at enemy defenses, something he didn't do the last few years under Paul Brown. Said a club spokesman yesterday, "They're doing all kinds of things now, running and pasing, and Jimmy going to the outside, that Brown would never permit when he had the club."

In Paul Brown's last year he split with the Giants, beating them by ten points in his home opener, then dropping a close decision. The outcome of the second game had no material effect on the Eastern division race.

This year Collier, an old Paul Brown assistant, has a couple of new things going for him, a Jimmy Brown on a record-breaking pace and a quarterback, Frank Ryan, who has apparently found himself after floundering with the Rams.

Ryan took the job when Jim Ninowski failed to impress in the pre-season games, and he's played every minute to date. Helping establish Ryan has been the emergence of second-year Gary Collins as a first-rate flanker back.

Collins, the Browns' No. 1 draft in 1962, caught a couple of TD passes Saturday night in the TV game with the Steelers which was seen through the Eastern half of the U. S. The Giants, in Washington, spent the evening watching this tandem carefully.

It seems almost a shame to subject a fellow like Ryan to the merciless buffeting a pro quarterback is required to face without flinching. There was a cock-eyed rumor around at the Cleveland doubleheader in which the Giants participated in Aug. (they beat the Lions then) that Ryan was a nuclear physicist. Actually he's working toward his Ph. D in geometric functional theory at Rice Institute. It seems almost criminal to subject him to the kind of combing he figures to get from the Giants.

Don't waste any pity on Jimmy Brown, however. He's racked up 664 yards in four games, is ahead of his record pace of 1958 when he established the al-time high of 1527. Last year he rolled for 134 yards in the first Giant game; in the second Sam Huff and Co. nailed him and kept him to 55. This year he has outgained the entire Giant offense by almost 150 yards.

The Giants suffered two casualties in the Washington game . . . Lou Kirouac, the offensive end, received a severely-bruised shoulder on the next to last play of the first half and he was x-rayed for a possible break . . . defensive back Eddie Dove, spent the night in the hospital for observation for a possible concussion . . . . Giants achieved season highs versus the Redskins in first downs (26), passing yardage (302), and Del Shofner and Joe Walton had their best yardage days . . . Y. A. Tittle's three touchdowns equalled earlier efforts against Baltimore and Philadelphia. . . . Inability of the Giants to run their plays because of the crowd noise following the passer—roughing penalty in the third period was the first in Allie Sherman's head coaching experience, but Jim Lee Howell remembered similiar experiences in places like Green Bay and Baltimore. . . . Said Howell: "What makes it tough today is that you have so many checkoffs that you have to hear. . ."

New York Herald Tribune

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After being intercepted nine times in the first three games Jet quarterback Dick Wood managed to keep the slate Meanwhile the Jets intercepted four on Tommy Yewcic and when the injured Babe Parilli came in for one series they snatched one on him, too. . . .

Wood moved up from eighth to seventh in the league's passing standings. . . . Larry Garron, of Boston, continues the AFL's rushing leader despite his meager 39 yards against the Jets. . . . Rookie running back, Billy Joe, of Denver, jumped from fifth to third on the basis of his outstanding effort against San Diego. . . . New York's Dainnard Paulson moved from a third-place tie to second in interceptions with four. . . . Tommy Morrow, of Oakland, leads the league with eight. . . . Bill Miller, of Buffalo, just missed the A.F.L. receiving mark of thirteen with a dozen receptions against Oakland. . . . New York-San Diego game, pitting divisional leaders (how about that for a betting parley with the Dodgers winning the Series four straight?) will be on network TV and will be seen in New York on Channel 7 Sunday starting at 4:30. . . . Giants-Browns blacked out, of coure, locally but a half-dozen additional motels have installed powerful anteena, as have some of the exclusive yacht clubs on Long Island Sound so you can start making telephone calls early.

JIMMY BROWN—Off and Running

picture

11-15-63

logues of the Carmelites. Last week, when the opera went on tour to Los Angeles, the critics sounded almost as infatuated—petite! graceful! enchantingly pretty! The last time a new singer so captured the San Francisco season, the object of affections was Leontyne Price.

Grist has none of Price's sensuous power, either in voice or performance. She is a coloratura to the heart; her voice has a light, facile, May-wine beauty, and her acting is warmed by fluttery humor and grace. In opera's endless supply of roles for frivolous coquettes, she could hardly be better off, but the buoyant ease of her voice is her main distinction: she stopped a performance of *Ariadne auf Naxos* in her La Scala debut with a crystalline rendition of Zerbinetta's notoriously difficult aria.

Singing in the Fields. Reri ("Who ever heard of a name like Reri?" she says) grew up in Harlem. Her mother tugged her around to auditions when she was a child, as much to get her off the streets as onto the stage. She won a succession of small singing bits before she was 20. Her best Broadway role was Consuelo in the 1957 production of *West Side Story,* in which she sang *Somewhere,* the show's most operatic song. Upon hearing her, Composer Leonard Bernstein invited her up the street to sing in Mahler's *Fourth* with his New York Philharmonic. Since then she has sung only classical.

She forged the basis of her career during a camping tour of Europe. "I would wake up in the mornings and sing out into the fields," she says, "then go into the towns for auditions." In the past three years, she has been a regular at the Zurich Opera and has sung at the Vienna Opera and Covent Garden.

Where the Work Is. She long ago gave up on the U.S. as a place to live, and even her toast-of-the-town success in California is not likely to tempt her back from her home in Zurich. "People stare at me in Europe," she says, "but out of curiosity. When I come back here, the stares have a malice in them. Besides, my life is in the opera now, and Europe is where the work is."

PETE PETERS

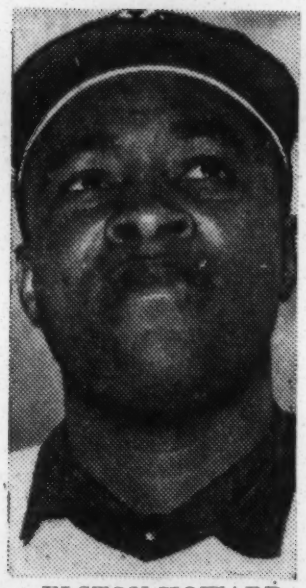
SOPRANO GRIST
May wine in the throat.

SOPRANOS

"Absolutely Priceless"

The reviews that greeted Soprano Reri Grist in her debut with the San Francisco Opera company might well have been written by her mother. She was an "exquisite" Rosina in *The Barber of Seville,* an "absolutely priceless" Despina in *Così Fan Tutte,* "the very incarnation" of Sister Constance in *Dia-*

Howard Voted Most V



ELSTON HOWARD

By Tommy Holmes
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Ralph Houk, now a man behind an executive desk, knows that almost anything can happen when a committee of baseball writers pools its collective intellect to elect a most valuable player.

"This time," said the new general manager of the Yankees yesterday, "they couldn't have made a better choice. There are many reasons why Elston Howard was our solid ball player this year which I'm glad were recognized by the committee." Howard was named the American League's Most Valuable Player yesterday.

"Look at it this way. With all of our other injuries, where would we have been if something serious had happened to Howard along the way? Up the creek, that's where," Houk said.

"But Ellie hung in there. Never once did I have to take him out because he was hurt or even too tired. And he had a great year (playing 135 games and hitting .287).

In those weeks and months that Mantle and Maris were out of action, he was the most feared big hitter in our lineup and he wound up with 28 homers and 101 runs batted in.

"And if that isn't enough, there was the great quality of his catching, more noticeable this year because he was working with more younger pitchers than is usual on our club. Anyone watching him in action ought to know that Howard is a fine receiver, but

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"We're taking nothing for granted," said Princeton's

st Valuable in A. L. for '63

the fine pitching of kids like Jim Bouton and Al Downing makes it evident that he has great judgment, too, and the ability to bring out the best in a pitcher."

It is now up to Houk to sign Howard to a 1964 contract.

"Maybe I've said too much already," Houk said with a laugh. "I did sound more like a manager than a general manager, didn't I? But I'm not worrying about that. He's getting good money and he'll get more of the same."

This was quite a year for Yankee catchers, past and present. Houk moved up to replace Roy Hamey as Yankee general manager, Yogi Berra, Howard's summer understudy, took Houk's place as manager.

And now Howard winds up with the American League's Most Valuable Player award —easily, as it turned out.

All 20 baseball writers on the committee named him on the ballot and 15 put him on top. His point total of 248 was 100 points higher than that of Al Kaline of the Tigers, who finished second. Whitey Ford was third with 125 points and three first-place votes.

The lone remaining first-place vote went to Tom Tresh, the Yankee outfielder who finished 11th in the point count. Anyway, Yankees drew 19 of 20 first-place votes, a tribute to their easy pennant victory in spite of a distressing list of injuries.

Mickey Mantle, M.V.P. of 1962, and Roger Maris, winner in 1960 and 1961, failed to gain a point on any ballot. Chances are that one or the other would have been named most valuable ball player this year had the election been held by members of the American Medical Association.

The success of the Yankees up to the time they faced the Dodgers in the World Series was generally called a team effort.

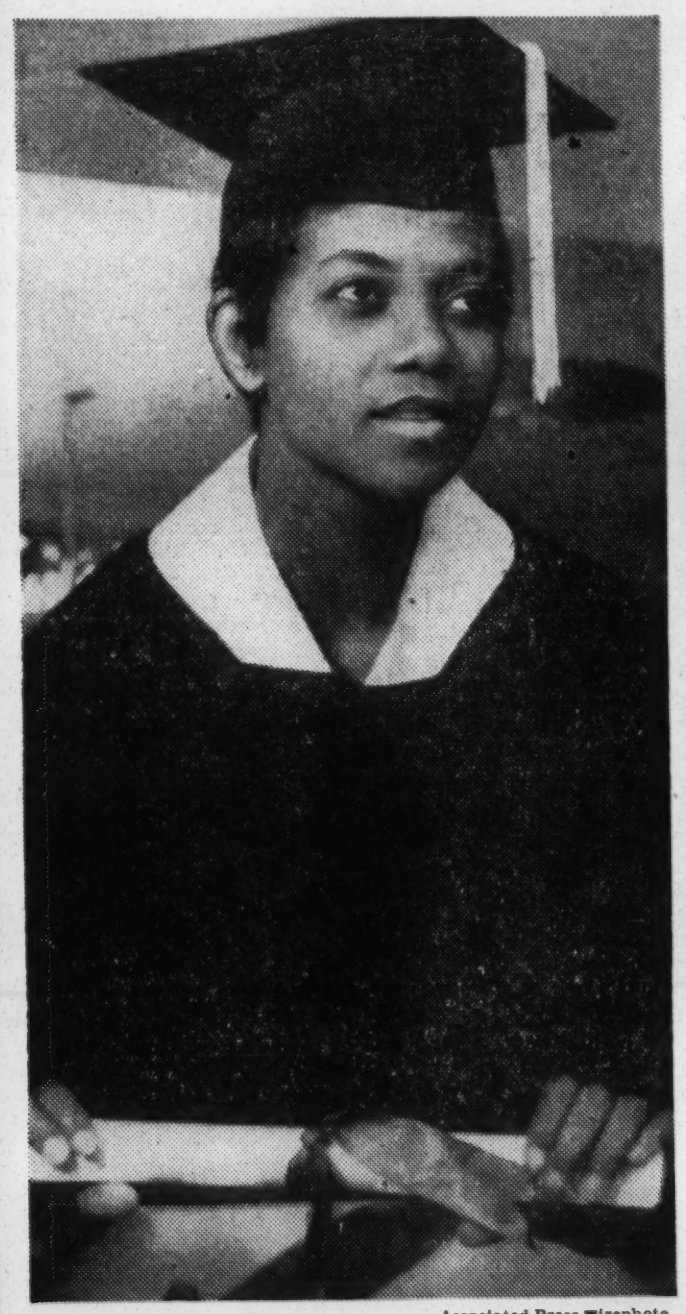
"Without the help of my teammates," said Howard in his new home at Teaneck, N. J., "there was no possible way I could have won this award. Jim Bouton, Tony Kubek, Hector Lopez, Tom Tresh, Joe Pepitone—they all had great years. Whitey Ford had a truly fine year and I figured he'd be right in the running for it.

"But I do think this was the about the best season I've had," continued the 32-year-old catcher. "I consider it a real solid year, better than 1961 (when he hit .348) because this year I got so many key hits.

Howard's 28 homers was a personal high. He admitted he was disappointed in failing to reach 30, the record for an American League catcher shared by Berra and Gus Triandos.

"Perhaps I was pressing too hard in the final week," he admitted. "Even so, I hit two triples at Yankee Stadium which would have been home runs anywhere else."

The Yankees have won four straight Most Valuable Player awards and eight of the last 10.



Associated Press Wirephoto

GRADUATING SPEED — Wilma Rudolph, world-record holder for the 100-and-200-meter dashes and 1960 Olympic sprint champion, holds the diploma awarded her yesterday at commencement exercises at Tennessee A. & I. State University. She is uncertain whether she'll continue her athletic career.

'Gone Are the Days!'—Laughter-Laden Lesson

TRANS-LUX EAST THEATER

A screenplay by Ossie Davis, based on his play, "Purlie Victorious;" directed and produced by Nicholas Webster, presented by The Hammer Brothers. Running time: One hour and 30 minutes. With the following cast:

Lutiebelle .....Ruby Dee
Purlie Victorious .....Ossie Davis
Captain Catchipee .....Sorrell Booke
Gitlow .....Godfrey Cambridge
Missy .....Hilda Haynes
Charlie Catchipee ..... Alan Alda
Idella .....Beah Richards
Sheriff .....Charles Welch
Deputy .....Ralph Roberts

By Judith Crist

Purlie Victorious is back and if you missed seeing this latter-day prophet on stage —or want to re-relish the goings on in Ol'Cap'n Cotchipee's cotton patch—you must see "Gone Are the Days!"

Ossie Davis' outrageous and zany fable has been brought to the screen almost intact, with, in fact, only one major cast change, and no change in the riotously comic fantasy that glitters with the sparks of its sub-surface fury. Its impact is, perhaps, even greater as a film, so rarely the vehicle for sophisticated satire on so "delicate" a subject as that of Negro rights.

As Purlie himself notes, "Great leaders are bound to pop up from time to time among our people," and he is a self-appointed leader,

Ruby Dee is the Topsy-like ingenue of "Gone are the Days!"

addlepated and rhetoric-sated, besotted by schemes for bringing his people to freedom, primarily through establishing an integrated church.

The scheme for getting $500 from Ol' Cap'n involves Topsy-like Lutiebelle, a deliciously unadvanced thinker who prides herself on her perfections as a sleep-in ("I'm a great one for race pride—only I don't need it much in my line of work"); his brother, Gitlow, newly appointed Deputy for the Colored and Uncle Tom Supreme to the Cap'n ("Yassuh, boss, you is de boss, boss"); his militant sister-in-law ("Oh child, being colored can be so much fun—if no one's looking") and the Cap'n's not very bright son, a dedicated integrationist ("You trying to get non-violent with me, son?" the Cap'n demands).

As they plot and plan and cavort, every cliche of Negro-white relations is explored and exposed, every raw nerve and tenacle of guilt probed—but the hilarity mounts, the comedy is wildly sustained. Ossie Davis is an angry man but one with the wit, the wisdom and the inspiration to give his anger potency.

His is a topsy-turvy world, wherein we become slowly aware of the Negroes' tolerance of the foibles and failures of the whites, and their condescensions become a parable bristling with contemporary truths. And the overlay of laughter serves to bring these truths home with startling efficiency. Idella, the Cap'n's no-nonsense housekeeper, emerges as the essential protector of his well intentioned son; Gitlow gives the Cap'n true surcease as he

The New Movie

croons "Old Black Joe" by his side.

The performances are superb. Mr. Davis' Purlie is as silver-tongued and glow-eyed as one could wish. Ruby Dee, one of the loveliest actresses around, is simply delicious and Godfrey Cambridge, a master satirist, gives you Gitlow to the last cringe. Beah Richards, as the firm-handed Idella; Sorrell Booke, as the Old South himself, and Alan Alda, as the aspiring New South, are flawless. The newcomer to the cast, Hilda Haynes, as the sister-in-law, is a pillar of warm strength.

As a movie, "Gone Are the Days!" is penny-pinched around the edges and there has been little visual expansion of the play. It is relatively static, over-given to oratory. But the oratory is well worth it; the opportunity to watch top performers in close-up and the delights of Henry Cowen's musical score are on the plus side. It matters not if it is little more than a filmed stage play. It's a delightful entertainment—and a laughter-laden lesson for our times.

school graduates let the music school know what had become of them last year, it was no disappointment to Bain that only 57 were professional musicians. Of the other 891, no fewer than 713 are teachers of music.

TEACHING

Desegregated History

"When I was going to school," recalls Author James Baldwin, "I began to be bugged by the teaching of American history, because it seemed that that history had been taught without cognizance of my presence." Baldwin's figurative forebears go back at least to 1513, when 30 Negroes sailed to the New World with Balboa. Yet the most widely used eighth-grade history text in the country today mentions only two Negroes by name as having lived since the Civil War, brushes off the Emancipation Proclamation in two sentences. Belatedly, educators are coming to see that it is high time to desegregate the teaching of U.S. history.

Last year in Detroit the elementary schools (47% Negro) began supplementing courses with a 52-page paperback on Negro history that ranges from ancient times to Martin Luther King. Last week the schools of Washington, D.C. (86% Negro) introduced *The Negro in American History*, a 130-page teacher's guide that can be drawn on by all grades and read by eleventh-graders as part of their regular course. Armed with a rich bibliography, it brings out that:

▶ The biggest slave-trading American colonies were not Southern but Northern—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island.

▶ The first American casualty against the British was a Negro—Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave killed in the Boston Massacre of 1770.

▶ George Washington barred Negroes from the Continental Army until the British began recruiting slaves. Alarmed, the Americans then enlisted more than 5,000 Negro soldiers, used them in integrated units.

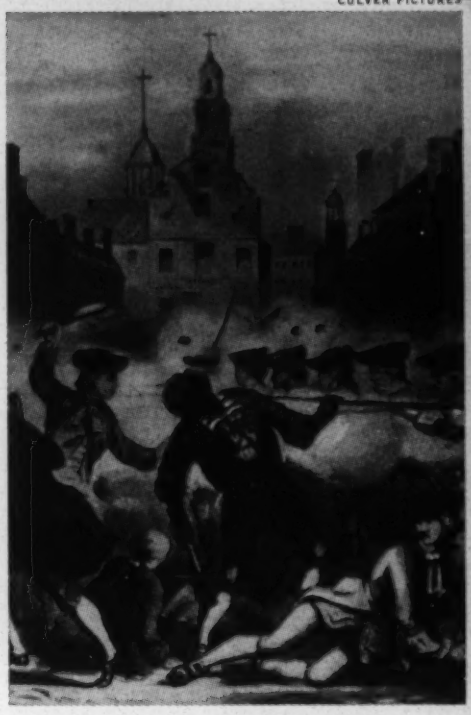
▶ Contrary to folklore, slaves hated slavery so passionately that thousands joined bloody revolts. The biggest was led in 1831 by Nat Turner, a Virginia slave preacher, whose rebels killed 60 whites before he was captured and hanged. Also contrary to folklore, the U.S. had 488,000 free Negroes by 1860, almost half of them in the South.

▶ The first successful suit in the U.S. against school segregation occurred not in the South of the 1950s but in Boston in 1849.

▶ In the Civil War, more than 210,000 Negroes fought in the Union army and navy, won 20 Congressional Medals of Honor. More than 38,000 Negro soldiers were killed in 449 battles.

▶ Negroes contributed key inventions to 19th century U.S. industrialization —for example, the mechanical laster that revolutionized shoe manufacturing.

CULVER PICTURES



DEATH OF CRISPUS ATTUCKS
A grim tale of isolation.

Granville Woods, holder of 150 patents, developed the third rail for electric trains in 1890, as well as induction telegraphy for communicating with trains in motion.

▶ The first Negro to serve a full term in the U.S. Senate (1875-81) was able, cultivated Blanche K. Bruce, son of a white Virginia planter and a slave, who was educated by a tutor, escaped to the North, studied at Oberlin College, and after the Civil War became a Mississippi planter.

▶ The first American woman to earn more than $1,000,000 on her own was "Madame" J. C. Walker, a St. Louis laundress who in 1905 developed a "hair conditioner" that created "a new world for Negro women in America."

▶ The first American who actually reached the North Pole (1909) was Matthew Henson, a Negro who accompanied Admiral Robert E. Peary.

▶ West Point graduated its first Negro in 1877 (but no Negroes got through Annapolis until 1943).

▶ In World War II, the Red Cross at first refused to accept blood from Negro donors, and later took it only on a segregated basis. Ironically, it was a Negro, Plasma Expert Charles R. Drew, who set up U.S. blood banks.

As the new text notes, the four-century history of the American Negro is a grim tale of "enforced isolation from the mainstream of American life." That a few remarkable Negroes have nonetheless managed to write "a record rich in achievement" does not balance the unhappy fact that most have not. Yet now the isolation is breaking down; Negroes may see that color is disappearing as an excuse as well as a barrier. Washington's history students may well conclude, as a top official hopes, that "there is no telling what a young Negro of today can do."

Wide, Wide World of Books

From Nowhere to Household Name: The Colored Player and Baseball

Of the 500 players on the 20 major-league baseball teams last year, 75—15 per cent—were colored. Fifty-one were colored Americans, 24 were colored Latin Americans. Five had been batting champions of their leagues, six had been rookies of the year, six had been named most valuable player. They included such household names as Willie Mays of the San Francisco Giants, Elston Howard of the New York Yankees, Henry Aaron of the Milwaukee Braves, and Bill White of the St. Louis Cardinals.

The colored player is such an integral part of the game that it is difficult to realize that only 17 years have passed since Branch Rickey brought Jackie Robinson to the Brooklyn Dodgers as the first Negro to play in the major leagues. It was a daring and difficult experiment at the time, but after the initial move most other teams lost little time in following Rickey's example.

Mr. Robinson

How is the colored player faring in the major leagues? What does he think of his situation? Robinson attempts to assess these questions in *Baseball Has Done It* (Lippincott; 216 pages; $2.95), a collection of interviews with some colored players now active in baseball, some who were among the first to play in the major leagues, and with some white players and managers involved in the experiment. His conclusion: Integration in baseball has come a long way, but is still a long way from completion.

Low Pay and Long Rides

The first section of the book briefly describes the players' life in the old Negro leagues: the low pay, the long bus rides to cities as far apart as Newark, N.J., Kansas City, and Birmingham, living and eating in segregated quarters. Then came Robinson and the original antipathy of many fans, sports writers, and players.

This antipathy was foreseen by Dodger general manager Rickey, who disguised his early interest in colored players by telling his scouts and fellow clubowners that he intended to establish a Negro league, then carefully prepared the Dodgers for Robinson's arrival. There was, of course, some grumbling on the team, and an abortive petition presented to Rickey by the players when they first heard of the general manager's intentions.

Among the leaders of that revolt, Robinson says, were Bobby Bragan and Dixie Walker, both Southerners, now the manager and batting coach respectively of the Milwaukee Braves. Yet both are consummate baseball professionals and fair-minded men. Walker was among the first to accept and aid Robinson; Bragan's name constantly turns up later in the book in the accounts of younger players as one of the most helpful and sympathetic to colored players.

In the years since Rickey's move, great progress has been made. Colored players are accepted by fans and teammates alike; the major league clubs have steadily integrated their training facilities in Florida. Yet all those colored players interviewed—among them Howard, White, Aaron, Jim Gilliam of the Dodgers, the Minnesota Twins' Vic Power and Earl Battey, Ernie Banks of the Chicago Cubs, the Cleveland Indians' Leon Wagner—are constantly aware that this acceptance often doesn't extend past the baseball park.

'Purity of Little Children'

But they are also aware of the great benefits baseball has brought them in terms of money and social status, benefits unknown to many of their race. Bill Bruton, now with the Detroit Tigers and formerly a start for Milwaukee, recalls the time he was refused a motel room in southern Wisconsin because of his race, only to have a vacancy suddenly materialize when the owner, a fan, recognized him. "Baseball is, after all, a boys game, and children are innocent," Bruton comments. "So even adults who are prejudiced revert to their childhood when they encounter a baseball player, and they react with the purity of little children."

Despite their assumption that the colored player is now accepted in baseball for his ability, most believe that there is progress still to be made. Some, such as Wagner, contend that they've been underpaid until recent seasons; most complain about their lack of opportunity to enjoy the fiscal benefits of product endorsement and radio and television shows, which are lucrative for white stars; all look to the time when Negroes will manage, coach, and umpire in the major leagues.

Campanella's Comments

The comments of Roy Campanella, the former Dodgers' catcher who was crippled in an auto accident, are probably typical. "We thought we were accomplishing a lot when we integrated baseball. . . . but we didn't even scratch the top of the cake. If every Negro in the United States could live as we did in the National League what a country this would be!" Despite the discrimination that still exists in the major leagues, colored players are still much better off than most other Negroes. "Nowadays the Negro that has the opportunity to play major-league baseball, he knows all he has to do is act like a gentleman and have the ability," Campanella concludes. "If there's something wrong he can speak up whenever he sees something's wrong and not get crucified for it."

—JAMES R. DICKENSON

1964

HERE THIS WEEK

Shirley Verrett: Critics' Favorite

By DICK GRAY
Journal-Constitution Music-Art Editor

Shirley Verrett, American mezzo-soprano who will star in this week's opening of the Spring Concert Series at Clark College, has won probably more and wilder acclaim than any other young singer to emerge in recent years.

Ever since she created a surprise sensation at the Spoleto Festival in Italy in 1960, she has drawn ovations and critical praise everywhere she has appeared.

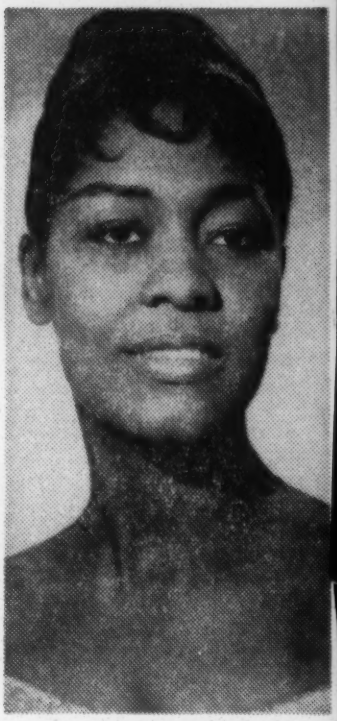
She has become a favorite with many prominent conductors, including Leonard Bernstein, Josef Krips, Thomas Schippers and Leopold Stokowski — who called her "a great artist."

Bernstein chose her as soloist with the New York Philharmonic during the opening week of new Philharmonic Hall in Lincoln Center in 1962, and Stokowski selected her as soloist for his historic return to the Philadelphia Orchestra.

AFTER HER formal debut last November in Philharmonic Hall, the New York Herald Tribune critic wrote:

"From every conceivable standpoint — plus a few that have yet to be conceived — Shirley Verrett's debut recital was an absolute triumph. Any lingering doubts about Miss Verrett's place among the world's great singers may now be put to rest; her place is among the foremost of this or any other age."

Miss Verrett will perform



SHIRLEY VERRETT
At Clark With Symphony

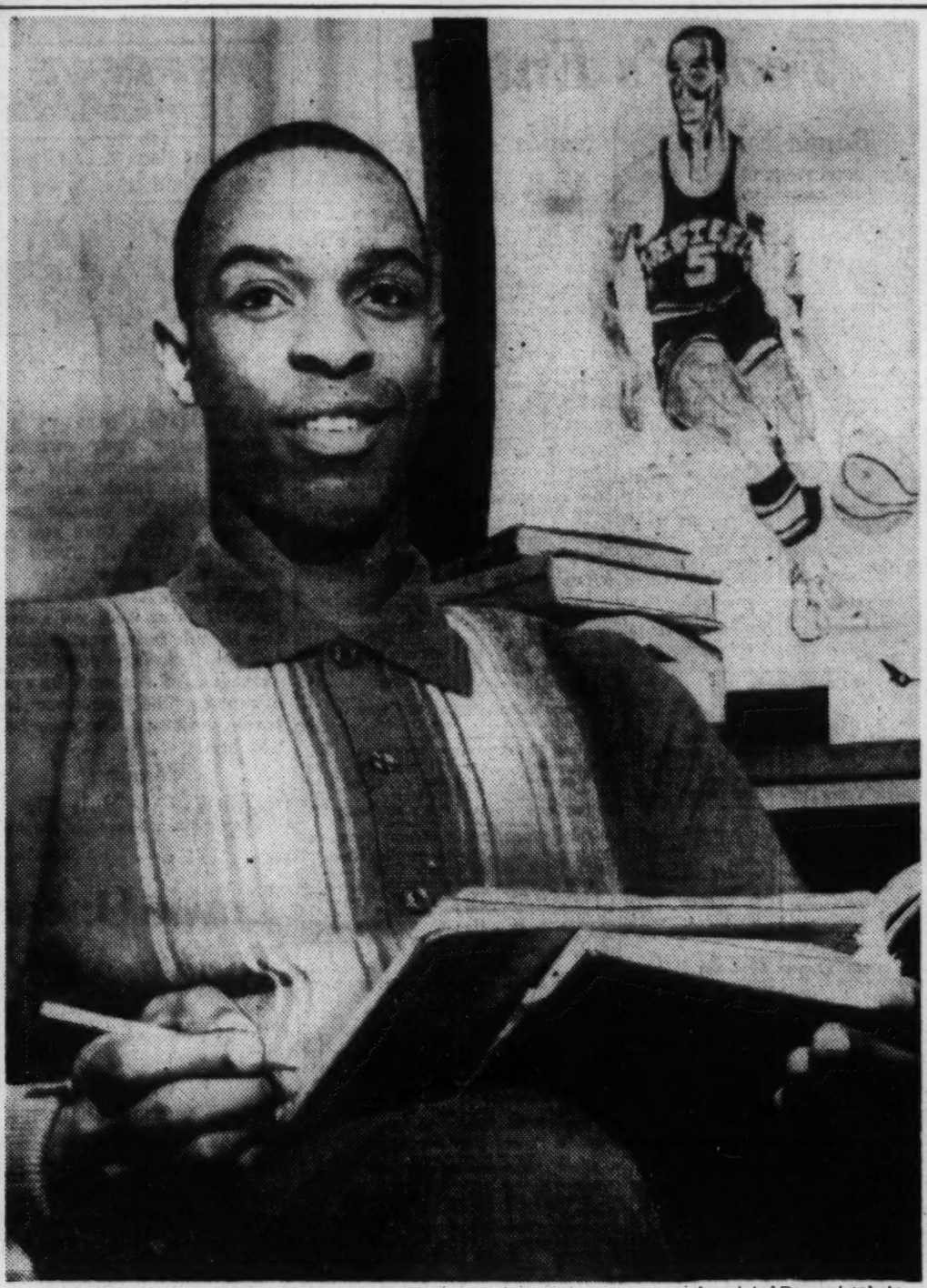
with the Atlanta Symphony Thursday and Saturday nights. Friday night, the Symphony will appear alone. Henry Sopkin will conduct. All concerts will begin at 8:15 p.m. in Davage Auditorium.

The public can call the Clark publicity office, JA. 4-2788, to obtain tickets. Should any remain or be returned, they will be available at the door.

Thursday, Miss Verrett will sing Mahler's "Songs of the Wayfarer." The orchestra will play Wagner's Prelude to Act III of "Lohengrin," Beethoven's Symphony No. 2 and Copland's "Rodeo."

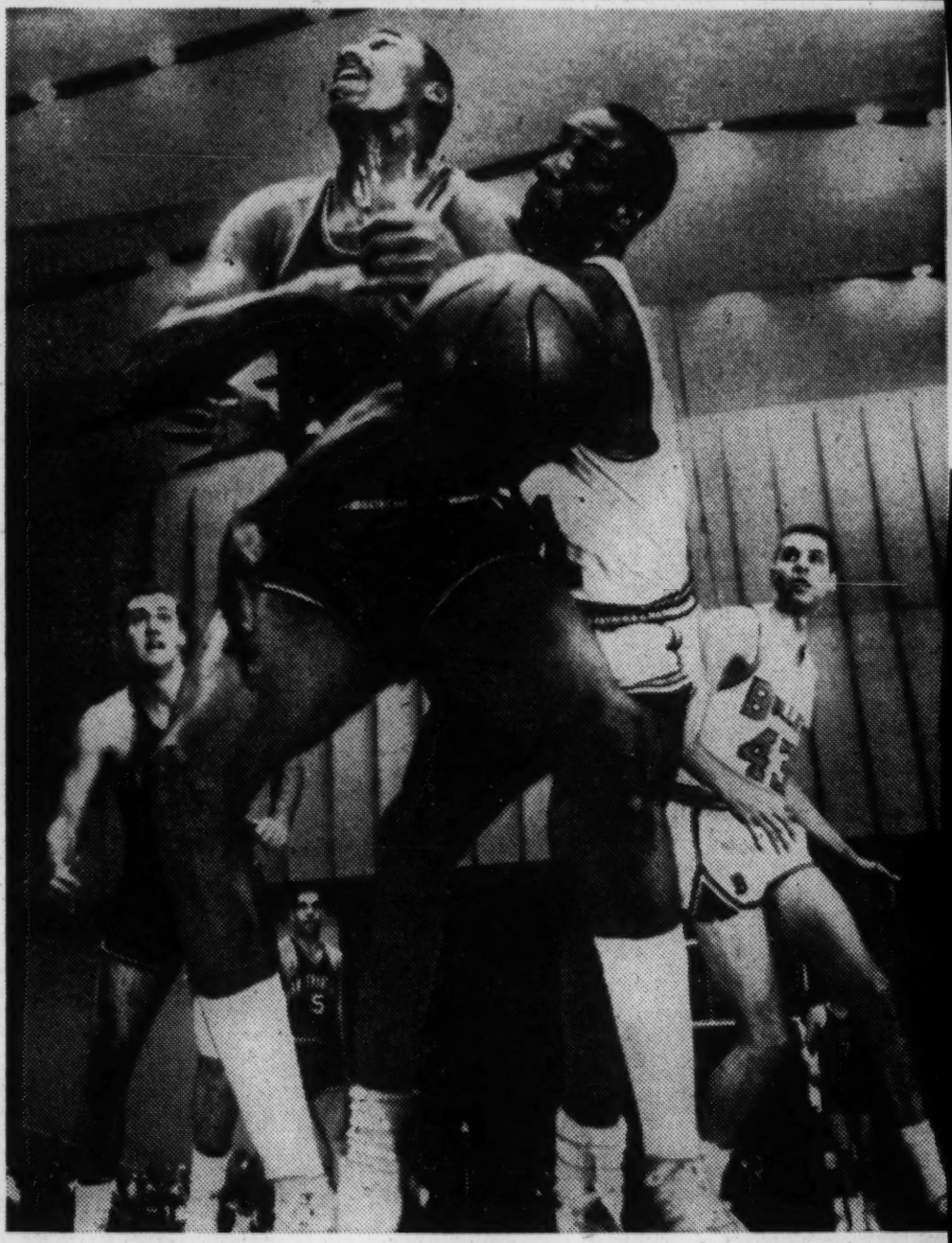
Friday, the orchestra will perform Benjamin's "Overture to an Italian Comedy," Franck's Symphony in D Minor, Rimsky-Korsakov's "Capriccio Espagnole" and Dukas' "The Sorcerer's Apprentice."

Saturday, Miss Verrett will sing three arias from Bizet's "Carmen"; "Letter Scene" from Massanet's "Werther"; "Mon Coeur s'Ouvre a ta Voix" from Saint - Saens' "Samson et Delilah," and "O Don Fatale" from Verdi's "Don Carlo." The orchestra will play Rossini's "La Scala de Seta", Prokofiev's "Classical Symphony" and Bizet's "Carmen Suite."



Associated Press wirephoto

KEEPING HIS AVERAGE UP—Manny Newsome may be the nation's leading basketball scorer with an average of 33.5 for 13 games, but he must hit the text books to keep his scholastic average a lot higher. The Western Michigan senior from Gary, Ind., has already scored 400 this season.



Associated Press wirephoto

PARDON MY REACH—Baltimore's Si Green throws his arms around Wilt Chamberlain as the two battle for ball under the Warrior basket in the second period of yesterday's game at Baltimore. San Francisco won, 120-118, in overtime.

ALDON SIMS IS EAGLE SCOUT

Aldon Sims Jr., 15, son of Mr. and Mrs. Aldon Sims, has achieved his eagle scout rank. He is in the 10th grade at Harper High School. His scout master is F. D. Hammond.

Senator in Court

During arguments on the Atlanta school desegregation case Tuesday in the U.S. Supreme Court, the justices addressed NAACP lawyer Constance Baker Motley of New York as "Senator Motley."

Mrs. Motley, well known in Atlanta because of her participation in civil rights cases there for several years, is now a member of the New York State Senate. She was elected in a special election several weeks ago to fill a vacancy.

She is the first Negro woman to serve in the New York Senate

• The Cincinnati Royals' Oscar Robertson, named the most valuable player in the National Basketball Association, was the only unanimous choice on the NBA's all-star team, which was chosen by sportswriters and broadcasters who cover the league. Other members of the team were Elgin Baylor and Jerry West of the Los Angeles Lakers; Bob Pettit of the St. Louis Hawks, and Wilt Chamberlain of the San Francisco Warriors. Robertson's teammate, Jerry Lucas, was chosen as the league's rookie of the year.

2 Negro Girls Here Win Art Prizes

Two Atlanta teen-age Negro girls were among the 17 American winners in the annual India-sponsored International Children's Art Competition.

Some 60,000 young people from 65 nations took part in the contest. There were 329 prizes awarded by the Indian government.

The Atlanta girls are Rita Maddox, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Maddox, 737 Jones Ave., NW, and Cecelia Perrin, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Perrin, 825 Beckwith St., SW.

Negro Woman Wins Seat in N.Y. Senate

NEW YORK, (AP) — Constance Baker Motley, the attorney who represented Negro James Meredith in his successful fight to attend the University of Mississippi, Tuesday night became the first Negro woman to win a seat in the New York state Senate.

Mrs. Motley polled 3,555 votes to 2,261 for Republican Thomas G. Weaver in the Harlem-West Side 21st state Senate district. Weaver also is a Negro.

Mrs. Motley is an associate counsel of the legal defense and educational fund of the NAACP.

The election was called to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of state Sen. James L. Watson, a Democrat and Negro, upon his election last fall as a civil court judge.

its share of individual stars.

▶**Rafer Johnson,** the dignified UCLA graduate student, lost seven of ten decathlon events to C.K. Yang of Nationalist China, but scored so heavily in the weight events—shot put, discus, and javelin—that he set an Olympic record of 8,392 points. Yang (8,334) finished second, Russia's Vasily Kuznetsov (7,809) third. "I'll never go through it again," said Johnson afterward.

▶**Don Bragg,** the man who wants to play Tarzan, pole-vaulted 15 feet 5⅛ inches, 6 inches above the previous Olympic record, then celebrated his victory with a chest-thumping jungle yell.

▶**Wilma Rudolph,** who earlier had won the 100-meter dash, went on to sprint home first in the 200-meter dash, then anchored the championship U.S. 400-meter relay team. No American woman had ever before won three gold medals in track and field.

Big Principle

Wichita (Kansas) Eagle

AN ITEM found buried in an Iowa paper couldn't compete with the headlines about the Estes scandals and stockpiling excess profits, but it deserves more attention than it got.

Municipal Judge Glanton of Des Moines, a Negro jurist of high repute, was chosen a few months ago by the United States State Department to represent the United States on a four-month speaking tour in Africa and the Far East. He was paid $700 a month by the Federal Government and continued to draw his regular salary as a judge.

After expenses he found that he had cleared $492 above his regular salary. So he returned the money to Polk County (Des Moines) with the comment: "I feel I have a moral obligation not to make a profit from the trip."

A small amount, but the principle was big.

HERB SCHARFMAN

RUSSELL V. CHAMBERLAIN
Points at a premium.

John McCone, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, who shuns the limelight, had his reputation enhanced at the White House with his early reporting and correct appraisal of the Soviet buildup in Cuba. Some White House advisers argued that the Russians would not dare base nuclear missiles in Cuba, and held to their positions until photographic evidence proved them wrong.

★ ★ ★

The White House is pictured as being not at all happy with the situation at the University of Mississippi, where several hundred troops and a substantial number of U. S. marshals are having to be maintained to keep James Meredith, a Negro, enrolled. Questions are being asked about exactly what is being proved by demonstrating that the U. S. Army can carry out "token" integration of a university.

★ ★ ★

Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, is likely to go to Congress with a watered-down bill for control over grain farmers. A Kansas race on the clear-cut issue of rigid Government management of farm output brought victory for the Republican.

★ ★ ★

Hustling into Manhattan to accept the Heisman Trophy, **Ernie Davis**, 22, the first Negro ever to be chosen as football's "outstanding college player," got his hand shaken by President Kennedy, was gang-tackled by emissaries of a Canadian pro team and both U.S. professional leagues, each of which has made him its top draft choice. By opting for the National Football League, the thumping Syracuse University halfback could probably share with Michigan State's Ron Hatcher the distinction of being the first of their race to play for the Washington Redskins. But for Ernie this was at best a side issue. Grumped he: "I wish they

UPI

ERNIE DAVIS
Never mind the race.

Associated Press

The Falgout's skipper Gravely

Appointed: Lt. Comdr. SAMUEL LEE GRAVELY Jr., 39, Virginia-born Navy veteran of World War II and the Korean War; as the first Negro commander of a U.S. warship (the destroyer escort Falgout); announced by the Navy, Feb. 1.

Scores a First

Associated Press

Jacquelyne Faye Evans, a 15-year-old junior at Little Rock's Hall High School, has been inducted into the National Honor Society. She is the first Negro student to be so honored at a formerly all-white Little Rock school. Miss Evans achieved an A-plus average and is doing accelerated work in algebra and English.

Opposes Urging Voter Turnout

The Editors: It is my belief that your editorials urging people to "get out and vote" are a detriment to our country and to our state.

The patriotic, intelligent and informed voter who understands today's issues will vote even if he has to crawl to the polls on his hands and knees. No one has to tell him of the importance of his vote.

Why should his vote be nullified by such ignorant and idiotic voting as, for instance, "of course I'm for Kennedy; Jackieboy is so cute and I don't like Nixon's nose," or "That's the way my Pappy voted; that's the way my Grandpappy voted; and that's the way I vote; what was good enough for my Grandpappy is good enough for me."

Haven't we been bumbled into three unnecessary wars and aren't we being bumbled into a fourth as a result of ignorant and idiotic voting?

And isn't ignorant and idiotic voting responsible for a national debt so large that the nation is on the verge of bankruptcy?

H. A. McMORROW.

Rome.

Willie Caught His Passes Well, and Now He's a Hero

It was Willie's day in Jackson, Miss., and the town made the most of it. There was a parade for him on Capitol Street, a crowd of more than 700, and words of praise from Mayor Allen Thompson.

For Willie, it was the greatest moment of his life. For others, accustomed to hearing of nothing but Mississippi's fight against integration, it was an unusual scene.

Willie is Willie Richardson, a Little All American football player for Jackson State College, a Negro school. The celebration on Jan. 14 was Jackson's way of showing how much it appreciated the 22-year-old Greenville, Miss., athlete who, in Mayor Thompson's words, has "brought so much good to Mississippi."

Richardson caught 43 passes, 8 of them for touchdowns, in leading his team to the Southwest Athletic Conference championship last fall and a 22-6 victory over Florida A&M in the Orange Blossom Classic at Miami.

Added Mayor Thompson in his public praise of Richardson: "You have many responsibilities, the biggest of which is as a representative of the state of Mississippi."

Said a Negro educator: "It was a very significant step" in the state's racial relations.

Negro Right to Vote Wins Again

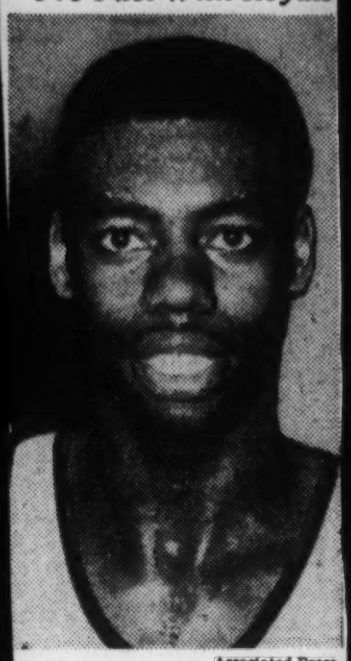
The amount of energy that litigious Southerners expend in trying to deprive qualified Negroes of the right to vote passes understanding.

Take for instance the case of 54 Negroes in Macon County, Ala., where the Federal District Court found last year that discrimination had been proved and issued an injunction ordering fair treatment. So the 54 Negroes were registered, along with a great many others. But the State of Alabama nevertheless continued to contest on the ground that the Civil Rights Act merely prohibited discrimination in general, without any authorization for orders on specific voters.

Here the Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the original decision, but Alabama's Attorney General persisted to the Supreme Court and once more met defeat. There was just a one-sentence unanimous ruling which noted a previous decision elsewhere, as much as to say that the nine Justices saw no need to hash over something already determined.

Thus the Macon County Negroes are separately and individually affirmed in their right to vote. It took four years from the time the suit was started, and in actual practice the county's Negro and white registrants are now about equal in number. Which goes to show that Alabama, by resisting the inevitable, has behaved with more stubbornness than sense.

Cincinnati Star Signs Pro Pact With Royals



Associated Press

Oscar Robertson

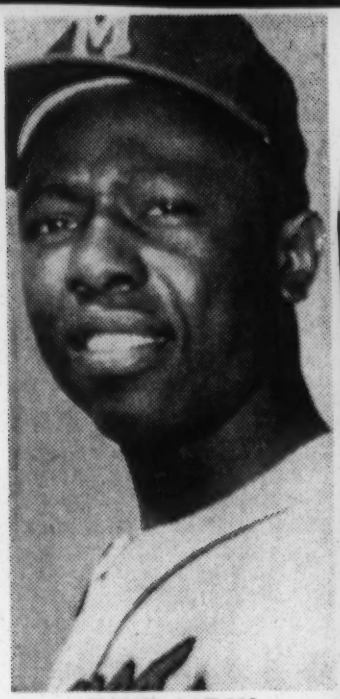
CINCINNATI, Sept. 18 (UPI)—Oscar Robertson, a three-time all-America at the University of Cincinnati, today signed with the Cincinnati Royals of the National Basketball Association. The contract is for three years.

Robertson, who holds the collegiate scoring record (2,963 points in 88 games), signed for an undisclosed sum. The Royals said only that part of the contract contained "some fringe benefits."

"I'm pretty well satisfied with the contract," Robertson said.

He indicated it was the best offer from several sources. Robertson will join the Royals at Lima, Ohio, Tuesday en route to an intrasquad game that night.

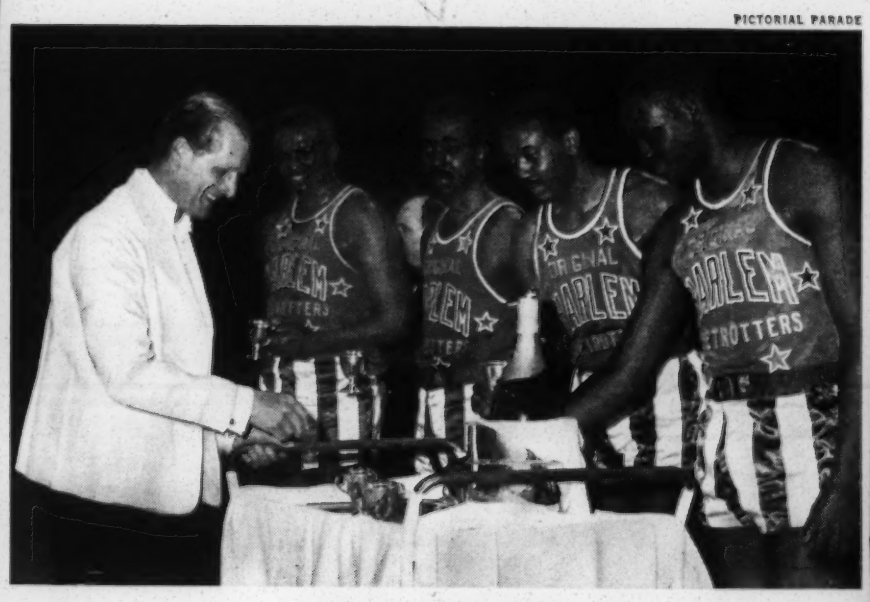
Bob Boozer, who along with Robertson returned last Friday from playing in the Olympic Games in Rome, also was expected to sign with Cincinnati.



HANK AARON
Beats Out Willie Mays

BASEBALL — **Hank Aaron** of the Milwaukee Braves edged **Willie Mays** of the Giants in winning his second National League slugging championship and **Harmon Killebrew** of the Minnesota Twins captured his first American League title.
the Milwaukee Braves sent outfielder **Don Dillard** and first baseman **Lou Klimchock** to the minors and sold utility infielder **Amado Samuel** to the New York Mets.

PICTORIAL PARADE



PHILIP & GLOBETROTTERS
Up with royal cunning.

Negro Envoy to Replace Murrow as USIA Boss

WASHINGTON (AP)—Edward R. Murrow has resigned as director of the U.S. Information Agency. President Johnson on Tuesday named Carl Rowan, now ambassador to Finland, to replace Murrow in the $21,000-a-year post.

Rowan, 38, former newspaperman and author of four books, will thus become the highest ranking Negro in government and the first of his race to sit in on meetings of the National Security Council.

The USIA director is not a member of the council, but it is accepted practice for him to attend all sessions.

Murrow, facing a long convalescence from lung cancer surgery, wrote Johnson, that it was his duty to step down.

Johnson, in his reply to Murrow, said he "will be sorely missed," had "done a magnificent job" and would be called upon for advice and help in the future.

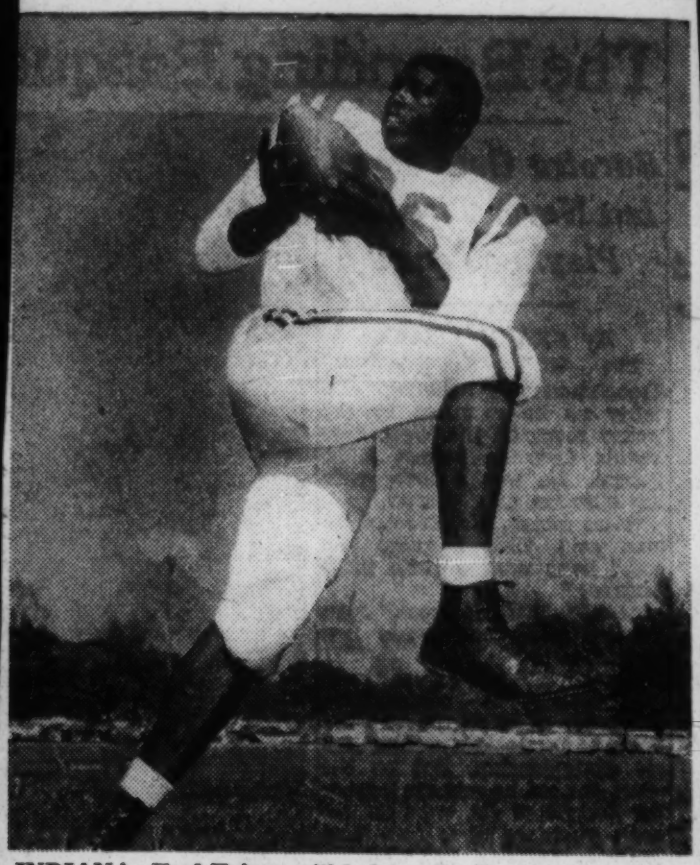
Gordon Parks, a Negro born in the border state of Kansas—neither north nor Deep South—spent a large part of his life fighting for a place in the white world. He won that place and became a famous photographer, a member of LIFE's staff. Now he has turned to writing and has produced his first novel, a violent and perceptive fictional autobiography.

Black

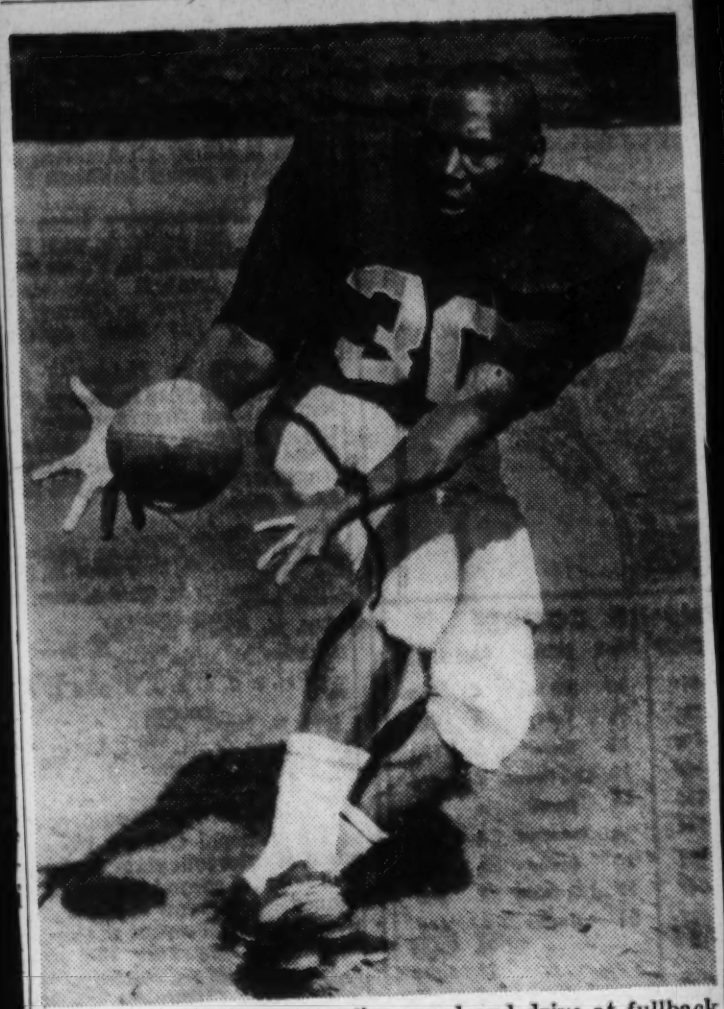
His novel, *The Learning Tree* (Harper & Row), tells how it feels to grow up a Negro boy in America. On a recent visit home Parks took the photographs on these pages to evoke the book's mood; the little boy above, running for safety before a line storm, might be Parks himself, age 12. The novel ends while the hero is still a boy, but on the pages following his color pictures, Parks tells some of the things that happened to him in real life afterward and are still happening to him now.

, 1960.

Title in Experts' C



INDIANA: Earl Faison will bolster the Hoosier line as defensive end. Much is expected from sophomores on squad.



IOWA: Joe Williams supplies speed and drive at fullback

'Never Again,' Says Johnson

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 7 (AP)—"I have but one goal in my life," Rafer Johnson once said, "—to live like an American."

Today, by virtue of a superhuman victory in the Olympics decathlon at Rome, he stands officially recognized as the finest all-around athlete in the world.

"I wanted this one real bad," the 6-foot-3, 200-pound Negro said after the grueling two-day competition in 10 track and field events ended Tuesday. "I never want to go through that again—never."

It is only one of many honors—from civic and sports groups and fellow students—that have come to the 26-year-old athlete from Kingsburg, Calif.

Gentle in manner, soft-spoken, fluent of mind and speech, Johnson was a highly popular student leader at UCLA. Three times he was elected president of the student body.

Fellow athletes of the U.S. Olympic team chose him to bear the Stars and Stripes into the Olympic Stadium. Johnson was the first Negro flag bearer for a U.S. team.

"We thought Rafer represented the best in Americanism," said Louis J. Wilke of Bartlesville, Okla., a member of the U.S. Olympic executive board.

"To most of the guys on the team he represents perfection," said hurdler Lee Calhoun of Gary, Ind.

During a rehearsal for the ceremonial opening parade, other flag bearers dipped their banners in salute as they passed the president's box. Not Rafer.

"We don't drop the American flag," he explained later.

NURSE IS "QUEEN FOR A DAY"

Hollywood—For the sixth consecutive year, the nursing profession was honored on ABC-TV's "Queen for a Day." Mrs. Eglantine Payn, a registered nurse from Orthopaedic Hospital in Los Angeles, was selected "Queen for a Day" by the audience. With Mrs. Payn are shown (from left) Dr. Leonard Asher, chairman of the Los Angeles County Medical Association's Committee for Television and Radio; Dr. William F. Quinn, who originated the idea for the annual "Queen for a Day" nursing show; Dr. Dudley M. Cobb, Jr., vice chairman, Physicians Advisory Committee, American Medical Association; Jack Bailey, program emcee, and Dr. Eugene F. Hoffman, chairman of the AMA committee.

NEGRO QUEEN OF COEDS

At Indiana University, Nancy Streets, 19-year-old Negro, was crowned campus beauty queen by Anita Marie Hursh, last year's Miss Indiana. Nancy won the title over 14 white coeds.

If De Gaulle Resigns, Negro Will Replace Him

By BERNARD KAPLAN
North American Newspaper Alliance

PARIS, Oct. 20 — If President Charles de Gaulle resigns, as he threatens to do unless a decisive majority of Frenchmen support him in the Oct. 28 referendum, his—at least temporary—successor will be a Negro.

The French Constitution provides that power must be passed on to the president of the French Senate, Gaston Monnerville, 65, who is a native of Cayenne, French Guiana. Monnerville would be the first non-white politician to hold the highest office in France.

PUBLIC OPINION polls estimate that only 43 per cent of the French electorate is outright for De Gaulle, while 11 per cent are as yet undecided how they will vote in the referendum, which would change the French Constitution so that the president could be elected by a direct vote.

This makes it a possibility that the 60 per cent which De Gaulle is understood to consider his "decisive majority" may elude him.

Monnerville, a veteran Socialist, is not generally considered to be the man to fill De Gaulle's shoes permanently. No one seems aware of this more than Monnerville himself.

Nonetheless, he displays no outward hesitancy about the prospect of taking over if the cards fall that way. Indeed, his has been one of the loudest voices denouncing the referendum as "illegal" and demanding De Gaulle's proposal for the direct election of the next president be voted into oblivion.

A WARTIME resistance fighter whose relations with De Gaulle had been cordial enough to allow him to remain head of the upper parliamentary chamber (a post he has beld without interruption since 1947) when the Fifth Republic came into being, Monnerville's newly critical attitude toward the chief of state is now fully reciprocated.

(Called in for "consultations" as prescribed by the Constitution after the National Assembly had voted to overthrow the Pompidou cabinet, his interview with De Gaulle was of record-breaking brevity—just under two minutes.)

The Gaullists are confident that the prospect of power passing, even temporarily, into Monnerville's hands, will be enough to persuade many Frenchmen, however else they might be disposed, to vote to keep De Gaulle at the helm. They are campaigning on the point with posters reading "the choice is De Gaulle or Monnerville."

IF HE GOES to the Elysees Palace as interim chief of state, Monnerville is said to be planning to call on Antoine Pinay, the Independent leader and father figure of the French conservatism, to become premier. Pinay would then run for the presidency with Socialist support (Monnerville having graciously stepped aside) and, on election, offer the premiership to a Socialist, probably Guy Mollet.

Ike Wasn't Just Lucky

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

Mr. Alsop's column entitled "No More Russian Roulette" admits the ineptitude of the present Administration's policy with regard to our military security. But Mr. Alsop attempts to equate this bungling with the Eisenhower administration's successful maintenance of military superiority over the Russians, with the explanation that Eisenhower was just lucky.

The Eisenhower administration did not until toward the end of its term begin to make policy on the basis of what the Russians *would* do rather than upon what they *could* do, and when the former Administration did adopt the former procedure it did so because it could base its calculations upon very real evidence gathered from intelligence activities of a varied nature, including the much-maligned U-2 program which kept the Soviet Union under aerial surveillance for four good years.

There is not the slightest evidence that the Russians would have dared to install offensive missile bases under the noses of an Eisenhower-Dulles team, as they did under that of Kennedy, but there is plenty of indication that the present Administration's fumbling of policy, as in the Bay of Pigs affair, encouraged the Russians to grievously miscalculate, thus bringing us closer to a nuclear war than we ever have been.

To say that national policy has been determined by the "same parts of the government machine" and "the same individuals" under both administrations is just plain silly. Is the policy of the United States decided by underlings whom the American people never heard of, let alone voted for?

There never was a missile gap, as all responsible people now admit. And the Eisenhower administration carefully estimated the Russian strength and maintained a superior military posture. The present Administration has, through its conduct of affairs, given the Russians encouragment to strike as they have never struck before.

STEPHEN RYAN

Oneonta, N. Y.

Lucas Helps Make Royals N. B. A. Pick

(One of a series of National Basketball Association team prospects.)

By Sam Goldaper
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

After seven successive Eastern Division championships and six of the last seven N.B.A. titles, the Boston Celtics are no longer a favorite to retain their monopoly.

The prognosticators, Celtic coach Red Auerbach among them, have installed the Cincinnati Royals as the pre-season Eastern Division choice. Much of this can only be attributed to the retirement of Bob Cousy.

"I don't say that we should be the pre-season favorite," says Auerbach admitting that honor should go to the Royals but he does inject this thought: "But, I just can't see who is going to lick us—right now at least."

Since Cousy quit to become a college coach, Auerbach has been deluged with, "who will replace Cousy and will you miss him?"

By now, Auerbach, who isn't known for keeping his temper, screams at questioners, "Of course, we'll miss him and of course we cannot find anyone to take his place. We can't tell how much we'll miss Bob—as a player, as a leader and psychologically."

On the plus side, the Celtics still have Bill Russell, the game's most valuable player and the Jones boys, K. C. and Sam, are still around along with Tom Sanders, Jim Loscutoff, Dan Swartz, Tommy Heinsohn, Frank Ramsey and John Havlicek. The latter just missed being named last season's rookie of the year.

And, to top that, the Celtics grabbed Willie Naulls, the former Knick, from the San Francisco Warriors. "He's an experienced cornerman, who will give us offensive strength at that position—a weakness of ours over the last two years," said Auerbach.

The Celtics won the division title, ten games ahead of the Syracuse Nats. Cincinnati finished third but in the final forced Boston into a seven-game play-off before bowing out.

The Royals figure to go with much of the same lineup as last year plus the big addition, Jerry Lucas, three-time All-America from Ohio State and a reluctant pro. Although the Royals always owned the rights to Lucas (territorial), he refused to join them and instead chose the American Basketball League. When that folded he sat out last season.

The Royals have a new coach—Jack McMahon, who came over from the Detroit Pistons in a swap of coaches. Charley Wolf went to Detroit.

During the exhibition season, Lucas has been reluctant

OSCAR ROBERTSON
Roayls

BILL RUSSELL
Celtics

TRIPPI'S PRO REPORT

AMAZING MR. BROWN STILL DOMINATES NFL

By CHARLEY TRIPPI

The play of Jimmy Brown continues to dominate the National Football League. The Browns are off to their best start since 1958 when they won five in a row before losing their first game.

Charley Trippi

At the present rate, Brown will break the NFL's rushing and scoring record for one season. He has scored 10 touchdowns and rushed for 780 yards.

Sam Huff, the Giants' star linebacker, said this of Brown: "If he ran any harder he'd kill a few of us. Also he is waiting for his blockers to get out there so he can make use of them. He never did that before."

Giants' coach Allie Sherman said, "He's one of the few guys in football who can beat you without the ball. You have to watch him all the time. You have to change your defenses according to what he does. But you can't make a move until you see whether he has the ball."

JIMMY BROWN
Dominating the NFL

ALLIE SHERMAN
Jimmy Showed Him

SAM HUFF
'Running Over Us'

NORMAN SNEAD
Gets Razz-Berries

Speaking of other Browns, there are recurrent rumors around the league that Paul Brown, the deposed Cleveland Browns' mastermind, is headed for a West Coast pro coaching job.

It appears that when a team's offense bogs down the quarterback gets the brunt of the boos from the fans. Redskin quarterback Norm Snead, commenting on boos that peppered him a couple of weeks ago in D.C. Stadium, said, "I am an athlete and have lots of pride. Sure I hear them and I don't like it, but this football is my living. As long as we win it doesn't matter. Like after the Dallas Cowboy game. They could still be booing me on Monday and I could not care less."

Two quarterbacks, Charley Johnson at St. Louis and Frank Ryan at Cleveland, have the pros wondering if they can maintain early consistency over 14 games. If so, they will keep their teams in the running.

In the event you have aspirations of owning a pro team, here's an idea of costs in the pros. The Eagles have a player and coaching payroll of $675,000. They need to make $1,300,000 or more to avoid red ink over a season.

Receiver Raymond Berry, often called the keenest student of game films among players in the NFL, spent the last two weeks on the sidelines charting the Colts offensive play. Berry, who is out at least six weeks with a shoulder injury, gave this summation of the unbeaten Chicago Bears:

"They make no mistakes either offensively or defensively. They play conservative football, make you earn everything you get."

During the fourth period of St. Louis' 56-14 victory over Minnesota, rookie linebacker Larry Stallings hit the arm of Viking passer Ron Vander-Kelen. The result was an interception and a 21-yard return for a touchdown by veteran John Simak.

Stallings told John, "Half of those points belong to me." But after learning that it was the first touchdown in Simak's seven-year career, Stallings readily conceded all six points to the defensive backfield star.

YELLOW RIVER DRAG STRIP
Sunday, Oct. 20
SUPER STOCK
A, B, C, D Gas
Handicap Stock
COVINGTON, GA.

I'm Still Scared

By Eugene (Big Daddy) Lipscomb
as told to Robert G. Deindorfer

The huge lineman of the world champion Baltimore Colts discloses why fear has haunted his life. Here is his own surprising story of his sordid past and his hopes for the future.

I've been scared most of my life. You wouldn't think so to look at me. I'm six feet six inches tall, I weigh 283 pounds and I'm an All-Pro defensive tackle with the champion Baltimore Colts. But I still get feeling scared sometimes. Every once in a while it gets so bad I cry myself to sleep.

I don't know exactly why this is. I think part of my fear comes from being self-conscious about my size, and part of it from being alone so much. And part of it must come from my being a Negro. Whatever the actual reasons, life has been one long scare for me. The bad times stick in my head no matter how hard I try to forget them.

My worst scare came when I was eleven years old. My mother and I were living together in a rooming house on the east side of Detroit. One morning she left for work at the laundry, as usual. I was fixing myself some breakfast and getting ready to go to school when a man rapped on our door and asked whether this was the residence of Mrs. Lipscomb.

Even now I thank that man for trying to be so nice. He put his hand on my shoulder, sat me down and told me my mother was dead. She had been (Continued on Page 92)

Left: Big Daddy today. Once he was known as "Fifteen-Yard Daddy," because he was penalized so often. Below: Corporal Lipscomb of the U. S. Marines in 1953. He learned to play high-powered football in the service.

The Sports Observer

Wilt and the Warriors Take on a New Look

SAN FRANCISCO.

No one who has seen the San Francisco Warriors' Wilt Chamberlain play basketball is likely to forget it. Even among the elongated giants who populate the professional basketball world, he stands out. Towering one inch over seven feet, he is the tallest man in the league. He weighs 290 pounds, is incredibly strong, and exceptionally well co-ordinated.

He is, in the words of Warrior coach Alex Hannum, the greatest point producer basketball has ever seen. Flip through the pages of the National Basketball Association (NBA) record book and his name monopolizes the records of recent years. He has led the league in scoring for the past four years; has the highest number of total points ever scored in a season, 4,209; the highest one-season per-game average ever compiled, 50.4 points; and the highest one-game total, 100 points against the New York Knickerbockers. Last year he averaged more than 44 points a game.

Full Co-Operation From Wilt

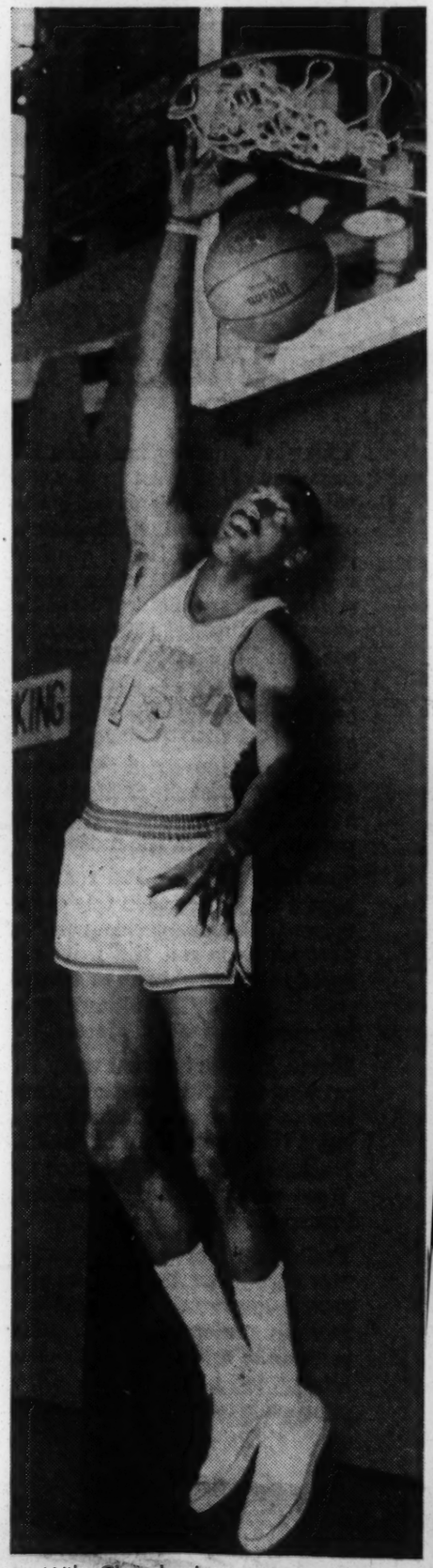
There's a new look about Wilt this season, however. He's been passing off more and shooting less, with the result that his scoring average is down significantly from last year's to about 30 points a game. He's concentrating more on defense and defensive rebounding, never his strongest point in the past. The reason: Coach Hannum, in his first year with the Warriors, is trying for a new look for the entire team, to give it better scoring balance and defense and improve on last year's unsatisfactory record of 31 wins, 49 losses.

In this he gets full co-operation from his star. Their rapport is such that when Hannum was ejected from a game in Cincinnati last week, Chamberlain took over as acting coach and led the Warriors to a come-from-behind win over the Royals.

"We just can't win with a one-man team such as the Warriors were last year," Hannum says. "Everyone has to have confidence in his ability to score. That's why we have Wilt passing off and setting up plays so much." Hannum also has designed the Warriors' defense to keep Wilt under the basket to help out with the defensive rebounding. In the past, opposing teams have had the man being guarded by Chamberlain move out to the backcourt. This has pulled Wilt away from the backboard and cost the Warriors rebounding strength. Now, another Warrior player picks the man up and Wilt stays under the basket.

Trend To Lower Scoring

So far, the new strategy has been fairly successful; the Warriors have won about half their games and are third in the NBA Western division. The statistics reflect their record as well as their altered style; the team scoring average is down from about 126 points a game this time last year to about 100; at the same time, the defense, which was yielding 122 points a game at a comparable point in the season last year, is now giving up only about 100 points.

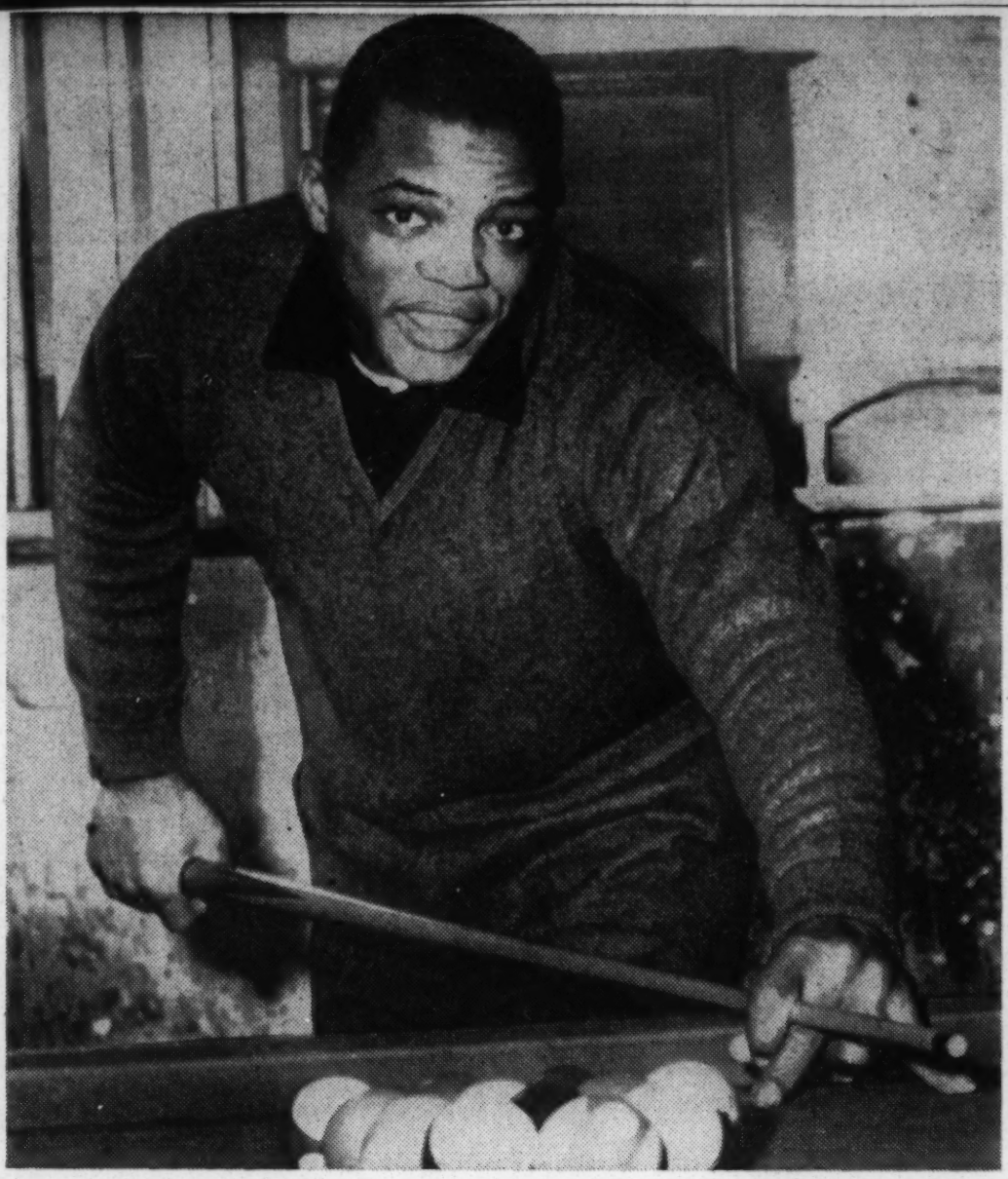


Wilt Chamberlain: A new duty.

In their lower scoring and tighter defense the Warriors are the leading example of this year's trend to lower scoring in NBA games. There could be several reasons for this. Many fans have been bored by the high-scoring carnivals of the past in which each team scored more than a 100 points, sometimes close to 150, in a game. Teams have been criticized for such scoring sprees. And it may be, as Hannum suggests, that teams are concentrating on defense because they need it to win. He comments:

"Some coaches are starting to realize that Boston, which has won the league championship six times in the past seven years, has also been the best defensive team," he say. "We're emphasizing it because we have to. We don't have the scoring power to win without a good defense."

Thus, Wilt Chamberlain is becoming a passer and defensive man as well as a scoring star. Says Hannum: "Wilt can be the best rebounder and defensive player in the league. In the past he's been primarily a shooter, not a completely rounded player realizing his full potential. When he does the world will never have seen anything like him." There's a good chance the world will see this completely rounded player. Alex Hannum is a very determined man. So is Wilt Chamberlain, and they're both out to win. —ELMONT WAITE



Associated Press Wirephoto

WILLIE MAYS CALLS IT 'SEVEN BALL IN THE SIDE POCKET'
And for Him, It's $105,000 in His Own Pocket After Signing New Contract

Mays Signs 1964 Pact For Reported $105,000

Cepeda Signs For $52,000

SAN FRANCISCO (AP)—Two of the big guns of the San Francisco Giants signed contracts Wednesday with Willie Mays receiving an estimated $105,000 for 1964 and Orlando Cepeda a boost to about $52,000.

Mays' agreement came as no surprise. Willie and the management have been amicable as his salary rose to the highest plateau in baseball history.

On the other hand, Cepeda usually has been a holdout. It was March 12 last year before the slugging first baseman came to terms.

Mays' signing could well revive the 1963 debate over whether he or Mickey Mantle of the New York Yankees receives the most money. After Willie signed a year ago, Mantle received a $100,000 pact. Stoneham then declared, "Willie is not second."

In previous years, Joe DiMaggio, Stan Musial and Ted Williams reached the $100,000 per year level.

Cepeda had held out in 1962 until he gained a $16,500 raise to $46,500. Then he slumped near the end of the pennant-winning season and the first 1963 contract offering reflected it with a cut.

The new contract is believed to call for a $5,000 boost making Cepeda the second highest salaried Giant.

The 26-year-old led the Giants with a .316 average last season. He hit 34 home runs and batted in 97.

Even with Cepeda in the fold, the Giants still have problems. Pitcher Jack Sanford and utilityman Harvey Kuenn aren't agreeable to proposed cuts from their respective 1963 salaries of $40,000 and $35,000. And Willie McCovey, who tied for the home run crown last year with 44, doesn't think his proposed raise is enough.

Negro Author Heads the USIA

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON.

Edward R. Murrow has resigned as director of the U. S. Information Agency. President Johnson yesterday named Carl Rowan, now Ambassador to Finland, to replace Mr. Murrow in the $21,000-a-year post.

Mr. Rowan, 38, former newspaper man and author of four books, will thus become the highest ranking Negro in government and the first of his race to sit in on meetings of the National Security Council. The USIA director is not a member of the council, but it is accepted practice for him to attend all sessions.

Mr. Murrow, facing a long convalescence from lung cancer surgery, wrote Mr. Johnson, in a letter dated Dec. 19, that it was his duty to step down.

"As you know," he said, "I was separated from a cancerous lung in early October. The doctors assure me the operation was successful and that recovery to date has been normal. However, it will be several months before I can resume full-time duty."

He said it would not be fair to leave USIA without a full-time director during this period.

Mr. Johnson, in his reply, to Mr. Murrow, said he "will be sorely missed," had "done

More on USIA—P 17

Herald Tribune—UPI

Edward R. Murrow

Herald Tribune—UPI

Carl T. Rowan

1st Athens Degree Awarded to Negro

By FRED POWLEDGE

The University of Georgia has awarded the first degree in its history to a Negro student.

She is Mary Frances Early of Atlanta, who received her master's diploma in music education last Friday. Miss Early attended three terms of the university in Athens to do her graduate work.

Now back at her teaching job at Atlanta's John Hope Elementary School, Miss Early said Wednesday:

"I hope that my commencement will be a beginning for others of my race who might wish to work toward advanced degrees at our state university."

MISS EARLY attended the university's commencement exercise on Aug. 16, and last Friday she received her diploma in the mail.

Two other members of her race, Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter, entered the school a few months before Miss Early. Their entrance followed a federal court order desegregating the school.

Miss Hunter and Mr. Holmes are back this year as seniors. In addition, three freshman Negro girls and one freshman Negro man are attending the school, which opened its classes on Monday.

MISS EARLY, 26, is a native of Atlanta and a graduate of Turner High School, the same school which graduated Miss Hunter and Mr. Holmes. She was graduated magna cum laude from Clark College in Atlanta in 1957 and was valedictorian of her class.

She has taught music, band and chrous at John Hope School for five years. In the summers of 1958 and 1959 she received state aid to undertake summer study at the University of Michigan.

This money was made available under a state program to assist Negroes in taking out-of-state courses which are not offered at Georgia-run schools for Negroes.

Miss Early was admitted to the University of Georgia in May, 1961, five months after the 175-year-old state-supported college dropped its racial bars to admit Miss Hunter and Mr. Holmes as udergraduates.

HER ENTRANCE was described by the school as routine, and there were no riots or disorders of the sort which accompanied the January desegregation. She started summer classes in June, 1961, with about 4,000 other students.

"My first summer," reported Miss Early, "though a lonely one, was quite successful."

She received a leave of absence from her teaching duties last March and returned to the university for the spring quarter. She completed her study at the end of the summer quarter and was awarded the master's degree in music education.

During her three quarters at the university, Miss Early received three B plusses, six As and one A plus.

"The instructors were friendly and very impartial," she said. "The students for the most part are still merely tolerant. Negro students are not yet accepted as full-fledged members of the student body, but I am very proud that no major incidents occurred during my matriculation."

Ted Lippman

A Banner Month For Negro Cause

WASHINGTON—As this is written (on Monday), it is impossible to predict what the ultimate outcome of the James Meredith-Ross Barnett clash in Mississippi will be. Whatever it is, September, 1962, the 100th anniversary month of the Emancipation Proclamation, has been a great month for the American Negro.

In Massachusetts, a Negro was invited by the Republicans to run for attorney general. In New York, a Negro was named by the Democrats to run for attorney general.

In Georgia, the segregation-at-all-cost candidate for governor was defeated by 160,000 votes. And such familiar names as Lester Maddox, Peter Zack Geer and James C. Davis were making unfamiliar campaign statements to the effect that a little integration is a pretty good thing.

In St. Louis, Maury Wills of the Los Angeles Dodgers broke Ty Cobb's "unbreakable" record of stealing 96 bases in one season. In Dallas and Cleveland, Bobby Mitchell singlehandedly tied one football game and won another for the formerly all-white and winless Washington Redskins.

* * *

A young Atlanta Negro who was a prime mover in the drive to desegregate the city's public and private facilities once said that Jackie Robinson did more for the advancement of colored people as second baseman for the old Brooklyn Dodgers than the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. ever will do as playing manager of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

A good Negro athlete can break down the thickest walls of prejudice with ease. When the Redskins played an exhibition game in Charlotte early this month, halfback Mitchell was roughed up by two white defensive backs on a pass play. The white fans of North Carolina booed the white defenders for two or three minutes.

Here's a story told as gospel in Oklahoma: Prentice Gautt, the first Negro on a Sooner football team, faced a lot of hostility from some local fans. One day when Oklahoma was playing Oregon, a native son in the stands was booing him viciously on every play.

Late in the game a Negro back for Oregon broke loose for what looked like a sure touchdown. Gautt caught him from behind and saved the game.

"Wahoo," yelled the native son. "Did you see our colored fellow catch their nigger!" This is a first step toward inter-racial respect.

If Vanderbilt and Tulane, the only private schools in the SEC, had enrolled a few fast Negro backs and giant tackles in 1954, right after the Supreme Court decision, and won a few games because of them, every other school in the conference, including (and maybe led by) Alabama and Ole Miss, would have been integrated long ago.

Tigerbelles for Rome

At the U.S. women's Olympic track-and-field trials in Abilene, Texas last week, the most conspicuous onlooker was a chunky, intense young Negro with a pencil-thin mustache, who seemed to be all over the field. Between races, he paced the infield grass incessantly. At the finish line, hands clenched, chest thrust forward, his face a mask of rigid concentration, he pantomimed the runners breaking the tape. When the trials were over, the results were surprisingly good, and the credit belonged largely to 29-year-old Edward S. Temple, coach of Tennessee State University's "Tigerbelles."

No fewer than five Tigerbelles won berths on the squad that travels to Rome next month. And with them, as Olympic coach, goes Ed Temple who, almost singlehanded, has assured the U.S. of its best female Olympic representation since 1932, when the U.S., led by Babe Didrikson, swept all but one of the six women's track-and-field events. Temple's credo: "I tell the girls, if we're gonna run, let's run. If we're gonna be spectators, then let's get up in the stands where we belong."

For Temple and his girls, the path to the 1960 Olympics has been paved with hard work and Spartan self-denial. Himself a Tennessee State sprinter until he hurt his leg, Temple took over as women's track coach after earning his master's degree in 1953 and set out to make it one of the college's top teams. He scoured the South for promising sprinters, labored successfully to increase his allotment of athletic scholarships from two to ten. A mark of his progress: at Tennessee State, primarily a top-rank basketball school (national small-college champions in 1957-59), women's track is now a major sport, men's track a minor. Temple's training methods are exacting. "We train the European way," he says. "No play; just hard work." In the months preceding last week's trials, the Tigerbelles refused dates, dieted carefully, were up at 5 a.m. each day for exhausting, lengthy workouts, went back in the afternoon for another two hours of technique polishing.

Temple's severe discipline has paid off. His girls have won the national indoor and outdoor women's championships for each of the past six years. At the trials, led by willowy Wilma Rudolph—who set a world record of 22.9 sec. in the 200-meter dash earlier this month—the Tigerbelles prompted Temple to the euphoric hope that the U.S. women might surprise the heavily favored Australians, Russians and British at Rome.

Sprinter Rudolph won both the 100 meters (11.5 sec.) and 200 meters (23.9 sec.), will anchor a 400-meter Olympic relay team composed exclusively of Tennessee State sprinters, is a good prospect for three Olympic gold medals. Tigerbelle Shirley Crowder, with an aiding wind, tied the U.S. citizens' record of 11.4 in the 80-meter hurdles, and Willie B. White, a former Tennessee State student, broad-jumped 20 ft. 4½ in. to break the U.S. record. Record-cracking Olympic trial performances by Los Angeles Housewife Earlene Brown in the discus (176 ft. 10½ in.) and shotput (50 ft. 10¼ in.) and San Diego's Karen Oldham in the javelin (163 ft. 5½ in.) demonstrated fair U.S. strength in the field events. Said Temple: "We've got a chance. We'll have to wait and see."

JOHNSON RETIRES FROM 2-DAY GRIND

Exhausted Decathlon Victor Mobbed by Well-Wishers, Including Kuznetsov

ROME, Sept. 6 (AP)—Rafer Johnson was crowned as the world's greatest amateur athlete tonight, and then announced his retirement from such competition.

"I wanted this one real bad," said the Olympic decathlon champion after a grueling two-day competition in ten track and field events in Olympic Stadium. "But I never want to go through that again—never," added the 200-pounder from Kingsburg, Calif. "I'm awfully tired."

Referring to his principal challenger, Chuan-Kwang Yang of Taiwan, Rafer said, "So's he."

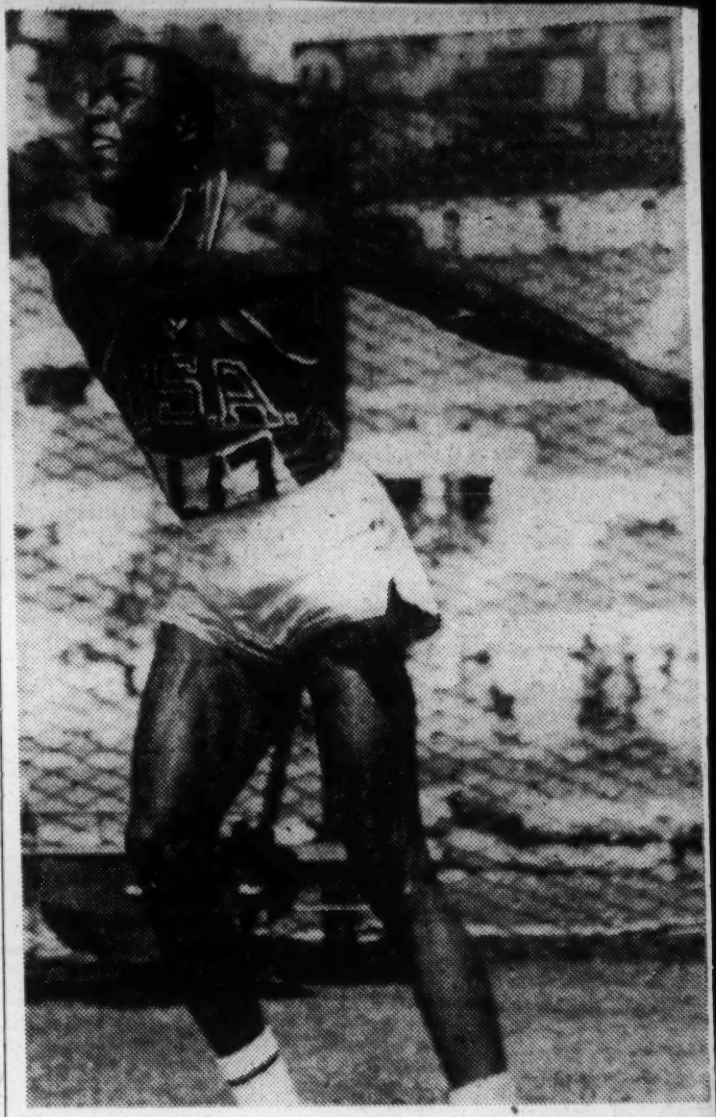
"I knew I had a working margin of about ten seconds in the 1,500 meters (the last event on the program)," Johnson said when it was all over. "But I wasn't going to let Yang get away. I just wanted to stay with him and that's what I did."

Johnson told the truth. In the 1,500-meter run he stuck to Yank like a buddy in combat.

In the dressing room later the winner was mobbed by well-wishers. One of them was the third-place bronze medal winner, Vasily Kuznetsov of the Soviet Union, a former world record holder. He grabbed Johnson and kissed him on the cheek. Then they embraced and patted each other on the back.

Yank sat on a bench and wept while Johnson was being hailed. He finally struggled to his feet, a very tired man, and moved toward Johnson. Yank seized Johnson's left hand and muttered:

"Nice going, Rafe."



Associated Press Wirephoto

GOLD-MEDAL EFFORT: Rafer Johnson of the United States throwing the discus yesterday during the Olympic decathlon. Californian won the ten-event competition.

Tempe Night, an Amazing Run

University of New Mexico

Adolph Plummer, a powerful runner.

national track and field championships in St. Louis.

Plummer stands 6 feet 3 and weighs 184 pounds. His height and weight seem to be concentrated into his long legs with their huge muscles and tendons.

Hackett first saw Plummer run in the national AAU meet at Boulder, Colo., in 1959 when Plummer was a member of the Air Force team.

"Just looking at him," said Hackett, "I knew he had the physique of the greatest quarter-miler in the country."

At that time, Plummer was in his first year of track. His family had forbidden him to take part in high school athletics because a brother had been injured previously in sports. After graduation, Plummer joined the Air Force and was sent to North Africa. A friend induced him to try out for the base track team. He made it as a dash man (100-yard and 220-yard events). He toured Europe. When he was reassigned to the United States, he made the Air Force team for the AAU meet in Colorado.

Plummer chose New Mexico for his college work principally because of the manner in which Albuquerque's Indian, Spanish, and Anglo residents live in friendly interplay.

As a freshman, Plummer ran the two dash events, competing in the 440-yard run only twice.

The Psychological Factor

"You have to convince a boy mentally and physically that he is a quarter-miler," said Hackett. "A coach can tell him but he really realizes it with experience in running in the big meets."

The quarter-mile is, perhaps, the most demanding and difficult of all races. It is a race in-between—neither sprint nor run.

Hackett never pressed Plummer into devoting his time to the 440. Rather, the coach slowly built up Plummer's confidence, running him in the one-mile relay (where each of four men run a 440-yard leg).

Plummer ran anchor-position (last) legs of 44.5 seconds and 44.7 seconds (with running starts, of course). These convinced him of his speed and gave him the will to win in the 440-yard event.

Said Plummer of Hackett's philosophy: "A coach has to be part psychologist and part sociologist as well as athletic teacher."

This planning and patience set the stage for the Western Athletic Conference meet that night of May 25 in Tempe.

Looking back, Plummer said, "I am not immune to pressure yet. Tempe was ideal—the climate, the track, the crowd, the competition."

—ARCH NAPIER

Barry Goldwater

Kennedy Promise Was Cast Aside

Campaign promises are one thing; presidential requests are something else. When a man is seeking election to the highest office in the land, he is often inclined to overreach himself in telling people what he will do if elected. And while the American people don't like it, they have been conditioned over the years to expect a certain amount of discrepancy between election promise and executive performance.

But after a candidate is elected and he assumes office as President of the United States, his promises to the people take on greater importance. They are made by a man in the position to keep them if he has the desire and if great, overriding developments throughout the world do not stand in his way.

This being the case, it behooves the American people to examine closely President Kennedy's now-forgotten promise to balance the budget in the fiscal year 1963. It was made after Mr. Kennedy had taken over the reins of the federal government and had an intimate knowledge of the nation's fiscal affairs. In making it, the administration estimated a budget surplus of $500 million.

There will be no surplus of $500 million; there will be no balanced budget for the fiscal year that began July 1; but there will be a deficit.

The New York Times says a preliminary assessment by administration budget experts puts the figure at $6 billion. However, the staff of the Senate Appropriations Committee estimates that the budget deficit will run to $8.1 billion. If you take that figure and add it to the $7 billion deficit racked up for fiscal 1962, you begin to get a frightening idea of where the nation's fiscal affairs are headed under the New Frontier.

I suggest that neither the President nor any of his advisers had the slightest intention of striving for a balanced budget in the 1963 fiscal year. I believe President Kennedy's original plan, envisioning a half-billion-dollar surplus, was made solely to placate foreign governments who had begun to question the soundness of American currency. I further believe that this administration is pledged to the idea of deficit financing as a firm policy of government.

This, presumably, is the "sophisticated" approach to government finance.

We are being told almost every day by the architects of bigger deficits that the idea of a government living within its income is nothing but a "myth" which has no application in these days of change and complexity.

To the hard-working American, striving to pay his taxes and meet his family obligations without going bankrupt, this is an interesting argument. He can't help but wonder when things will become so complex and sophisticated that he will be able to run up as much debt as he wants to without being forced to repay it.

Branch Left Hanging As Crax Fall, 1-0

Indy Takes Southern Title As Ackley Fires 2-Hitter

By CHARLIE ROBERTS
Constitution Sports Writer

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—The Atlanta Crackers did not raise a club to help him and sharpshooting Harvey Branch couldn't win the Indian war alone.

HARVEY BRANCH
A Big Effort for Naught

'GRIFFIN, I THOUGHT I SENT YOU TO THE SHOWERS!'

Associated Press Wirephoto

HOBART TAYLOR JR.
Expert Negotiator

Hobart Taylor Named Special Johnson Aide

WASHINGTON, April 4 (AP)—Hobart Taylor Jr., a Detroit Negro attorney, will become associate special counsel at the White House, President Johnson announced today.

Taylor currently is executive vice chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. When he was vice president, Johnson served as the committee's chairman.

The job will make Taylor one of the highest ranking Negroes in the federal government.

Johnson also announced that Meyer (Mike) Feldman will become the White House's No. 1 legal officer. Johnson referred to Feldman's new assignment as "my general counsel."

White House aides explained the President was using a generic term instead of a technical one. They explained that Feldman will retain his present title of deputy special counsel, but will be the top-ranking legal official at the White House.

Johnson said he is promoting Lee White from assistant special counsel to associate special counsel. Taylor and White thus will have equal ranks below Feldman's.

White, 40, joined the White House staff early in the Kennedy administration. Before that he served as administrative assistant to Sen. John S. Cooper, R-Ky. White's home is in Omaha, Neb.

The job of special counsel has been vacant since Theodore C. Sorensen resigned to write a book about the late President John F. Kennedy with whom he was long intimately associated.

Sorensen's duties, while manifold, embraced little actual legal work.

Among other things, he was Kennedy's chief speech-writing aide and one of his key policymakers.

Johnson has not indicated whether someone else will be given Sorensen's old title.

New York Herald Tribune

Romney Plea to Negroes: Give Up Segregated Voting

By Earl Mazo
National Political Correspondent

DETROIT.

George Romney is making a novel appeal to the Negro voters of Michigan.

He is urging them to abandon their "segregated voting pattern" and extend their drive for "integration" to both political parties.

"The segregated voting pattern has led you to be taken for granted" by the Democrats, the Republican gubernatorial candidate tells Negro audiences. "This makes your political effort self-defeating."

Then he adds:

"Is segregation in the ballot box an ybetter or more defensible than segregation in any other form? Isn't it just as wrong for all members of a race to set themselves apart and to vote as a block, regradless of the merits of the candidates involved, as it would be for others to set them apart? Doesn't integration mean integration in all things?"

The effect of Mr. Romney's appeal and his determined advocacy of total civil rights is sure to be noted and carefully weighed by political strategists across the country.

Therefore the returns from Michigan's numerous Negro voting precincts Nov. 6 may well influence both parties' basic attitudes towards the civil rights issue in future campaigns.

At this point in his contest with Democratic Gov. John B. Swainson, candidate Romney's effort appears to be fruitless. Fact is, the latest polls show Mr. Romney pulling ahead and winning the governorship by virtue of gains in all segments of Michigan's voting population except one—the Negroes.

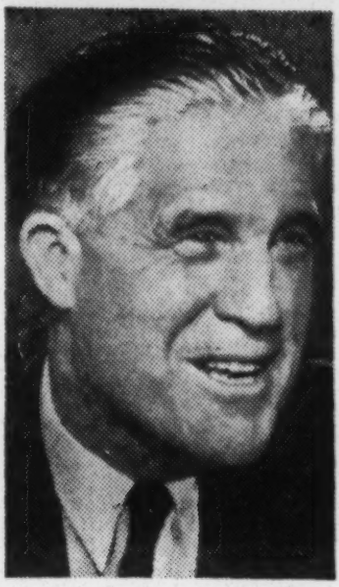
The most recent Detroit News poll, which jibes on the whole with private surveys of both parties, reports that among Negroes the spread is 88.5 per cent for the 37-year-old Democratic Governor and 10.6 per cent for the 55-year-old Republican challenger, who resigned as president of the American Motors Corp. to enter politics for the first time.

The consensus here among informed political people is that Mr. Romney's pleas for Negroes to desegregate politically simply have not caught on as yet.

On the other hand, a vigorous anti-Romney drive among Negroes appears to have been quite effective.

Gov. Sdainson seems to figure in all this only indirectly. A handsome, personable young man who lost both legs in World War II and was narrowly elected two years ago to suceed Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams, the Governor has no particular personal following or political identification except as another reliable exponent of liberal Democratic party programs. Thus his nearly unanimous backing by Negro voters is in essence pro-Democratic Party and anti-Romney.

The impact of attacks on



George Romney

Mr. Romney, which began months ago, is shown in the Detroit News poll's finding that since May, when they reached a peak intensity, he slipped a percentage point in the Negro precincts, while Gov. Swainson surged forward 6.4 per cent.

The religious issue has perhaps been one of the most potent weapons in the arsenal of Mr. Romney's foes.

Mr. Romney is a devout Mormon, and the "word" began to spread the moment he became a candidate that Mormons are anti-Negro. Most of the dirty work on this score was done subtly and under cover—and very little of it is identifiable as emanating from responsible Democratic party sources.

Typical of the religion-based attacks were a series of eight-page tracts printed on pink paper and distributed throughout Negro neighborhoods and in many Negro churches.

The lead-off diatribe of this particular series features a picture of Mr. Romney sitting in a Morman church choir and a story entitled: "Mormons teach Negro inferiority—Republicans sacrifice Negro vote with Romney."

Next came a sequel tract highlighting an article by a Negro minister which vehemently equated Mormons with "Southern racial bigots" and said, in part:

"Romney knows the doctrine of his church. He is reported to be a Mormon leader . . . He cannot pretend that the teaching of his church are unimportant without making himself a hypocrite as well as a bigot . . . He did not consider the fact of raciau equality important until he decided to become a candidate for office . . .

"Suddenly he becomes much concerned about appearing to be without prejudice. He tries to defend himself against the charge of bias by saying the real issue is not the Mormon position on race, but the Romney position. This is abusrd. The Romney position is the Mormon position, or George Romney could not be a bishop in the Mormon church. He said that he has always treated the Negro fairly. This is not the question. Many people treat dogs fairly, and are kind to them, but do not accept them as equals."

Attacks like those cut deep—and candidate Romney, while seeking to ignore their existence, had to deal with them. Therefore, in a campaign leaflet labeled "Romney and Civil Rights—the Real Story" the Republican candidate states:

"It is my firm conviction that all men are equal under God. God has said in the Holy Bible that He is no respecter of persons and that we are to judge no man.

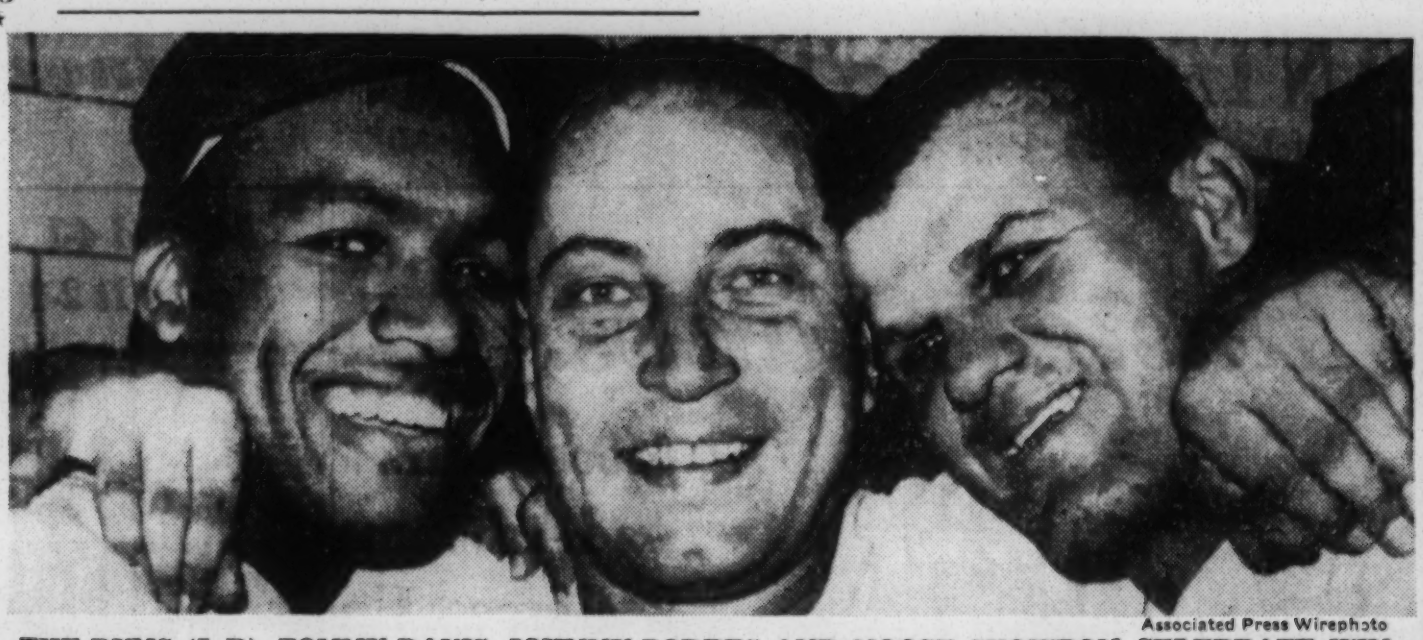
"Under the Father of God, all mankind are brothers and I esteem every man as myself, regardless of race, creed or color.

"I am dedicated to complete religious freedom and one of my major objectives is the elimination of discrimination and human injustice politically, economically and socially."

Associated Press Wirephoto

ATLANTA NATIVE EDITH McGUIRE WINS 100-METER DASH IN U.S.-RUSSIA TRACK MEET
Wyomia Tyus of Griffin, Ga., Second Ahead of USSR's Galia Popova and Mariya Itkina

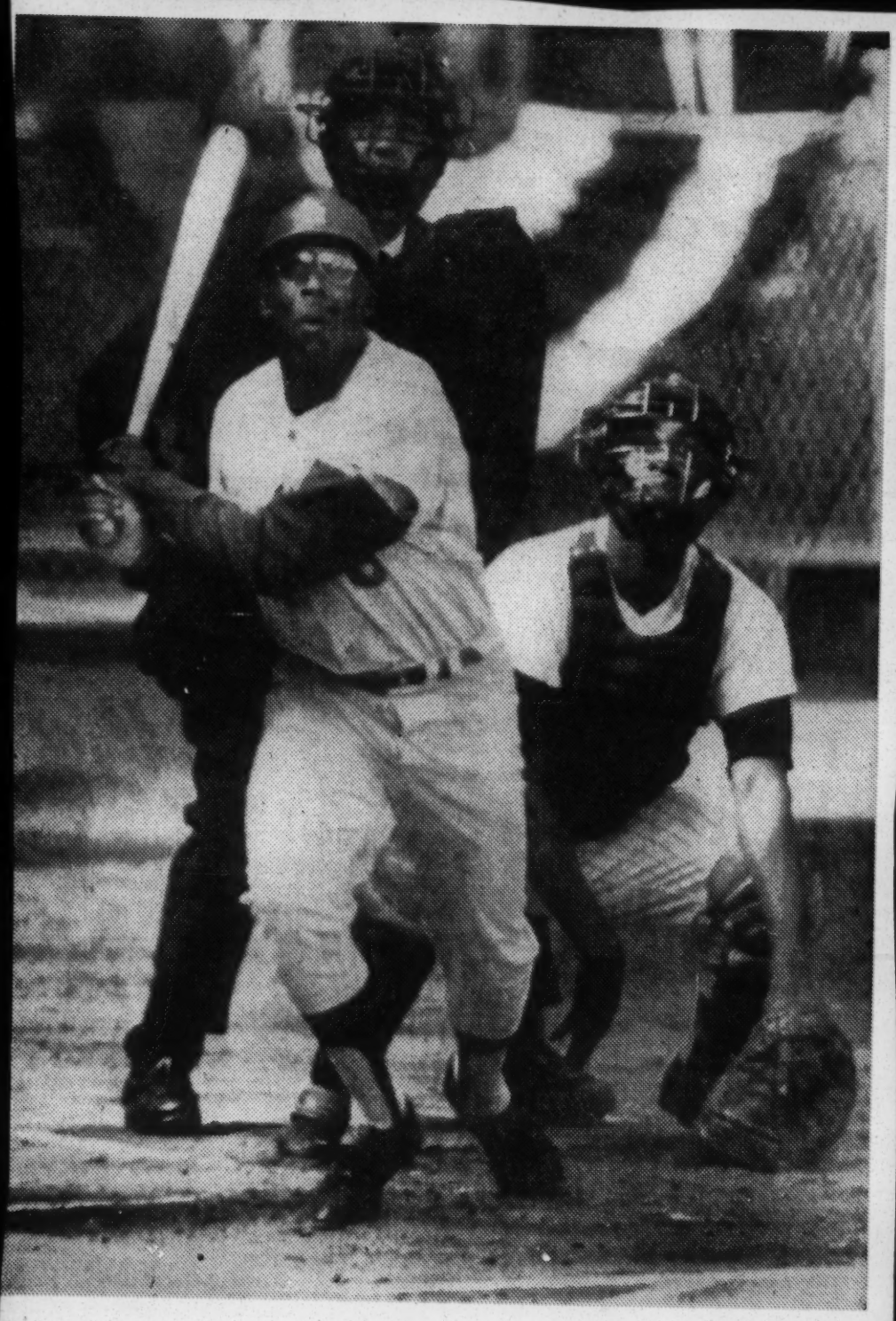
Yanks Bury the Russian Track Team; Two Georgia Girls Run 1-2 in Century



Associated Press Wirephoto

THE BUMS (L-R), TOMMY DAVIS, JOHNNY PODRES AND MOOSE SKOWRON CELEBRATE WIN

Left Fielder and First Baseman Congratulate Winning Pitcher (Center) in Dressing Room After Second Victory



Herald Tribune—UPI

UNKINDEST CUT OF ALL—Yankee catcher Elston Howard and umpire Joe Paparella watch the flight of the ball belted by the Dodgers' Johnny Roseboro in the second inning. The ball sailed into the rightfield stands, about 20 feet inside the foul pole, accounting for three runs in Los Angeles' big four-run inning.

Men to Remember

Scattered Monuments Bring to Mind Achievements of Notable Negroes

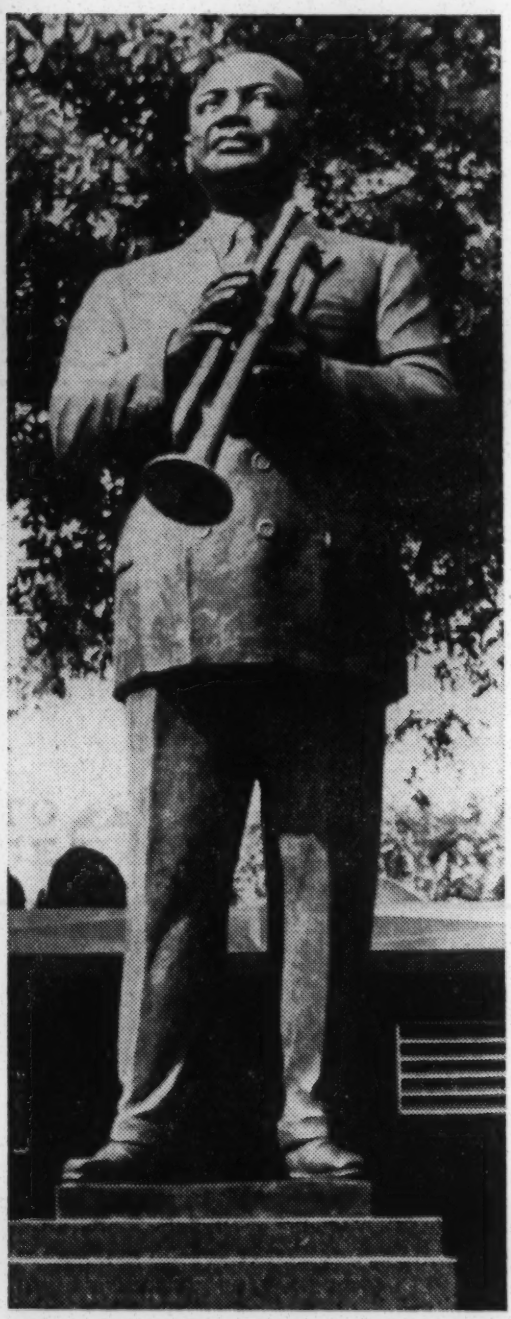
How many people know that the first man to reach the North Pole was a Negro? Or that the first building built in the area that's now Chicago was the home of a Negro fur trader and trapper? Or that the first man killed in the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770, was not a Bostonian but a runaway slave?

Probably very few. But the tourist who travels about the United States will discover a number of relatively unknown monuments commemorating these and other Negroes who've made significant contributions to American development. A number of them are described in a recently published book, *American Travelers Guide to Negro Monuments,* issued by the American Oil Co.

Mr. Douglass

Some of these memorials are dedicated to well-known American Negroes, others to men who aren't so famous. Among those commemorating well-known Negroes, for instance, are:

✓ Carver National Park, just west of Diamond, Mo., the first national monument created in honor of a Negro. It contains a statue of the scientist George Washington Carver as a boy, and a museum displaying his discoveries and personal belongings.



At W. C. Handy Park: Father of "blues."

✓ A plaque in the New York University Hall of Fame dedicated to Booker T. Washington, educator and founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Washington is the only Negro honored in the Hall of Fame; his university is now an internationally known center for agricultural research and extension work.

✓ W. C. Handy Park in Memphis, Tenn., named for William Christopher Handy, the father of the blues. At one entrance to the park is a heroic bronze statue of Handy, overlooking the Beale Street he immortalized in song. The statue was dedicated in 1960, climaxing a memorial campaign that started shortly after the composer's death in 1958.

✓ The 20-room Colonial-style home of Frederick Douglass in Washington, D.C., preserved as a monument to the slave who became famous as an abolitionist and was appointed United States ambassador to Haiti in 1889.

But the book also includes monuments commemorating the exploits of lesser-known Negroes. In the Maryland State Capitol at Annapolis, for instance, hangs a plaque dedicated to Matthew Henson, the first man to reach the North Pole. As aide to Adm. Robert E. Peary, Henson was with the Arctic explorer in 1909 when he planted an American flag at the Pole. The aide actually reached the Pole first, about an hour ahead of Admiral Peary, who walked with difficulty because he'd lost most of his toes in an earlier expedition.

Mr. Henson

In Chicago, a marker on the northeast approach to the Michigan Avenue Bridge marks the site where Jean Baptiste Pointe Du Sable, a Negro fur trader and trapper, built his home—the first building constructed in the area.

In the center of Boston Common in Massachusetts, the Crispus Attucks Monument is dedicated to the victims of the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770. Attucks, a runaway slave, was leader of a group of men who converged on the garrison of British soldiers sent to Boston to enforce the Townshend Act, and he was the first man killed by shots from the British guns.

In the colored cemetery at Columbus, Ga., a plaque erected by the city marks the grave of Bragg Smith,who died while trying to rescue the city engineer from a caved-in excavation in 1903.

Some 40 monuments or historic sites are described in the booklet, which is available free from the American Oil Co., 910 South Michigan Ave., Chicago 80, Ill.

New Revenue in Old Taxes

Every time the Iowa Legislature, now adjourned, tried to increase state revenue, the only method seemed to be to raise taxes, which the legislators didn't want to do. So the State Tax Commission decided to scout new sources of revenue. Using data processing equipment, the commission turned up the names of 100,000 Iowans who didn't pay their 1961 state income taxes. Taxes, interest, and penalties for this group will amount to $4,000,000 for that year alone.

Herald Tribune—UPI telephoto

A Negro in Our Space Program

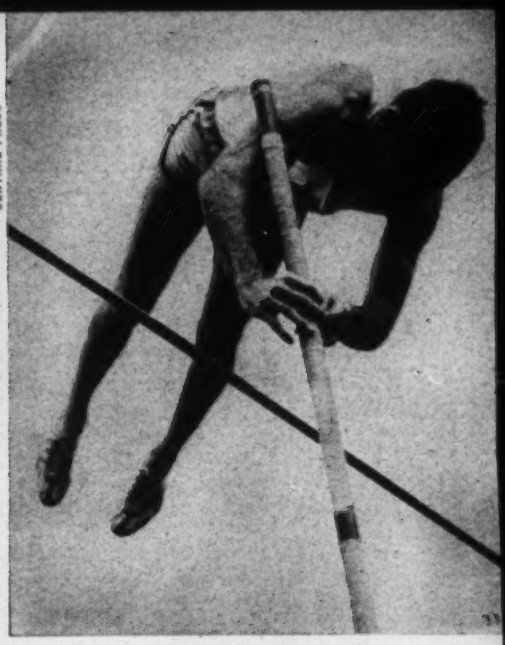
Air Force Capt. Edward J. Dwight, 29, with his family at Edwards Air Force Base, Calif. Capt. Dwight is the first Negro to be selected for possible participation in future manned space flights—which means he may become the first Negro astronaut. The Dwights' children are Eddie, six, and Tina, seven.

TRACK & FIELD

The Borrowed Pole

If it had not been for a castoff television aerial, John Pennel, 23, might be a ditchdigger today. He used to dig holes for fun on his father's farm in Tennessee. "I left holes all over the farm," he says. "I don't know why I did it. I just had this urge." Then he found an old roof top TV aerial and, using it as a sort of vaulting pole, began to go up instead of down. One leap led to another, and in 1959 he went to Northeast Louisiana State College on a pole-vaulting scholarship (room, board, tuition, $20 a month for "laundry").

The next good thing that happened to



CENTRAL PRESS

VAULTER PENNEL
Until it breaks.

Pennel was that he broke his favorite fiber glass pole during practice last March. At that point, he was an unknown; the highest he had ever vaulted was a middling 15 ft. 9 in. But on March 23, using a seemingly identical fiber glass pole that he borrowed from a rival vaulter (Rice University's Fred Hansen), Pennel soared 16 ft. 3 in. and broke the world record. He is still using that pole. Last week, at the U.S. *v.* Great Britain track meet in London, Pennel cleared the crossbar at 16 ft. 10¼ in., bettering his own most recent world record of 16 ft. 8¾ in., set ten days earlier.

A practitioner of the hold-on-for-dear-life, catapult-like technique of vaulting with fiber glass, Pennel used a long, 154-ft. approach "for speed," a high grip on the pole "for a bigger bend." He is aiming now for a 17-ft. vault and a gold medal in the 1964 Olympics. "I don't want to sound overconfident," he says, "but I think 17 ft. is within my reach." One little difficulty may interfere: after last week's meet Pennel noticed a crack in his borrowed pole. "I'm not going to worry," he shrugs. "I'll just keep jumping with it until it breaks."

AL's Rookie of the Year? Sorry, Downing...Not You

By Harold Rosenthal
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Tales of Yankee disappointments are guaranted to make a big hit in such garden spots as Cleveland, Minneapolis, Boston and Chicago. Nevertheless, the Yankees could be building up to a big letdown with Al Downing.

The dandy young lefty, 5-1 with three shutouts to his credit, has been a key figure in the Yankee rotation for the past month. He was to face the Indians last night in the opener of a four-game Stadium set.

If Downing, the baby of Ralph Houk's mound staff (22 years old last month, keeps up at his present clip, the Yankees could have one of those 15-game winners emerge from nowhere.

But whatever Al does the rest of the way, the door has been slammed on any hopes he might have for rookie-of-the-year honors.

Yesterday the Yankees consulted the regulations promulgated a couple of seasons back by the Baseball Writers Association of America. To fit into the "rookie" category, a pitcher must (a) have pitched less than 45 major league innings previously and (b) have occupied a spot on a major league roster for fewer than 45 days between the cutdown date and Sept. 1.

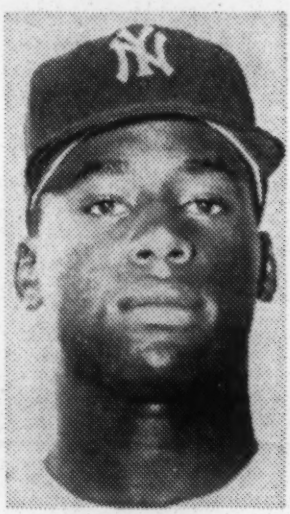
The second specification is the killer: Al was with the Yankees 46 days in 1961.

He was called up from Binghamton July 17, 1961. So he had 15 days in July and 31 in August, and that adds up to 46. In 1961, Downing, far form ready fo rthe big time, had an 0-1 record, working a total of 10 innings.

Last year they kept him down on the Richmond farm until after the Sept. 1 roster-expanding date. He came up, worked an inning in relief, decided that the next time he got the call he'd make it stick.

The call came this May when the failure of Stan Williams and Bill Stafford to produce furrowed Houk's brow.

Downing was brought up again. He warmed up with an inning of relief against Detroit, then shut out the Senators with a two-hitter.



AL DOWNING
Two days too many in '61

His other shutouts have been against the White Sox and Athletics.

In the Chicago game he missed a no-hitter by the margin of a seventh-inning single by Camillo Carreon. The Kansas City blanking was his last previous start, July 14.

Downing is not one of those mound virtuosi, whose athletic ability is limited merely to getting a baseball over the plate. He was a fine basketball player around Trenton, a community noted for producing good hardwood performers, and he was a scholarship holder briefly at Muhlenberg.

His plans call for a degree in business administration at Rider, plus a long series of World Series cuts, and the general affluence which comes to winning pitchers on the Yankees.

But no rookie-of-the-year. He misses by two days.

Elston Howard's moving into a tie with Roger Maris for the Yankee home-run leadership (19) underscores the success the Yankee catcher has been enjoying with the 36-ounce bat. It was the heaviest stick on the Yankee bat rack on the recent road trip.

Ellie is going to try a 38-er on this home stand. . . . and is talking about the record for home runs by a catcher.

The American League mark is 30, shared by Yogi Berra and Gus Triandos, and 30 does not seem to be beyond Howard's potential. The major league mark, Roy Campanella's 41, is something else again.

Howard said that the heavier bat corrects his tendency to overswing. "That's why I'm hitting so well to the opposite field," he said.

"With the heavier bat, I'm not so likely to try to pull those outside pitches. With the extra weight, you just go with the pitch."

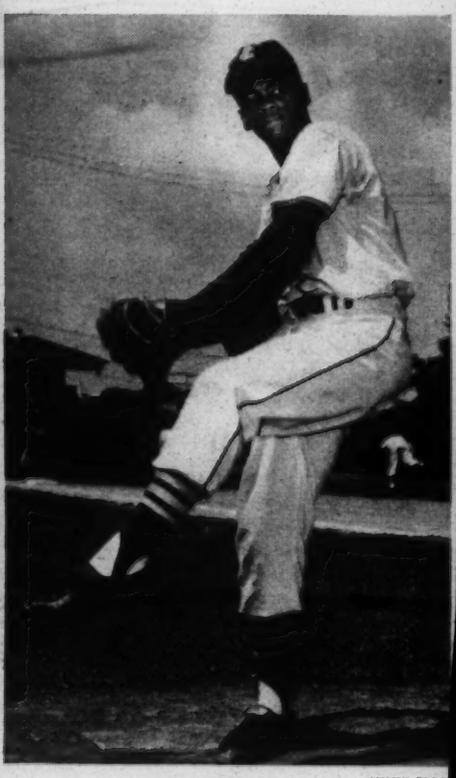
SPORT

Youngest Rookie

To the big-league baseball scout, the ideal pitching prospect is a sturdy six-footer who can fire fastballs all through the long, hot afternoon. Such a pitcher was Iowa Farm Boy Bob Feller, who came off a sand lot at 17 and struck out 348 batters for the Cleveland Indians in 1946. Such a pitcher also is moonfaced Michael Jones, a $3,000-bonus rookie who plays for Johnson City, Tenn., a St. Louis Cardinals class D farm club. A rangy (6 ft., 174 lbs.) right-hander with a smoky fastball, shy Mike Jones has yet another distinction: at 16, he is the youngest player in organized baseball.

Jones is drawing $4,000 a year (*v.* the major-league minimum of $7,000), and is already a growing legend in St. Louis, where he began his baseball career as a grammar-school nine-year-old. One day in 1958, while he was playing third base for the Brentwood Cardinals, a suburban St. Louis amateur team, the starting pitcher broke his leg, and the manager sent twelve-year-old Mike to the mound. Jones walked the first batter, struck out the next 18, won the game—and became the team's No. 1 pitcher. Over the next three seasons, he ran up such an impressive record that he attracted major-league scouts, among them a scout from the St. Louis Cardinals.

Before he could sign up with St. Louis, Jones had to get special permission from Baseball Commissioner Ford Frick, because he had not completed—or even started—high school. Classified as a "hardship case" (he was helping to support his parents and eight brothers and



JIMMY ELLI

PITCHER JONES
All he needs is time.

sisters), Jones gave his bonus to his family and headed for the Cardinals' spring training camp at Homestead, Fla., where he worked out under the watchful eye of a farm system manager, Al Unser. "He would run until he got tired," says Unser, "and then he'd quit. We finally talked him into the idea that it was necessary for him to run a little harder."

In Johnson City, Coach Joe Lucco has put Jones to work in relief assignments. "Mike has a strong arm," he explains, "but we're just nursing him along. We don't let him pitch more than 70 balls at a time. Then he gets four days of rest." Object: to have Jones ready for the big league after several more seasons of seasoning. His coaches think that shy Mike Jones will make it.

UPI

SPRINTER HAYES

No booming or floating—just running.

a junior at Florida A. & M. who rarely booms and never floats. A shifty cut-and-shoot halfback on A. & M.'s football team, Robert Hayes, 20, runs the 100 as if he were cracking an enemy line: head bobbing, shoulders rolling, so pigeon-toed that he often steps on his own feet—a painful experience when he is wearing half-inch-long track spikes. "Starts are my weakness," Hayes said before last week's A.A.U. championships in St. Louis. "I don't get my top speed until I've gone 60 yds. But if I ever get a good start, I'll break a record."

In the A.A.U. semifinals, Hayes got off to the best start of his life. Rocketing out of the blocks, he leaped into the lead, gaining speed with each driving stride. The track was a special, rubberized asphalt that Hayes found to his liking. "It doesn't give like cinders," he said. "You lose about 1/10 second on cinders because your spikes dig in." As he sliced through the tape 5 ft. ahead of his closest pursuer, astonished officials huddled and checked their watches. Then they announced his time: 9.1 sec.—a new world record. To prove it was no fluke, he ran another 9.1, winning the finals—but that didn't count, because he had a favoring wind. "Aw shucks," said Bob Hayes. "I was shooting for 9 seconds flat."

Hayes, Fresh From Record, Drops the 220

By Jesse Abramson
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

ST. LOUIS.

The new Fastest Human, 20-year-old Bob Hayes of Florida, is not necessarily the strongest or hungriest, it developed yesterday in the final session of the 75th annual National AAU track and field championships. Twelve more titles were to be decided, more records likely under blue skies and perfect weather.

The 186-pound Jacksonville Jet—who sped 100 yards twice in 9.1 seconds, one of them acceptable on the spot, the other wind-aided, in retaining his American sprint crown Friday at twilight—breezed yesterday to an easy victory in his 220-yard trial heat in 21.2 around a turn.

It was, believe it or not, the slowest of five furlong tests on the spectacularly fast and maintenance-free rubber-asphalt track being used for the first time in these championships.

Whether or not our Fastest Human considered the formidable opposition—topped by the world record holder, Paul Drayton, and the unofficial new record holder, Henry Carr—Hayes indicated he would scratch from the event. Semifinals were scheduled later followed by an eight-man final.

Hayes followed the same procedure last year when he won his first National AAU 100-yard title on the first day in 9.3 seconds, then qualified behind Drayton in a 20.7 trial 220 and pulled out of the competition.

"I don't feel up to it," said Hayes.

His place on the U. S. team being selected here for the meet against Russia in Moscow next month was assured. The American coaches would have complete freedom to select Hayes to run the 200 meters in the four dual meets abroad, if they deemed him the best.

Having made the U. S. team, it's obviously a lot of torture to run three blazing 220s after 9.3, 9-1 and 9.1 hundreds the day before unless one is greedy for two sprint titles.

that the International Amateur Athletic Federation might reject the world record set on this type of all-weather track since there are no specifications for outdoor tracks. It's slightly different in mix (10 per cent rubber, 90 per cent asphalt, gravel and stone) from similar tracks already in use in many areas in this country, two in New York.

The most striking aspect besides its speed is that the track required no attention at all—raking, rolling, sprinkling or anything—after Friday's spiked-shoe action on it. It also seems to be the cheapest track that can be built, costing about $15,000.

Along with Hayes and Gilbert, a hitherto unsung young sprinter from Santa Barbara, those who claimed berths on the U. S. Team were Hayes Jones, taking his fourth national title, Blaine Lindgren, in the high hurdles; Peter McCardle and Ned Sargent, six-mile run; Brian Sternberg and John Uelses, pole vault; Dave Davis and Perry O'Brien, shotput; Ralph Boston and Darrell Horn, broad jump, and Larry Stuart and Frank Covelli, javelin throw.

Jones tied the meet record of 13.4, matching his fastest time anywhere. Lindgren posted his fastest time, 13.5. McCardle set a citizens' meet record of 28:29.2.

Sternberg's 16-4 posted another meet record and, of course, listed American record of 16.2. Uelses, the first 16-footer, who had been pushed into relatively obscurity this year, climaxed a comeback by clearing a 16-½. So did Ron Morris and Rolando Cruz (of the eleven 16-footers in action here) but Uelses earned second place on the fewest misses.

The last time Hayes equaled a world record by running 9.2 in the 100 yards in February, 1962, the record received no recognition at all. There was no wind gauge, which is essential for any record of recognition. That time, too, two watches showed 9.1.

Associated Press wirephoto

WORLD'S FASTEST HUMAN—Hayes Jones after setting record of 9.1 for 100-yard dash Friday in A.A.U. meet at St. Louis.

Hayes Credits Record Run To New Rubberized Track

By The Associated Press

ST. LOUIS.

Was it the track or the man in that historic 9.1 century Friday?

Bob Hayes, whose schoolmates call him Crow, gave the credit for his 9.1 seconds world mark in the 100-yard dash to the track, a good rest and the competition.

Hayes set the record Friday night in that A.A.U. semifinal, and then ran the same time 45 minutes later to win the final. The first one was good for a record, the second time was slightly wind-aided.

The 20-year-old Florida A.&M. ace, who comes from Jacksonville, praised the new rubberized asphalt track, used for the first time in the A.A.U. championships.

"The track doesn't give like other tracks. You can lose a tenth of a second on cinders," he said, "but not on this track. It's something like indoors on the boards—more flexible."

A. A. U. officials gave positive assurance before the meet the new surface wouldn't stand in the way of international recognition of records.

"I was trying for 9-flat in the final," he said. "I ran 9.3 in the prelims this morning but didn't go all out.

The thick-shouldered, thick-muscled Hayes has a 29-inch waist, stands 5-foot-11 and weighs 185 pounds. He looks more like a football back—which he is—than a track athlete.

Hayes could sign a pro football contract for a high salary, but he prefers to concentrate on the Olympics.

He runs pigeon-toed with his feet landing about 12 inches apart. Most sprinters are eight inches apart. But he has a long stride. He's a power runner who digs in and runs like a reckless halfback.

His coach, Pete Griffin, never has given a thought to changing his style, though.

Associated Press Radiophoto

ANOTHER GOLD MEDAL: Wilma Rudolph, second from right, hits tape first at end of 400-meter relay race. U. S. team won relay in 44.5 seconds. Others at line are, from left: Giuseppina Leone of Italy; Jutta Heine of Germany; Wilma, and Irina Press of Russia. Lucinda Williams, Barbara Jones and Martha Hudson were other U.S. runners.

World Speed Queen

Wilma Glodean Rudolph

SEVEN years ago, in a Clarkesville (Tenn.) high school gymnasium, a skinny, 13-year-old girl stumbled over her feet, tripped on the basketball she was trying to dribble and landed in an eighty-nine-pound tangle at her coach's feet.

Woman in the News

"A skeeter," said the coach, shaking his head. "You are a skeeter, all right. You're little, you're fast and you always get in my way." Skeeter got up and tried again. Within two years she became an all-state basketball player at all-Negro Burt High. Within five years she was a 5-foot

RUSSIAN RECORDS DRESSAGE VICTORY

Filatov First in Grand Prix Riding—Frenchman Gains in Three-Day Competition

ROME, Sept. 8 (UPI)—Sergei Filatov of the Soviet Union, riding Absent, won the Grand Prix de Dressage event of the Olympic equestrian competition today. He scored 2,144 points.

The event was held Monday and Tuesday. The results were delayed until today because of the complicated scoring system.

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"A skeeter," said the coach, shaking his head. "You are a skeeter, all right. You're little, you're fast and you always get in my way." Skeeter got up and tried again.

Woman in the News

Within two years she became an all-state basketball player at all-Negro Burt High. Within five years she was a 5-foot 11-inch young lady of charm and poise. And yesterday, after winning her third gold medal in the Rome Olympics, Wilma Glodean (Skeeter) Rudoph was acclaimed as the speediest woman in the world.

Miss Rudolph was born on June 23, 1940, in St. Bethlehem, Tenn., a tiny tobacco and corn community some forty-five miles southeast of Nashville. She is the fifth of eight children of a 73-year-old retired porter and a domestic. The family, which included eleven children by her father's former marriage, moved to a rented red-frame cottage on Kellogg Street in Clarkesville soon after Wilma was born.

4½ Pounds at Birth

In the race to her speed laurels, Wilma got off to a poor start. She was four and a half pounds at birth and her parents were not sure she would survive. At 4, Wilma was stricken with double pneumonia and scarlet fever. She lost the use of one leg.

For two years, once a week, Mrs. Rudolph would bundle her small child in a blanket and take a bus to a Nashville clinic. At 6, wearing specially constructed shoes, - Wilma could hop around on one leg. Slowly, she improved.

Then, when she was 11, one of Wilma's brothers set up a basketball hoop in the yard.

"After that it was basketball, basketball, basketball," said Mrs. Rudolph yesterday. "Whenever I'd call her in to eat or to clean up around the house, Wilma would be out in the yard having a big time."

At high school, Wilma came to the attention of C. C. Gray, the girls' basketball coach. She was a tanglefoot.

'Always Buzzing Around'

"I called her skeeter, short for mosquito. Always buzzing around," said Gray. "On the way to out-of-town games, she'd sit in the back of the school bus and tell jokes from one end of the trip to another."

In 1955 Wilma scored 803 points in twenty-five games, a record. That year, in the state tournament at Nashville, Wilma was discovered as a track prospect by accident.

Edward Temple, the women's track coach at Tennessee A. and I. State University, asked Gray to form a girls' track team at Burt so that one of the basketball forwards could be developed into a sprinter. Gray did, but the career of the forward never got out of the starting blocks. Wilma had suddenly discovered that running was even more fun than playing basketball.

Associated Press

Skeeter got up and tried again

In three years of high school track competition Wilma never lost. In summer, Gray drove Wilma to the Nashville college every day to work out with Temple. In 1957 she entered the all-Negro college.

Tennessee A. and I. is the cathedral of women's track in this country and Temple the high priest. Wilma soon became the most devoted disciple. She ran at least two hours a day while keeping up a B average in her major, elementary education, and working four hours a day in a campus office. In the summer, Temple held three workouts a day. The first was at 5 A. M.

Wilma Won and Ray Lost

Through it all, Wilma managed to have a social life, too. "Boys seem to like her, and every so often she seems to have a new one," Mrs. Temple said.

Wilma's romance with Ray Norton, the American sprinter, has been highly publicized during the Olympics. Norton, favored to win both Olympic sprints for men, finished last in each final.

Wilma seemed as unhappy over his losses as she was happy over her victories. A few minutes after she had won her third gold medal, Norton's error of passing the baton out of the zone in the 400-meter relay final caused a disqualification. Wilma cried.

In Clarksvile, however, there was only joy. Mrs. Rudolph said she was getting so many telegrams that she couldn't finish her work.

A church group collected enough money to enable her to send a cablegram of congratulations to Wilma. The Mayor made plans for a "Skeeter Rudolph" day and a local shop was exhibiting sixty-three of Wilma's medals, cups and trophies.

And Gray, who had untangled a little basketball player seven years ago, was ebullient as he confided:

"I'm coaching her 15-year-old sister, Charlene. She's going to be even faster."

Riding—Frenchman Gains in Three-Day Competition

ROME, Sept. 8 (UPI)—Sergei Filatov of the Soviet Union, riding Absent, won the Grand Prix de Dressage event of the Olympic equestrian competition today. He scored 2,144 points.

The event was held Monday and Tuesday. The results were delayed until today because of the complicated scoring system.

Gustav Fischer of Switzerland on Wald, was second with 2,078 points. Josef Neckermann of Germany was third. Henri St. Cyr of Sweden, the 1956 winner, fourth and Ivan Kalita of the Soviet Union fifth. They were the only finalists.

Patricia Galvin of Santa Barbara, Calif., was sixth with 995 points and Jessica Newberry of Ausable Forks, N. Y., twelfth with 927 points. They competed only on Monday.

Guy Lefrant of France, on Nicias, led the seventy-three entries after the dressage was completed today in the three-day equestrian event. Ib Bjorke of Denmark was second and Olle Bakander of Sweden third.

The three-day event began Tuesday, with the first of the entries going through the dressage, but no official scores were listed until tonight. The endurance test begins tomorrow, with the jumping on Friday.

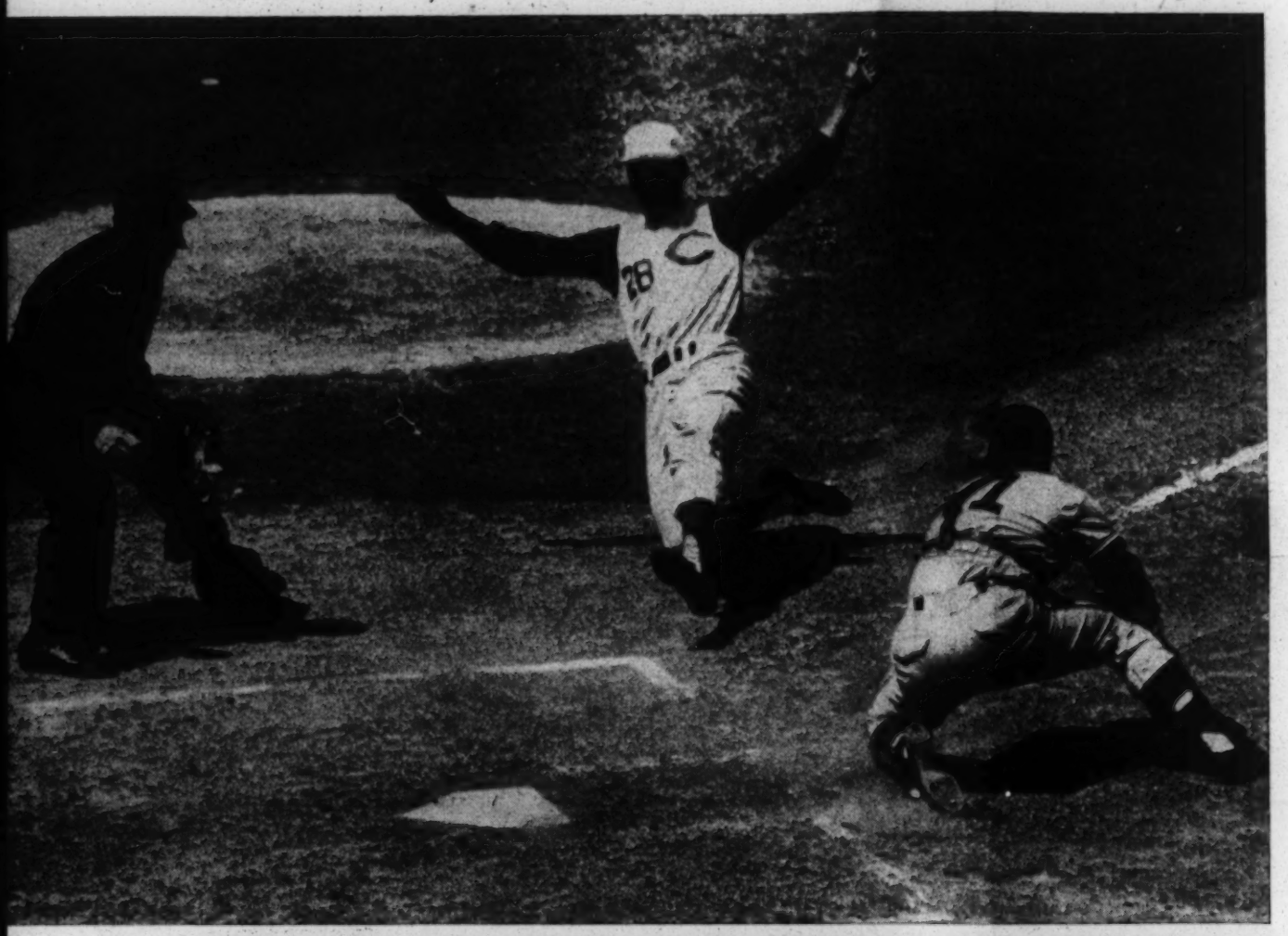
Lefrant had only 70.5 penalty points. Bjorke had 73.5 and Bakander 77.5.

John Plumb of Syosset, L. I., was twenty-sixth with 120.51 penalty points. Michael Page of Briarcliff Manor, N. Y., was forty-fifth with 137.5; David Lurie of Clayton, Mo., fifty-second with 142 and Walter Staley of Mexico, Mo., fifty-sixth with 146.01.

Is He the Nearest-Perfect Player?

At 21, Vada Pinson of Cincinnati is one of the greatest center fielders in either league. Some experts have him pegged as the next .400 hitter, and as a base runner he's known as the fastest man in the game.

Vada came all the way from second on a teammate's short hit to score against the Cubs on June 18.



By
Furman
Bisher

During a baseball clinic at one of our military bases in Europe last winter, Fred Haney, then freshly detached as manager of the Milwaukee Braves, was asked what player he would prefer above all others if he were managing again.

"For now," said Haney, "Henry Aaron. For the future, there's no doubt about it—Vada Pinson. He can do everything, and he's just starting out. He could be the best of them all."

Haney made this pronouncement during a discussion which featured such names as Milwaukee's Aaron, San Francisco's Willie Mays, Detroit's Al Kaline and New York's Mickey Mantle. All these high-salaried young outfielders are still in their twenties, but they are old-timers compared with Pinson. He was twenty last year when he became the regular center fielder of the Cincinnati Reds. With the exception of Mantle, none of the others accomplished as much as Pinson in their first full seasons in the majors.

Undemonstrative Vada Edward Pinson Jr., who bats and throws left-handed, is the son of a Negro stevedore in Oakland, California. He is of comparatively slight build—five-eleven, 174 pounds. However, he was one of only three National Leaguers to play in all of his club's games in 1959. In the process he collected 205 hits for a .316 average, along with twenty home runs and eighty-four runs batted in. In addition, Pinson led the big leagues in doubles with forty-seven and in runs scored with 131. Both of these figures were new records for a Cincinnati player.

What fascinates the customers most about Pinson, though, is his speed. He is regularly timed at an exceptional 3.3 seconds going down to first base, and he has been clocked at less than ten seconds in running the circuitous ninety-yard route of a three-base hit. He stole twenty-one bases last year despite his inexperience. This year he had fifteen steals by mid-June. (Continued on Page 75)

Soft-spoken Pinson, left, shown with his roommate, Frank Robinson, is one of the few left-handed batters to compile a good average against left-handed pitching.

SHOW BUSINESS

NEW FACES

Sommers Is Icumen On

The voice, like wind through sugar cane, first rustled into U.S. living rooms last year singing "Now it's a Pepsi . . . for those who think young." Joanie Sommers, owner of the voice, has come a long way since those anonymous days, has already earned her first quarter-million dollars (and her first ulcer) at the age of 20. Says she: "I'm a worrywart. I'm tired and I ponder about being tired."

At the age of ten, Joanie Drost (her real name) won a prize on a Buffalo TV show singing *Your Cheating Heart*, largely because (she says) her numerous relatives bought piles of postcards and stuffed the ballot box by mail. Four years later her family emigrated to California. She recalls: "It was a miracle. We didn't have a flat until we were sitting in a gas station in California. We had $1.62 left."

Joanie's early career is like a clip from an old Judy Garland movie. She sang and sang—with the jukebox in the tavern where her mother worked, with the Venice (Calif.) High School dance band, with a harmony group for the Elks Club. Finally came the Big Audition—with Tommy Oliver's band at the Deauville country club in Santa Monica, and the Big Click. A demonstration disk played for Warner Bros. record company resulted in her first album, *Positively the Most*, a title artfully designed to rhyme with Drost. But Joanie had already decided the Drost was dross as far as names went, tried out Joan St. Clair, Joanie Post, and finally decided—for no particular reason—on Joanie Sommers. Says she: "I can't think of myself as anybody else now, even if I try."

The album and Joanie's haunted-hoarse voice, became pets of disk jockeys everywhere. A refreshing change from the smoldering young sirens whose singing style tries to suggest that they are capable of unseemly passion, Joanie sounds throaty but relaxed, is admired both by rock 'n' rollers (for whom she steadfastly refuses to rock) as well as by those who pant for Ella and Frankie. Mort Sahl heard the records, took a look at gamin-faced Joanie, signed her up to accompany him on a 35-city concert tour. Suddenly everybody wants Joanie. She has just made a movie with Mickey Rooney (Columbia's *Everything's Ducky*), is eagerly sought for TV specials, has nightclub engagements booked solidly for the next six months.

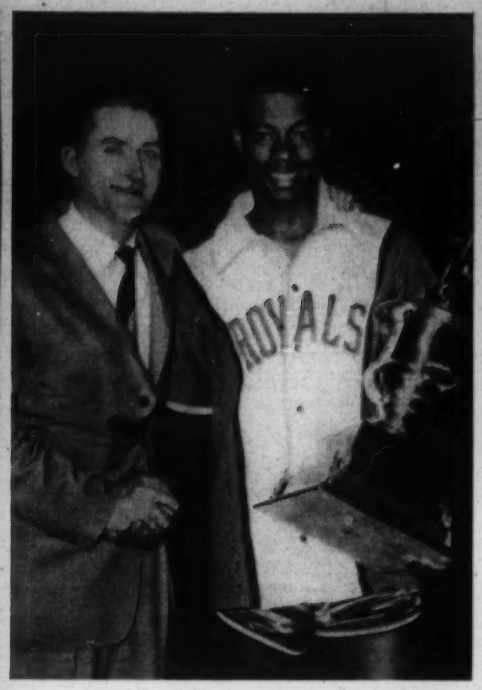
Next week Joanie Sommers opens at Las Vegas' super-caravansary, the Sahara, with Donald O'Connor and a $15,000 wardrobe—a handy index to the high cost of converting a cute girl who sings nicely into a major attraction. Two years ago, she played her first club date in a $2.98 ready-to-wear.

SOMMERS
But she feels tired.

SPORT

"I Was Ready"

A Polaroid camera cradled in his huge hands, Center Walt Dukes of the Detroit Pistons joked his way through a Syracuse, N.Y., locker room one evening last week snapping one distorted picture after another with wildly exaggerated incompetence. His purpose: to relax his teammates on the West squad for the National Basketball Association's annual all-star game. Of all Jokester Dukes's teammates, none had so much cause for tension as the Cincinnati Royals' Oscar ("The Big O") Robertson, the only rookie to crash the starting lineup of either the East or West team. But, as always, Robertson was the loosest man in the room. Said he later: "I was ready."



Associated Press
WEST'S SEYMOUR & ROBERTSON
To the coach, the most valuable.

He was indeed. When the game began, Robertson looked like the most seasoned pro on the floor. He kept star teammates such as Los Angeles' Elgin Baylor and St. Louis' Bob Pettit running at top speed with a series of pinpointed passes that set up easy baskets. In the very first period, Robertson himself scored 13 points—hitting on all five of his shots from the floor—to lead the West to a 47-19 lead that made inevitable his team's final victory of 153-131.

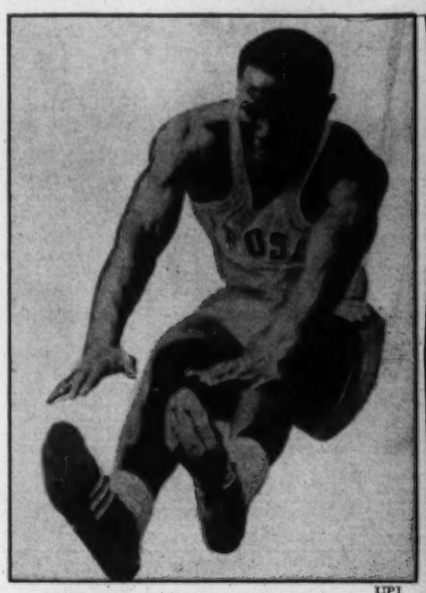
In all, Robertson scored 23 points (he sat out much of the second half), fed teammates for 14 baskets, a league record for all-star games. For putting on one of the greatest one-man shows in the history of the N.B.A., Robertson was given the game's most-valuable-player award, another proof that at the age of 22 he has become the finest all-round player in basketball. Said the West's Coach Paul Seymour: "He was excellent. He was great. He was spectacular."

Olympic Rivals—'Everyone Is Equal'

RAFER LEWIS JOHNSON, the American decathlon champion, had just been elected president of the student government at UCLA when a reporter wondered aloud what academic course Johnson was studying.

"Rafer is majoring," a friend said, "in becoming Ralph Bunche."

The comparison wasn't so farfetched. Bunche, who attended UCLA on an athletic scholarship and graduated in 1927, was a star on the basketball team and a letterman in football and baseball. Johnson, who had an athletic scholarship and graduated last year, earned letters in basketball and track and, by setting a world record in the decathlon, established himself as the greatest all-around athlete of his time.



UPI

While Johnson studied Marx . . .

But the similarities extend beyond sports. For Rafer Johnson, like United Nations' Under Secretary Bunche, hopes to make a career of international relations. "Eventually, I'd like to work for the State Department," he said last week, before the U.S. track-and-field team left for a pre-Olympic meet in Switzerland. "I'll meet people and talk to them. That's what I'd really like."

At UCLA, minoring in political science (and majoring in physical education), Johnson studied comparative political systems, Marxist theory, and African government, and maintained a straight B average. "I've spoken with Mr. Bunche," Johnson explained, "and he's encouraged me."

Message From Moscow: Besides his academic training, Johnson has had practical experience in international relations. As an athlete, he has traveled to dozens of countries and built up lasting friendships. When he wrenched his back in an automobile accident fourteen months ago, Johnson received a letter postmarked Moscow. "I am very sorry to hear about your injury," wrote Vasily Kuznetsov, the Soviet decathlon star whose record (8,357 points) Johnson (8,683) broke last month. "I hope you will be able to compete in Philadelphia."

Johnson missed the U.S.-U.S.S.R. track-and-field meet in Philadelphia last year, but now, fully recovered, he is the favorite (over Kuznetsov and C.K. Yang of Nationalist China) to win the Olympic decathlon gold medal Sept. 5-6. "I owe Kuznetsov a letter," Johnson said. "He's a nice guy. I'm looking forward to seeing him again."

The Russians, too, are looking forward to seeing Johnson. Of all the hundreds of American athletes in Rome, Johnson, tall and husky, quiet and sincere, is the most respected—by teammates and opponents. What does he feel is the value of international competition?

"We exchange ideas," Rafer Johnson once said. "We don't beat ideas into each other's heads, like politicians. It seems funny to say that winning is not all-important—I always want to win—but when you start out on the field, everyone is equal. That's the important idea."

The Sports Observer

Two Top Runners Beat Handicaps, Then Records

Among the fastest humans afoot are two young college students, one at Villanova University in Philadelphia, the other at Tennessee Agricultural & Industrial University in Nashville.

They are Villanova's Frank Budd, 22, who set the world 100-yard dash record of 9.2 seconds, and equaled the world record of 20 seconds for the 220-yard dash, and the Nashville school's Wilma Rudolph, 21, who set the world 200-meter record of 22.9 seconds, and equaled the 100-meter record of 11.3 seconds.

Their careers are remarkably similar. Both once walked with a limp, the result of injured legs.

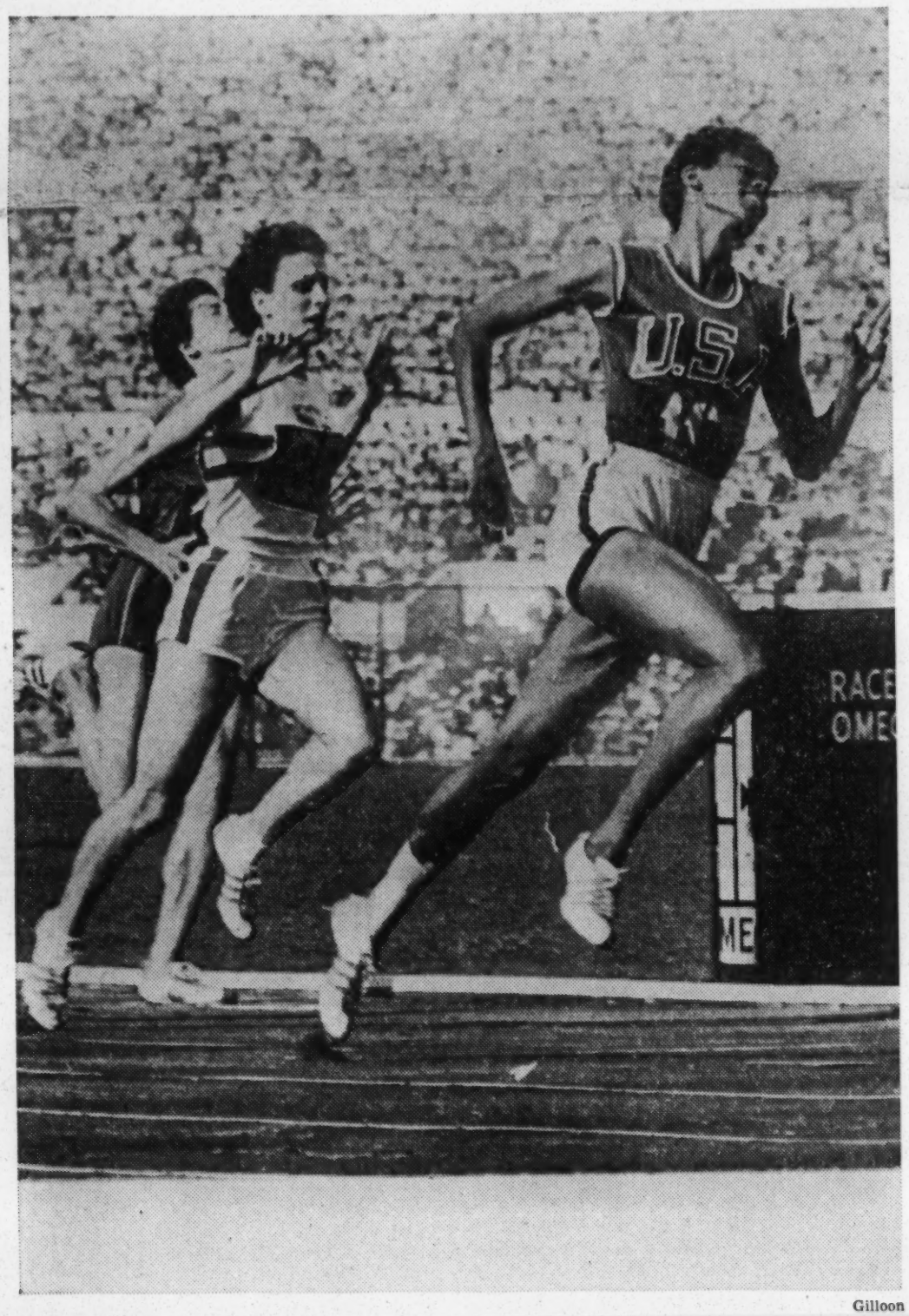
Miss Rudolph was stricken with polio as a child. This temporarily paralyzed both legs, and left one almost useless. Budd's right leg was smaller at the calf and thigh than his left one. He doesn't know how it happened.

New Record Efforts

These two probably will go after new records this month. Budd will compete in the National Collegiate Athletic Association track and field championships at Eugene, Ore., June 15-16. He and Miss Rudolph will run in the National Amateur Athletic Union championships at Walnut, Calif., June 22-23.

Miss Rudolph's finest hours were in Rome, Italy, during the 1960 Olympic Games when she became America's first woman triple gold medal winner.

When you see her walk with the springy glide of a jungle cat, you know why some dub her "Tigerbelle." When you see her bound from the starting blocks, her smooth, sinewy legs pumping like precision machinery, you know why others call her "Skeeter."



Gilloon

Her finest hours: Wilma Rudolph at the 1960 Olympics. More glory?

It's hard to believe that a few years ago, she limped. Wilma overcame her handicap through her own decision that she wasn't going to tag along behind anybody, and through the loving care of her family. Her mother and some of her 16 brothers and sisters spent hours daily for many years massaging Miss Rudolph's legs, restoring their strength.

No Trace of the Limp

Her limp gradually vanished and when she was 13 she began running. Today, she is tall (5 feet, 11 inches) and shapely and there are no more reminders of her paralysis.

She is soft-spoken and won't talk about her track records unless asked.

Since last fall she's had another interest. She got married. Her husband is William Ward, a junior, who is a 440-yard dash man on the men's track team. They met in 1956 during tryouts for the Olympic team.

Comments Ward on their marriage: "We talk each other's language, and we have the same problems and goals."

When her running days are over (she expects to graduate next winter), Miss Rudolph hopes to be an elementary school teacher—a model to the young who can see in her life what challenge and the desire to keep up can do.

But before she takes up teaching, she has one more ambition. This is to win more honors for her country in the 1964 Olympics.

It is a job that won't be easy. Six months ago, she was stricken with a virus that kept her out of competition all winter. She returned to the track and intensive training only two weeks ago. An athletic official at Tennessee A&I said Miss Rudolph "is starting to run all over again, just like she'd never been on a track before."

So far, she's lost 14 pounds (her weight soared to 154 pounds during her illness), and she plans to trim down to her Olympic running weight of 126 pounds.

"She'll do it, too," said a coach. "She wants to run in the Olympics again."

Lots of Exercise

What of Budd's success? When he came under coaching guidance, Budd began using barbells and weights, and making trips up and down football stadium steps wearing a 10-pound vest. These exercises built up the misformed leg. The limp vanished.

Not until he reached Villanova did Budd settle down to serious running. Last year, his coach, Jim "Jumbo" Elliott, said of him:

"He could only go 80 yards until this season. Then he'd fall apart. He'd straighten up and lose his drive the last few yards."

But a year ago Budd began pushing himself. It paid off on June 25, 1961, in New York. He ran 100 yards in 9.2 seconds, the fastest any human had ever run the distance. This spring, he equaled the 220-yard record.

'Always Drives Low'

Elliott describes Budd's running style:

"For a 172-pound kid, he has terrific thighs. Frank runs economically. He has very little flareup (track talk for the kick of the foot behind the runner). His feet are always driving close to the ground. He has great reflexes off the blocks and always drives low."

Budd is unmarried, quiet, modest, and untouched by the sudden attention he began receiving last year when he broke the 13-year-old 100-yard dash record. He is a junior studying marketing at the School of Commerce and Finance.

UPI

Frank Budd sets 100-yard dash record.

When he finishes school one interesting possibility is that he may play professional football. He was drafted by the Philadelphia Eagles of the National Football League. Vince McNally, the Eagles general manager, said: "Can you imagine Budd as a flanker or as a defensive halfback? Nobody could beat him."

Budd was a much publicized high school athlete, but did not play football at Villanova.

Asked once if the immense size of professional football players didn't worry him, Budd replied: "They don't concern me right now. When I get there they might."

MATTIWILDA DOBBS
Studied With Mme. Lotte Leonard

RECITAL WEDNESDAY

Mattiwilda Dobbs Has Loyal Fans at Home

By FRANK DANIEL

Atlanta's brilliant addition to the singers of the Metropolitan Opera Association, coloratura Mattiwilda Dobbs, has a home-grown claque. She is the next-youngest of six sisters, and the others are her most loyal fans.

Miss Dobbs' recital Wednesday at 8:30 p.m. at the Municipal Auditorium will be unique in two respects. It will be her first appearance in Atlanta without her most devoted fan of all—her father, John Wesley Dobbs. He died last summer, having seen his Mattiwilda become internationally famous.

This will also be the first time Miss Dobbs has made a public appearance in Atlanta not singing in either a church or a school auditorium. Changing attitudes concerning segregated audiences explains the innovation.

* * *

LIKE ALL the Dobbs sisters, Mattiwilda is a graduate of Spelman College. "Our father was one of the most generous of men," says the third of the sisters, Mrs. R. H. (Millicent Dobbs) Jordan, who is in the English department at Spelman. "But in two respects he was inflexible. He required us all to graduate from Spelman before continuing our education wherever we chose. And he demanded that we all take piano lessons between the ages of seven and 17."

Mrs. Jordan is one of the four Dobbs sisters who later took master degrees at Columbia University. The eldest of the sextet is also the family Ph.D. She is Mrs. M. H. (Irene) Jackson, head of the French department at North Carolina State College in Durham. She received her degree at Toulouse University, in France.

Sister No. 2 is Mrs. B. J. (Willie Juliet) Blackburn, chairman of language arts, Jackson College, Jackson, Miss. After Mrs. Jordan comes Mrs. W. A. (Josephine) Clement, whose husband has just been named vice president of the North Carolina Life Insurance Co., in Durham. Miss Dobbs is the fifth, in private life Mrs. Bengt Janzon, and the youngest is Mrs. Hugh (June) Butts, who lives in the Bronx, N.Y., and is in the doctorate program at Columbia.

* * *

MATTIWILDA majored in music and minored in Spanish at Spelman. It was during her senior year that her extraordinary voice began to assert itself. She received special training in Atlanta from a choir singer, Miss Margaret Fisher, once of St. Luke Methodist Church, who urged serious study.

Miss Dobbs went to New York to study with Mme. Lotte Leonard. She also studied at the Mannes Opera School and one summer at Tanglewood, Mass. Meanwhile, she was studying languages at Columbia. She won the John Hay Whitney award to study for a year in France with Pierre Bernac. She also studied in Spain, because of special fondness for the Spanish language and the Spanish people.

Miss Dobbs won her first outstanding recognition as winner of the Geneva International Vocal Competition in 1951, which led to her contract at La Scala, in Milan. She was engaged for the

Associated Press

CLEMENTE, MAYS & AARON
Speed, power and color.

ing," says he, "we are getting the hitting. It's the best balanced team I've ever handled." Even so, nobody in the power-packed National League is ready to concede. "It's too early to hand 'em the flag," says Pittsburgh's Murtaugh. Predicts Pirate Trainer Danny Whelan: "The Reds will fold next month. Then either the Dodgers or the Pirates will move in for the kill." Maybe. But Cincinnatians reply with a lusty rendition of the closing refrain:

You can tell your old Aunt Hattie,
This year it's Cincinnati.

The Brown Bombers

Since the Brooklyn Dodgers brought Jackie Robinson up from their Montreal farm club in 1947 to break major league baseball's color bar, the National League has had a virtual corner on talented Negro players. Seven of its top ten batters, its top four home-run hitters, its top four in runs-batted-in are colored; the American League has but one Negro among its top ten batters, New York's Elston Howard, none among the leaders in the other two categories. Though Negroes make up roughly 17% of the 200 players on National League rosters, this year's All-Star squad is 36% Negro. Last week, in the 30th All-Star game, their speed and power gave the underdog National League a 5-4 victory over the American League. Negroes rapped out nine of the National League's eleven hits, batted in five runs, scored all five as well.

The first National League run came on a triple by Pittsburgh's Roberto Clemente and a sacrifice fly by Bill White of St. Louis, the second on Clemente's sacrifice fly (scoring San Francisco's Willie Mays), the third on a pinch home run by Chicago's George Altman. The American League tied the game in the ninth when howling winds turned the contest in San Francisco's Candlestick Park into a Little League affair—there were a record seven errors, a passed ball and a balk—and went ahead 4-3 in the tenth on an unearned run. But when Baltimore's Hoyt Wilhelm went to the mound, four Negro batsmen pushed across two runs to win the game before anybody was out. Milwaukee's Hank Aaron lashed a pinch single to center. Mays doubled him home. After Wilhelm hit Cincinnati's Frank Robinson with a pitch, Clemente lined a sharp single to right, and Willie Mays jogged across the plate. It was the third straight All-Star victory for the National League—and a good reason for the American League to recruit more Negro talent.

Young Cincinnatian Has Big GOP Campaign Role

BY DICK KIRKPATRICK

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4—A 34-year-old young Republican from Cincinnati has been assigned a major campaign role that could make Ohio the most politically dominant state in the U. S. House of Representatives during the next session of Congress.

He is Sherman E. Unger, 3418 Ault View Ave., Hyde Park, an attorney on leave from Frost & Jacobs, legal firm, who quietly joined the GOP congressional campaign staff here as special assistant to the chairman in mid-July.

If the Republicans can gain control of the House in the November election, Ohio Republican veterans in the House will take over the chairmanship of five committees—three of them the powerful committees on Rules, Judiciary and Foreign Affairs.

To demonstrate the potent position of the Ohio Republicans in House leadership, only Pennsylvania (which would gain three chairmanships) would have more than two of the committee posts.

Although still a young Republican, being under 35 years of age, Mr. Unger is no novice to politics. In the 1960 presidential campaign he traveled 42,000 miles as an advance man for the Richard M. Nixon campaign, and in 1961 accompanied Mr. Nixon on his speaking tour analyzing the first 100 days of the Kennedy administration.

IN HIS political post here, Mr. Unger will organize and direct a field force of 10 to 12 men in the key congressional districts.

Republican national leaders have been increasingly more optimistic about winning control of the next House of Representatives. To do so, Republicans must pick up 44 seats.

President Kennedy in a recent press conference expressed hopes that the Democrats can reverse the general trend in off-year elections by gaining five to 10 Democratic seats.

So it is likely that every marginal congressional district throughout the nation will be a battleground in November. In Ohio, Republicans hope to pick up at least three seats, Mr. Unger indicated.

Although political leaders are hesitant to cite districts in which their strongest campaign efforts will be made, it stands to reason that Ohio Republicans pin their greatest hopes for gains in the at-large race of State Rep. Robert Taft Jr., Cincinnati, and in the Democratic-held 10th and 11th districts.

The 10th District, in southeastern Ohio, is held by Walter Moeller (D., Lancaster), and the 11th District, in northeastern Ohio, by Robert Cook (D., Ravenna), who is opposed by former GOP Rep. Oliver Bolton.

Had Rep. Gordon Scherer (R., Cincinnati) sought reelection, Ohio Republicans would have taken over six committee chairmenships. Mr. Scherer, who is retiring, is the ranking Republican on the House Un-American Activities Committee.

THE OHIO Republicans who would move into the committee chairmanships, in the event of a GOP November victory, are:

Clarence Brown, Blanchester, Rules Committee.

William McCulloch, Piqua, Judiciary Committee.

Mrs. Frances Bolton, Cleveland, House Foreign Affairs.

Paul Schenck, Dayton, House Administration Committee.

William Ayres, Akron House Veterans Affairs.

Sherman E. Unger

Mr. Unger, a graduate of Miami University in 1950 and the University of Cincinnati Law School in 1953, joined Frost & Jacobs in 1956. He was president of the Hamilton County Young Republican Club in 1959 and runner-up as the outstanding Young Republican of Ohio in 1959.

He was 1960 campaign chairman of the Ohio League of Young Republican Clubs and assistant chief page of the Republican National Convention in 1960.

Mrs. Unger and their two children, Cathleen, seven, and Peter, 4½, will join him in Washington in a few days until school. Mr. Unger will return to his Cincinnati law practice after the November election.

Davis of Syracuse Is Winner Of Heisman Memorial Trophy

Ferguson of Ohio State Is Second, Saxton of Texas Next in Football Poll

By WILLIAM J. BRIORDY

Ernie Davis, Syracuse University's star half back, yesterday was named the winner of the Heisman Memorial Trophy as the outstanding collegiate football player in the country. The award is sponsored by the Downtown Athletic Club.

In gaining the 1961 Heisman Trophy, Davis became the first Negro athlete to be honored since the award was established in 1935. The Syracuse star will receive the trophy a week from tonight at a dinner at the Downtown A.C., 19 West Street.

Davis received 179 first-place votes, 103 second-place votes and 81 third-place votes for a total of 824 points. The votes were tabulated from 840 registered selectors, including sports writers, sportscasters and telecasters from all sections of the country.

The 6-foot 2-inch 212-pound senior from Elmira, N. Y., was the leading ground-gainer for Syracuse for the past three seasons.

Ferguson Gets 771

Second in the balloting was another Negro star and also a halfback, Bob Ferguson of Ohio State. Ferguson polled 771 points. In third place was Jimmy Saxton, Texas University halfback, with 551 points.

During the 1961 season, Davis gained 823 yards on 150 carries for a 5.5-per-try average. He made fifteen touchdowns and scored 94 points. He also paced the Orange in pass-receiving with sixteen catches for 157 yards.

Davis broke career records set by Jim Brown at Syracuse in rushing, with 2,386 yards; yards gained in all departments, 3,414; scoring, 220 points, and touchdowns, 35.

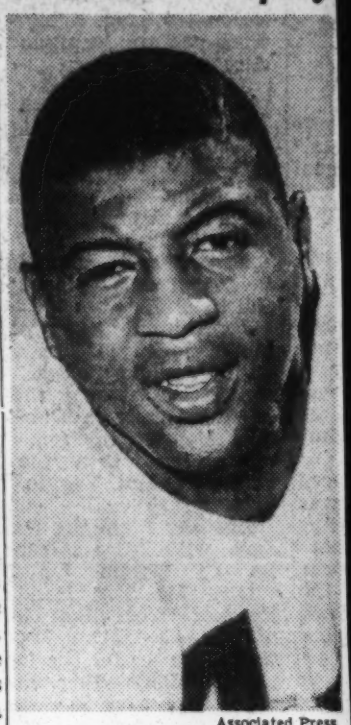
Deming to Present Award

The Syracuse star is the son of Mrs. Arthur Radford. His mother and officials and coaches from Syracuse will be present when Davis receives the award from Clifford E. Deming, the president of the Downtown A. C.

The winner of the Heisman award last year was Joe Bellino of the United States Naval Academy. Jay Berwanger of Chicago was the first winner, in 1935. Notre Dame has produced the most winners, five.

Following Saxton in the voting were: Sandy Stephens, Minnesota, 543 points; Pat Trammel, Alabama, 362; Joe Romig, Colorado, 279; John Hadl, Kansas, 172; Gary Collins, Maryland, 167; Ron Gabriel, North Carolina State, 155; Merlin Olsen, Utah State, 93; Alex Kroll, Rutgers, 70; Greg Mather, Navy, 67; Dave Hoppman, Iowa State, 61, and Lance Alworth, Arkansas, 50.

A breakdown on the sectional voting showed Davis first in the East, third in the South, fourth in the Southwest, third in the Midwest and third in the Far West. Ferguson was first in the Midwest, second in the East, Southwest and Far West, and fifth in the South.



Associated Press

Ernie Davis

Former Heisman Winners

1935—Jay Berwanger, Chicago.
1936—Larry Kelley, Yale.
1937—Clinton Frank, Yale.
1938—Davey O'Brien, Texas Christian.
1939—Nile Kiniick, Iowa.
1940—Tom Harmon, Michigan.
1941—Bruce Smith, Minnesota.
1942—Frank Sinkwich, Georgia.
1943—Angelo Bertelli, Notre Dame.
1944—Leslie Horvath, Ohio State.
1945—Felix Blanchard, West Point.
1946—Glenn Davis, West Point.
1947—John Lujack, Notre Dame.
1948—Doak Walker, S. M. U.
1949—Leon Hart, Notre Dame.
1950—Vic Janowicz, Ohio State.
1951—Dick Kazmaier, Princeton.
1952—Billy Vessels, Oklahoma.
1953—John Lattner, Notre Dame.
1954—Alan Ameche, Wisconsin.
1955—Howard Cassady, Ohio State.
1956—Paul Hornung, Notre Dame.
1957—John Crow, Texas A. & M.
1958—Pete Dawkins, West Point.
1959—Billy Cannon, Louisiana State.
1960—Joe Bellino, Navy.

TAFT

Robert A. Taft Jr. is a little chunkier, a little warmer and perhaps even slightly more conservative than his father, the late Robert A. Taft, a long-time Senator from Ohio and "Mr. Republican."

But "Young Taft" at 45 has now embarked on the same national road with his election as Representative-at-Large from Ohio. Republican, of course.

It is his fate to be held in by the family tradition and be measured by his father's achievements. Great-grandfather Alphonse was Attorney General in Grant's cabinet; grandfather William Howard was both President and Chief Justice of the United States; father was the man whose Taft-Hartley labor act is still news.

The Same House

Bob Taft seems to like it. His bright red compact car carries his father's 240 license plate number. With his wife and four children he lives in the 10-room house he inherited from his parents. He has taken his father's place in the family law firm—and his father's office in the Dixie Terminal Building.

For eight years he has been a member of the State Legislature but it was not until this election that he felt ready to take on a national office. Perhaps a leisured pace, including considerable golf and some fishing, explains why he looks 10 years younger than he is.

Yale and Harvard

Now he will be in the grooming for darkhorse status as a possible Vice-Presidential candidate; possible Presidential timber beyond 1964.

To the task he brings a legal mind trained at Yale and Harvard Law School and a set of convictions that back low-cost housing; his father's labor legislation and a strong amount of government economy. His most significant deviation from his father's pattern—aside from the fact that the older Taft did not pass on his middle initial—may be a distaste for Federal aid to education, which his father supported.

He is looking forward to the 1964 elections when his father's old seat will be in the balance. With a solid win now, he is in a good position to bid then.

The Jumpingest Man on Earth

Condensed from The Rotarian

ALEX HALEY

The story of a teen-age champion —quiet, modest John Thomas— who made one of the most dramatic comebacks in the history of sports

AT BOSTON University in March 1959, an 18-year-old freshman stepped into an elevator, dropped onto a stool and pushed the handle to go up. He was John Thomas, a lanky Negro youth of 6 feet 5 inches who only a month earlier had set new records with an "impossible" 7-foot-1¼-inch high jump. Track fans considered him America's top bet to win a gold medal in the 1960 Olympics. Now he sat relaxed with his long legs spraddled out. He did not notice that his left foot was sticking out through the metal-grille door of the old-fashioned elevator cage—until suddenly the desert boot he wore was caught between the rising elevator and the next floor. In a split second his foot was mashed.

Torn with anguish and pain, Thomas was rushed to the Massa-

chusetts Memorial Hospitals. Surgeons hastily examined the foot. X rays showed no fractures, but tissue had been lacerated so the tendons of all the toes, and some of the nerves, were exposed. Abrasions made it questionable that the skin would survive. As the surgeons prepared to operate, press wires flashed the news across the United States. To sportswriters and fans everywhere it looked like the end of a fantastic career which had just begun.

No patient in the hospital was calmer than John Thomas. Almost as soon as he was removed from the operating room his pleasant, triangular face mustered a smile for the nurses. But the cast on his lower left leg made him realize that his athletic future was in doubt. His mother was his first visitor. She saw in his eyes the same quiet determination to win which she had seen so often before. She knew her boy. "You're going to jump again, John," she told him. "Everything's going to work out all right."

To avoid deterioration of his muscles, Thomas, while still in bed, began exercising doggedly on an apparatus of pulleys and weights. Therapists kneaded and massaged the leg above the plaster cast. But then it became apparent that the skin would not survive. The healing process would cause contraction and stiffening of the toes. To prevent this there would have to be a skin graft. On April 27 Dr. Chester W. Howe performed the operation. Skin 1/10,000 of an inch thick was cut from Thomas's left thigh and sutured with fine silk over the butterfly-shaped wound on his foot.

Finally, in mid-May, Thomas was discharged. His left calf had not shrunk as much as expected, but it was still three quarters of an inch thinner than the right.

As in previous years, he spent the summer at a Boy Scout camp. Boston University athletic officials and doctors agreed it would be all right if he would "take it very easy on that foot." He complied by taking only short walks at first—but the rest of the time he was lifting weights, doing stretching exercises, massaging his calf, swimming. Always he exercised until his body cried for rest, and then he did a little more. Slowly he lengthened the hikes until he was walking long distances without having to stop to ease the injured foot. And in late summer, when he returned to Boston, he displayed the old, elastic stride.

Though football was not his sport, he asked to accompany the university football team to its training camp. There he was soon catching passes with an expertness that made the regular ends unashamedly envious. No one would have pushed him as hard in training as he now drove himself. Said a coach, "To see a champion fighting through—it is a beautiful thing to watch."

Then last January came the sensational announcement: in the Boston Knights of Columbus Meet, first track meet of the 1960 indoor col-

legiate season, Boston University would enter John Thomas in the high jump.

Applause filled the packed house as Thomas, looking straight ahead, walked toward what B.U. students have called his "launching pad." It was ten months since he had last jumped publicly. Standing alone in white shirt and crimson shorts, he watched an official turn a marker to indicate that the bar was set at a warm-up height of 6 feet 2½ inches. The noise had become a pin-drop hush. Suddenly John Thomas moved . . . seven lengthening, jungle-cat strides. Then the spikes on the crucial left foot dug in while the right leg lashed up in a mighty high-kick, and he was over the bar with space to spare.

John Thomas made four more jumps, with the bar raised two inches each time. Finally the bar rested at 7 feet ½ inch. He cleared it—and the arena exploded into a standing, roaring ovation for a champion's dramatic comeback.

And John had accomplished it calmly and without bravura. "Nothing fazes him," says Vic Stout, B.U. athletic director. "There have been few youngsters in the history of sports who have had so much publicity heaped on their heads. But John has stood up under it beautifully."

John grew up across the river from Boston, in Cambridge, where his father drives a bus. He was a quiet youngster whose life revolved around sports, Boy Scouting and the youth activities of the Ebenezer Baptist Church. In his senior year at Rindge Technical High School, coached by Tom Duffy, he dominated New England track competition, establishing high-jump records in eight major "schoolboy" meets and also winning the state high-hurdle event. When he graduated in 1958, John was invited to join a group of American trackmen about to compete in Japan.

There, before huge crowds, he jumped in seven meets, and became the Japanese national champion with a prodigious leap of 6 feet 10⅝ inches. He was staggered when teammates pointed out that he had only another five eighths of an inch to go to tie the Olympic record. "It made me realize that I maybe could really do that," John says.

College recruiters from around the country had approached John while he was still in high school. But Boston University was close to home, and John, who wants to be a teacher-coach, could pursue a degree in education there. He chose B.U.

To make his style as nearly faultless as possible, John spends hours in unrelenting practice. The "straddle roll" he uses is described as "stride, gather, kick, bounce, relax and roll." John approaches the bar from the left, his seven loping strides getting longer as he goes, until the last one spans eight and a half feet. Then the left foot brakes him and he springs off that heel, a split second ahead of the powerful right-leg high-

kick. Slow-motion films show his body rolling over the bar almost languidly, the left leg following. Then he lands on his buttocks in a pit filled three feet deep with foam-rubber chunks.

Thomas never knows how high he jumps in practice, for then he is thinking only of form and style. His coaches, Doug Raymond and Ed Flanagan, set the bar and he never asks at what level. Last March 11, in an airliner bound for the Chicago Relays, Raymond told him, "John, you did seven-two last Tuesday." "I *did?*" exclaimed Thomas.

That night, thousands saw Thomas go 7 feet 2½ inches, smashing for the fourth time the record he set in 1959. This remains the highest Thomas has ever jumped in public. When his coaches are asked if he has gone higher in practice, they just smile.

Track fans confidently expect that, at the 1960 World Olympics in Rome this August and September, he will lift the crown from the present titleholder, Charles Dumas of the University of Southern California. The closest other competitor will probably be Russia's outdoor champion, Yuri Stepanov, whose highest leap so far has been 7 feet 1 inch. At Boston University, Olympic confidence is at such a peak that the Varsity Club has already presented a round-trip ticket to Rome to Coach Raymond.

His coaches have an affection for John Thomas that is deep and obvious. "A kid so nice you'd be proud if he was your own," says Raymond. "He has manners and dignity—you can see the mark of the boy who grew up in the Boy Scouts and the church."

Shy to the point of wariness of anyone desiring to make a hero of him, John seems to regard manifestations of his fame with a startled, objective awe. But he sincerely enjoys his steady stream of fan mail from around the world, acknowledging every letter and saving the foreign stamps. Often he is asked in his fan mail about problems he has encountered because of his race. This question embarrasses him. He answers frankly that he has had no such problems.

John's father, making his bus circuit, is constantly responding to queries about his boy or acknowledging congratulations. "I try not to be *too* proud," he says.

Artfelt Comment

A LITTLE boy stopped in front of an abstract painting in an exhibition of local talent in Arizona. "What's *that?*" he asked his mother.

"It's supposed to be a cowhand and his horse," she explained.

"Well," asked the boy, "why ain't it?"

—Bennett Cerf in *This Week Magazine*

From Way Down South

King Kong, whose real name was Ezekiel Dhlamini, was the strutting, swaggering ex-heavyweight champion of black South Africa. A man of action and violence, he drowned himself in 1957 rather than go to jail for killing his girl friend. King Kong, with the environment which produced him—the sprawling, brawling shanty towns, or townships, surrounding Johannesburg—is also the subject of a so-called "jazz opera" which opened in London last week. While some of the critics had reservations about the show's "naïveté" and "stage clumsiness," most capitulated in the end to its "rhythm and vitality" and "bursting, smoking, glowing life."

The smartly dressed first nighters who jammed London's huge Princes Theater loved it. They shouted and clapped through fifteen curtain calls as the entire cast lustily repeated the catchy title song "King Kong," the spine-tingling African road workers' blues "Tshotsholosa," the torchy "Back of the Moon" melody, and a delightful penny-whistle number called "Be Smart—Be Wise." Only a gently played "God Save the Queen" sent them home.

That "King Kong" ever came into being at all is a miracle of sorts in an era when apartheid dominates South Africa. Its diminutive composer, Todd Tozama Matshikiza, used to be a razor-blade salesman and his great-grandfather was a Fingo tribal witch doctor. The show's director and librettist, on the other hand, are white: Leon Gluckman, the director, is an intense former Old Vic actor; Harry Bloom, who wrote the book, is a peppery lawyer and author. Because of South Africa's strict segregation laws, the cast is all Negro. Most of its 40 members were domestic servants, laborers, clerks, teachers, messengers, and shopgirls. Nathan Dambuza Mdledle, who plays the title role, is one of the show's few professionals. A sinewy 37-year-old Xosa tribesman, he began singing at 7, formed a quartet at 12, and has been in show business ever since. Hip-swinging Peggy Eunice Nomgqibelo Phango, who plays Joyce, the leading female role, is also a Xosa, but with little previous theatrical experience, having been a factory hand, a domestic servant, and a nurse.

Since its première three years ago in Johannesburg, more than 120,000 people —80,000 of them whites—have jammed segregated auditoriums, movie houses, and concert halls to see it. Members of the cast, even with special permits, were frequently arrested for pass offenses and had to be bailed out of jail the next day. Probably "King Kong" prevailed because, as one London critic put it, the show is "almost aggressively nonpolitical," and is concerned more with the zesty, colorful, and uninhibited violence of life in the townships.

The jazz which sprung up in these settlements and which is played in "King Kong" was derived from American swing music of the '30s, composer Matshikiza explained last week. "We never did latch on to Dixieland," he said. "It didn't have the reverberating drum tempo we were accustomed to."

The ambition of almost everyone in "King Kong" is to emulate the success their first leading lady, Miriam Makeba, has had in the United States (NEWSWEEK, Jan. 25). As Mdledle put it: "Man, this is my break. If I make good, I'll have a go at the States, the home of show biz . . . If the London cats like it, we're in." If the reaction of England's top jazz bandsman, Johnny Dankworth, was any criterion, Mdledle had it made. "I couldn't keep my feet from tapping," said Dankworth. "I dug it most."

Central Press

'King Kong' in Britain: 'If the London cats like it, we're in'

Associated Press Photo

ROGER MARIS (L), WILMA RUDOLPH HONORED
Show Trophies Naming Them Top Athletes

Yank Star, Wilma Get AP Awards

Roger Believed To Be Seeking $75,000 This Year

MILWAUKEE (AP)—Home run king Roger Maris arrived at his last stop Thursday before heading into New York to renew contract negotiations with the Yankees.

Maris, reportedly aiming for a 1962 salary of $75,000, came to Milwaukee to receive a trophy as The Associated Press male athlete of the year for 1961. He and track star Wilma Rudolph Ward, the AP woman athlete of the year, were honored at noon at a private luncheon.

Thursday night they were to receive the Frederick C. Miller Memorial Trophies, named for the Milwaukee brewer-sportsman, at an awards dinner of the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

The 27-year-old Yankee slugger told newsmen, prior to the luncheon, that he had no meeting scheduled but was going to New York Friday and hoped toarrange a conference with the ball club management. At a preliminary meeting last month, Maris said he anticipated no difficulties.

A reporter asked Maris if the expansion of the American League to 10 clubs last season helped him smash Babe Ruth's record with 61 homers. The Bambino had 60 in eight fewer games.

"No," said Maris, "it just takes a lot of luck. I was the luckiest guy in the world."

The National League expands in 1962 but it will not help senior circuit hitters materially, Maris said, adding "they'll just have to be lucky, too."

Maris and Mrs. Ward—a winner of the AP poll for the second straight year—easily outdistanced all competition in the 1961 balloting. Maris is the first baseball player to win the trophy since Ted Williams in 1957.

Wilma, the hurrying Tennessee State star, swept the 1960 poll after a triple triumph in the Olympic Games. Record-shattering performances—11.2 seconds in the 100-meters at Stuttgart, and 6.8 in the indoor 6-yard dash—helped her to repeat this year. She also won the James E. Sullivan Award for 1961, presented annually by the Amateur Athletic Union to the amateur athlete who did the most to advance good sportsmanship.

The willowy, attractive runner, told an interviewer upon her arrival here that she is determined to repeat her Olympic triumphs in 1964. She was married in October but said she doesn't believe that having a family need be a handicap.

"Most of the Russian women runners in the last Olympics had two or three children," she said, "and that didn't bother them."

Celestine Sibley

Whether It's Culture or It Ain't, Politicos Should Like Symphony

Today the Georgia legislature will be honored by the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra with a special concert down at the Trinity Methodist Church. Some people have noted this event with peculiar delight, pegging it as the coming together of two entirely foreign elements—politicians and culture. We-ell, I don't know. I wouldn't want to go all out to classify the orchestra as culture, for one thing. It seems a formidable appellation for a jolly group of people set on giving pleasure. After I heard these musicians play at the Atlanta y little budding sense of awe I

year. The reason is obvious. Politicians, like other people, are getting more education, traveling more, reading more, taking more time for leisurely cultivation of pleasant tastes. The old pro who used to stay in a smoke-filled room drinking bad whisky and plotting worse strategy is giving way to the tweedy ex-fraternity man who practices a little law, raises a few purebred cattle, has a Cordon Bleu hand at cookouts on his patio, spends water-skiing weekends with his wife and children on some neighboring lake and takes a rapid reading course to help him through all the books he's curious about.

I think the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra will have a pretty knowledgeable audience for its concert today.

eak Enough for His Help

rdened with many problems. One ead: "The Age of Problems." We y other generation. Our problems find a way to settle them on the bility sends us back to the school not come easy, but they are pos-

the already overwhelming unrest in our world. Then, you can pray for the people of the world."

We find it sometimes hard to recognize that our enemies are God's children, too. I know they don't always act like it, but we

VOCAL TONE SUPERB

Mattiwilda Dobbs Triumphant Here

By CHAPPELL WHITE
Atlanta Journal Music Critic

Mattiwilda Dobbs, Atlanta's most distinguished concert opera star, returned from triumphs in Europe and at the Metropolitan for her first solo appearance at the Municipal Auditorium Wednesday night.

Mayor Ivan Allen was on hand to make the welcome official, and the audience was warmly enthusiastic, glad at long last for the chance to recognize an outstanding artist.

It was an occasion to remember. And, one from which we may look with confidence to the future.

* * *

IT WAS ALSO the occasion of a distinguished recital. Miss Dobbs' vice is coloratura, light and clear in quality, and she makes no effort to give a false richness and depth. Within the limitations of the type, however, the tone is superb. Her technique is virtually flawless. She produces a variety of subtle tone colors, and the precision of pitch and attack result in a rare and beautiful clarity.

All too frequently coloraturists are limited in repertoire, and succeed primarily as vocal acrobats. Not Miss Dobbs. She included Bach's arias, Brahms lider, French art songs, Negro spirituals, and Villa-Lobos' unusual Bachianas Brasileiras Number 5 — in addition to the conventional colortura brilliance of Rossini and Offenbach.

In all, her sense of style was secure.

* * *

THE BRAHM'S GROUP had two lovely little-known songs, and Chausson suffered as usual from the unsatisfactory conditions of the Municipal Auditorium, but otherwise Miss Dobbs overcome all difficulties. She reached her height after intermission with a scintillating and altogether charming rendition of the Doll Song from Tales of Hoffmann and a warm, vibrant performance of Villa-Lobos.

The spirituals were unusual and were sung with simplicity and straightforward emotion.

Miss Dobbs is a great artist who can sing anywhere in the world. We hope that henceforth Atlanta will be a frequent stop on her schedule.

A 4th American Negro Elevated To Bishop by the Episcopalians

By Jo-ann Price
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

COLUMBIA, S. C.

The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church yesterday elected a fourth American Negro priest to serve as a Bishop of the church at the present time. He is the Rev. Cedric Earl Mills, 58, rector of St. James' Episcopal Church, of Baltimore.

Bishop-elect Mills will be the first bishop of the newly expanded Missionary District of the Virgin Islands. He was chosen in an election at which the Bishops also named a Filipino, the Rev. Edward Guadan Longid, 54, as a second Suffragan Bishop of the Philippines Missionary District.

Both choices were seen as reflecting overseas growth and the wish of the church's leadership to build up a resident indigenous clergy to give voice to Christian ideals amid rising nationalisms.

Altogether it is believed that seven Negroes have been elected to the church's episcopate. The first was Bishop James T. Holly, who became the first Missionary Bishop of Haiti in 1874.

On Sept. 22, the Diocese of Massachusetts selected the Rev. John M. Burgess, Archdeacon of Boston, to serve as a suffragan, or assisting bishop. He is the first Negro Bishop elected with authority over white congregations. The church also has two American Negro bishops serving in Monrovia, Liberia. They are attending the session which ends at Trinity Church here today.

The elections are subject to consent of the majority of the standing (executive) committees of all the dioceses of the 3.5-million-member Episcopal Church.

The choice of Bishop-elect Mills, who for three years, starting in 1937, was in charge of St. Mark's Church, of Plainfield, N.J., was hailed by Missionary Bishop Albert E. Swift, of Puerto Rico.

Noting that the Virgin Islands are predominantly Negro and English-speaking, he said "some tensions" have arisen with the white minority and "the church can only speak adequately through a resident bishop." Bishop Swift has been in charge of the Virgin Islands District, but he said; "we have felt that the Virgin Islands should not be taken care of by a stepfather."

ROBERT HAYES
A Record Ahead

HAYES TIES BUDD'S 9.2 FOR 100

MIAMI, Fla., Feb. 17 (AP). Robert Hayes, who said he felt out of shape, ran the 100-yard dash in 9.2 seconds Saturday, tying the world record set last June.

"I wasn't in shape today," the 18-year-old Florida A&M (Negro) University sophomore said. "I sure didn't feel sharp. I was for sure surprised when they said I hit the tape at 9.2."

* * *

HAYES tied the record set by Frank Budd of Villanova at the National Amateur Athletic Union Track Meet in New York June 24, 1961.

"There's no doubt of Hayes' record's validity," said Vince Lally, head of the Florida Athletic Club, sponsor of the invitational track and field meet at the University of Miami.

"This is an AAU-sanctioned meet. The track meets all specifications and the gauge recorded a 4½-mile-per-hour wind against Hayes."

In an interview later, Hayes told newsmen:

"Running fast just comes natural to me. I used to outrun all the kids in the block when I was little.

"I think I will get 9 seconds flat within two years; but I got to get in shape first. I wasn't in shape today."

Hayes credited teammate Robert Paramore, 22, with his victory. "This ole boy here," he said, putting his arm around Paramore's shoulders, "pushed me to it. He was sure biting at my heels like a fast ole hound dog."

MUSIC

An American Abroad

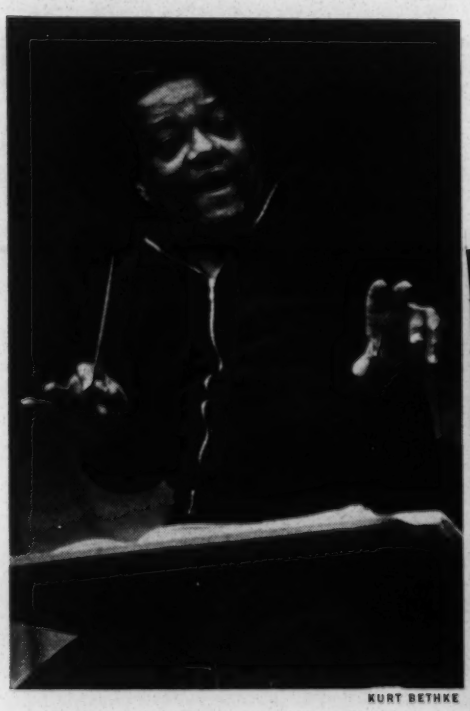
"I am not interested in a steady post in America any more," says American Conductor Dean Dixon. He has his reasons. As a Negro, he is convinced that his chances of finding a permanent post in the U.S. are no better now than they were when he decamped for Europe 13 years ago; as a musician, he is so much in demand abroad that he has not been able to take a vacation for eleven years. And his popularity shows no sign of diminishing.

Last week in Frankfurt, after Dixon conducted the Hessian Radio Orchestra in a program of Schoenberg, Debussy and Mozart, the ovation he got only echoed what critics have been saying in print—that in his first season at the head of the orchestra, Dixon has made the musicians play "as if transformed."

For all his flair, Dixon is no fancy Dan. His gestures are so economical that the audience often fails to see them; when the orchestra is surging forward on its own momentum, Dixon may suspend conducting entirely for bars on end. Such restrained emotion is reflected in Dixon's music-making. It is neither hot-bloodedly Tuscan, in the manner of Toscanini, nor chiseled and cold, as many Europeans believe all music made by Americans must be. Instead, it is full-bodied and vigorous, while it remains consistently controlled. In Frankfurt, Dixon's style has earned him a reputation for playing Beethoven, Mozart and Brahms in the Germanic fashion—which is the highest accolade the city can bestow.

Dixon, 47, spends about a third of the year in Frankfurt, the remainder of his time racing by plane or in his own Volkswagen to performances with virtually every major orchestra in Europe. He is an extraordinarily accomplished guest conductor, a talent he had already well developed before he left home in the 1940s, with degrees from Juilliard and Columbia in his pocket. By then he had already collected kind reviews while leading such major U.S. orchestras as the New York Philharmonic and the NBC Symphony. Trouble was, he got no offers of a fulltime conducting post, and in 1949 he moved to Paris, later to Sweden, where he took over the Göteborg Orchestra.

Convinced as ever that his self-imposed exile is necessary ("I know of no Negro member of any leading American orchestra"),* Dixon stubbornly harbors an American dream. "I would like to go back," says he, "leading my own symphony." But despite his dreams, home remains a hilltop house outside Frankfurt, where he lives with his second wife—Finnish Baroness and Playwright Mary Mandelin. And Frankfurt, it seems, is where Dixon is likely to stay. "These people," he says, "are really in the music business."



KURT BETHKE

CONDUCTOR DIXON IN FRANKFURT
Opportunities unavailable at home.

A 'VOICE' FOUND HERE

By DORIS LOCKERMAN

A thin young Atlanta Negro girl who brought the detached musicians of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra to their feet yelling "Bravo" during a student concert last season, will become the pupil of Boris Goldovsky, foremost vocal coach in the nation who found her exceptional voice possesses "astonishing opulence for one so young."

Doris Lockerman's column appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Constitution.

"Charlotte Anne Gibson is only the second superlative fresh talent I have seen in Atlanta in my 17 years here," said Henry Sopkin, conductor of the symphony. "The other one is Beverly Wolff. Charlotte has a lyric soprano range of 2½ octaves. She sings a high B with no effort and has fantastic diction."

Through the intercession of Maestro Sopkin and an anonymous benefactor, the young Howard High School graduate will be given a full academic, as well as musical, education with only two restrictions:

"SHE MUST do her best," Sopkin says, "keeping up her grades. She must not sing in public anywhere but in church until she returns to Atlanta to make her world-wide debut here in our new music hall. We will have it before then, you know."

That Charlotte Gibson's debut will be forthcoming, neither the girl nor her teachers and sponsors doubt. She has been singing since she was 2, has served as pianist for the Liberty Baptist Church for years and has long been compared favorably with the great Mattawilda Dobbs.

"She already has a better voice than Mattawilda," one ardent critic has observed, "Hers is really a once-in-a-lifetime talent."

Charlotte herself shrinks from such comparisons. She deeply respects Marion Anderson, Leontyne Price and Miss Dobbs, but she does not wish to imitate them. "I want to amount to something myself," she says modestly.

Charlotte is the only child of Mrs. Alma Carter Gibson, 491 Auburn Ave., NE, a widow who has been a longtime employee of Scripto, Inc. She has never studied what she calls "strenuous" voice, but her piano teacher, Mrs. Elsie Evans, has helped her with breathing and diction. Mrs. Evans is an English teacher at Turner High School. Another teacher, Mrs. M. F. Harper of Howard's staff has also helped her.

THE YOUNG singer's appearance with the Atlanta Symphony came through the effort of Mrs. Beatrice Gore, an area supervisor of music for the public schools. Charlotte had been selected from competitive singers in two auditions, and was then auditioned by Maestro Sopkin before she was invited to appear as soloist.

"My orchestra does not accompany these student soloists at youth concerts," he explained, "because of the heavy rehearsal expense. They bring their own accompanists. Usually, while they are performing, my musicians just relax. But when this slender little girl opened up with "Vissi D'Arte," her voice hit the back of the auditorium. You should have seen my players sit up. So little, and so much power. Like Beverly Wolff, she sings from the heart."

Charlotte is studying English and composition at Atlanta University's summer school to learn "some of the many things I don't know," preparatory to entering Chatham School in New York in September. There she will begin by studying harmonics and languages and do some vocalizing with Miss Sarah Lee, coach of Leontyne Price and Todd Duncan.

After a year she will enter the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston for a full four-year college course with intense vocal instruction from Maestro Goldovsky.

CHARLOTTE GIBSON
Shouts of Bravo

ELECTRIFYING
Mezzo Shirley Verrett

NEAR-PERFECT

Verrett A Mezzo of Rare Talent

By RICHARD WILLIAMS
Atlanta Constitution Music Critic

It must be hard for a performer to make a debut that has the critics on both sides of the Atlantic searching for new superlatives.

Harder still to follow that with a series of apperances both here and abroad of such stunning impact that audiences and reviewers alike are wont to try their meager vocabularies to describe them.

Hardest of all: to undertake a concert tour receiving notices such as many artists only dream of pasting in their scrapbooks.

CAN IT BE DONE?

How can a performer possibly keep it up? How can he keep such consistency in his work? How can he continue to add honors upon honors when most of the world's foremost critics

their meager vocabularies to describe them.

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CAN IT BE DONE?

How can a performer possibly keep it up? How can he keep such consistency in his work? How can he continue to add honors upon honors when most of the world's foremost critics and musicians are already at his feet? How can he keep living up to his reputation?

The answer is easy . . . if the artist happens to be Shirley Verrett.

Remember that name. If you haven't heard it before, you'll be hearing it from now on.

Leonard Bernstein, Josef Krips, Thomas Schippers, Leopold Stokowski . . . each has singled out Miss Verrett for starring roles with his individual orchestra. Igor Stravinsky asked her to perform in one of his own works under his baton.

THEY HEAR IT

The soundness and authority of their taste were reaffirmed with Miss Verrett's appearance Thursday night in Davage Auditorium at Clark College.

Miss Verrett displayed her dazzling mezzo soprano to an enthusiastic audience. Displayed? She shared it with each and every listener . . . for the personal quality of her rich voice is a tangible, electric thing, reaching out and enveloping, drawing the listener into the composer's very meaning and emotions. Every composer should be so lucky as to have hed sing his melodies. As it is we were treated only to Mahler's Song of the Wayfarer.

Perfection is such an absolute and final word, without qualification. Yet it is the only one that comes to mind when discussing Miss Verrett's control, diction, stage presence.

WHAT TO EXPECT

The glimpse we had of her acting ability—as she caught the passion, fire and tenderness of Mahler's work—gives promise to what we can expect when she steps onto the operatic stage.

Oh, yes. The Atlanta Symphony also performed Thursday night. Maestro Henry Sopkin led them through an appropriately brassy and thundering reading of Wagner's Prelude to Act II of Lohengrin; a satisfying interpretation of Beethoven's Symphony No. 2 and a toe-tapping, rollicking Rodeo Suite by Copland.

But the evening belonged unequivocally to Shirley Verrett. If you weren't there, she sings again Saturday night. As the saying goes, "A word to the wise . . ."

DECATHLON TAKEN BY RAFE JOHNSON

American First by 58 Points —Elliott Captures 1,500— Davis Wins 400-Meter

By ALLISON DANZIG

Special to The New York Times.

ROME, Sept. 6—Herb Elliott and Otis Davis today ran the two most fantastic races probably ever seen on the same day in the Olympic Games.

Elliott, Australia's 22-year-old wonder runner, sped 1,500 meters 3 minutes 35.6 seconds, the equivalent of a 3:52.6 mile, in winning the final.

With this almost incredible performance, in which he took lead 500 meters from the finish, utterly crushed all opposition and won by nearly 30 yards, Elliott broke his own world record of 3:36. It was made in 1958, his year of glory, when he also set the existing world record of 3:54.5 for the mile.

The tremendously thrilling run of the lithe, hawk-faced youth from Down Under followed half an hour after Davis had electrified 60,000 spectators in Stadio Olympico with another world record-breaking display of flawless running speed.

Gasps of astonishment went up when it was announced that the 28-year-old former University of Oregon student from Los Angeles had lowered the record by three-tenths of second in winning the 400-meter final in 0:44.9. The old record was 0:45.2, made by Lou Jones of Manhattan College in 1956.

Davis Jumps for Joy

Davis was so overcome with happiness that he jubilantly jumped up and down and waved his arms above his head to the acclaim of the cheering crowd.

The two unforgettable races with their fabulous clockings surpassed in interest even so big an event as the decathlon, traditionally a top attraction of the games.

Tonight, after more than twenty-six hours of exhausting competition, Rafer Johnson of Kingsburg, Calif., was crowned as the winner of the punishing two-day, ten-event test of versatility, speed, skill and strength.

In an excruciatingly close fight with C. K. Yang of Taiwan, the powerful world record-holder managed to finish on top by 58 points. Johnson's total was 8,392 points, an Olympic record but under the world mark of 8,683 points he set in winning the combined Amateur Athletic Union championship and United States Olympic trials in July.

Yang was second with 8,334 points and Vasily Kuznetsov of the Soviet Union, the former

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Yang was second with 8,334 points and Vasily Kuznetsov of the Soviet Union, the former world record-holder, third with 7,809.

In the A. A. U. championship, Johnson defeated Yang by 258 points. The Chinese youth was handicapped by an injury in the final event—the 1,500-meter run—then, and it was thought that he might well defeat Johnson this time.

Yang Better in 7 Events

He topped Johnson in seven of the ten events here, but he could not quite overcome Johnson's superiority in the shot-put, discus throw, and javelin throw.

Yang held his head in dejection when they finished the decathlon 1,500-meter run. He finished 4 yards ahead of Johnson in a race in which both were wabbling and barely able to keep their feet under them to the last killing stride. But Yang's margin was not enough to make up his point deficit.

Johnson failed to break his world record because his inability to equal his performances in the A. A. U. meet in seven of the ten events. It was all the more to his credit that despite this he still was able to overcome so formidable a challenger as Yang.

Johnson's courage pulled him through the final event when it seemed that he might well be beaten.

After so long and wearing an ordeal, running 1,500 yards was a heavy burden for one of his size and weight. He hung on grimly at Yang's heels, and the Chinese youth could not shake him off.

Johnson Hangs On

As they moved into the stretch, Yang, summoning his last bit of strength, drew away, but Johnson never let him get more than four or five yards ahead. Johnson's victory was assured as he kept within that distance to the tape.

The other gold medal in track and field was won by Jozef Schmidt of Poland in the hop, step and jump. He set an Olympic record and broke his listed world record by leaping 55 feet 1 ¾ inches.

Al Oerter of West Babylon, L. I., also set an Olympic mark by throwing the discus 191 feet 8¾ inches in qualifying for the final. Rink Babka of Manhattan Beach, Calif., and Dick Cochran of Brookfield, Mo., also qualified.

Ira Davis of Philadelphia was leading for the silver medal in the hop, step and jump but then lost second place to Vladimir Goriaev of the Soviet Union. On the last jump, Vitola Kreer of the Soviet Union barely beat Davis for the bronze medal.

In qualifying heats for the women's 800-meter run, the winners of three successive heats broke the Olympic record.

The United States won five gold medals during the day and clinched a sixth. The winners, in addition to Otis Davis and Johnson, were three free-style wrestlers from Oklahoma—Terry McCann, a bantamweight

Negro Heads USIA

(Continued from page one)

a magnificent job" and would be called upon for advice and help in the future.

"You leave with the thanks of a grateful President and a grateful nation," Mr. Johnson said, and then concluded his letter: "I close, Ed, with a paraphrase of the words you made forever famous on radio and television: 'Good by, and good luck.'"

Mr. Murrow flew to La Jolla, Calif., Tuesday night, a USIA spokesman said. The former director told associates he wants to spend some time in the sun.

Mr. Murrow called the USIA and dictated the following statement on his successor: "Carl Rowan knows the news business, he knows the USIA and he knows the world in which we live. I am sure he will do an excellent job."

Mr. Johnson, in turn, praised Mr. Rowan in a statement as "eminently qualified to supervise this vital program of telling America's story abroad."

He described him as "a perceptor of world affairs," an effective diplomat and tireless worker in trying to improve America's image abroad.

Mr. Rowan, asked to comment on his appointment and Mr. Johnson's words, said:

"I shall strive to merit his trust as I seek, with my colleagues, to have the world understand both what the United States is and what it strives to be."

Mr. Rowan is a native of Ravenscroft, Tenn. He grew up in McMinnville, Tenn., and attended Tennessee State University at Nashville a year before joining the Navy in World War II. At 19 he was one of the first 15 Negroes commissioned in the Navy.

After the war he took a bachelor's degree in mathematics at Oberlin (Ohio) College and a master's in journalism at the University of Minnesota in 1948. He gained prominence as a reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune, winning a number of national awards.

In February, 1961, he became an Assistant Secretary of State, going from that position to his post in Finland.

His new assignment requires Senate confirmation.

WELTNER

Continued from Page 1

the benefit of bail and of a speedy trial.

"By directing his officers to disregard federal writs, he has left one hapless defendant a pawn in a conflict of powers.

"I DO NOT argue the innocence of these defendants. I do not condone their actions, nor would I justify their motives. I do not approve their associations or their political persuasions.

"But, as American citizens, they are entitled to the full protection of the law. They are innocent until proven guilty. They are entitled to a speedy trial and to reasonable bail.

"Courts are of especial dignity and should never be criticized for light or transient causes. Yet, here, the machinery of the law, designed as the servant of justice, has been manipulated so as to become its oppressor. And none can speak without jeopardy of contempt.

"Such a train of events must not go unchallenged. My community must not, by an imposed silence, be charged with the conduct of a single judge. Nor must men of good will be without a spokesman when justice has been denied."

Negro Girl Wins Legion Orator Test

A 17-year-old high school girl, the first Negro ever to win the American Legion oratorical contest in Georgia, says she will "try her best" to win the national contest.

Linda Housch, a senior at Booker T. Washington High School and the daughter of a minister, won first place in the state contest Wednesday night in Savannah. Three other contestants were white and they spoke before an all-white panel of judges.

Miss Housch spoke on "The privileges and responsibilities of an American citizen." Her home is 1060 Ollie Circle, NW.

In her speech she said that "for every privilege an American holds, there is a reciprocal responsibility."

IT WAS THE first time in recent years that the state contest has been integrated. In past years, there were two contests, one for whites, one for Negroes. The state level was as far as the Negro contests went.

A major privilege and responsibility of every American is "to obtain the optimum education and to make the best possible use of our freedom," Miss Housch said in her talk.

She will represent the Georgia American Legion at the national regionals April 6 in Columbia, S.C., where she will compete against state winners from Florida, Alabama and South Carolina. The winner of the national regionals will go on the to the national sectionals, and then the national finals.

Miss Housch received $150 for winning the state contest.

Harold Martin

Maud's Poems Touch the Heart

The fame of Maud McGehee's poetry is spreading far, and her little book of verse has now gone into its third printing. Mrs. Frank Mack, of 2750 Northside Dr., who gave voice to Maud's simple, powerful, clear-as-spring-water verse, writes in to quote from a letter she received from Archibald Rutledge, who had seen Maud's little volume, called "To Get My Name in the Kingdom Book."

Mr. Rutledge, who is himself a poet of renown, wrote that Maud's "Kingdom Book" is full of poignant beauty and truth. Please tell the author that in her poems she has touched my heart many times —and as Samuel Johnson said: 'To touch one human heart is an event of immense spiritual significance.' "

Mr. Rutledge then sent on to Maud McGehee, the old Negro woman with the shining heart, a copy of one of his own poems from his new book "Deep River."

Black Sue Alston's taught
me well
How to save my soul
from hell
And I listen to her voice,
For it makes my heart
rejoice
Thus to find her seeing
through
Thunder clouds to sky
that's blue
Darkness to the light
that's true.

Maud will like that poem that Mr. Rutledge sent her. And many people will like Maud's newest poem, which Mrs. Mack sent to me. Its title is "Don't Leave Nobody Out":

I am not a talker,
None ever heard me shout,
But I keep busy in
my heart
I don't leave nobody out,
Nobody, Lord,
nobody out,
Don't leave
nobody out.

I pray for friends,
I pray for foes,
I pray for the whole
wide world.
I pray for everybody's
woes,

I don't leave nobody out,
Nobody, Lord,
nobody out,
I don't leave
nobody out.

Hoffman, and Madam Butterfly.

Leonard Warren's singing of Rigoletto dominated — indeed, overwhelmed — the familiar but ever-fresh Verdi opera.

That is as it should be, to be sure, since the tragic jester is hardly ever off the stage, and the whole tragedy is supremely his. But Mr. Warren's pre-eminence was perhaps a shade more noticeable than on other occasions because of a certain unevenness in a couple of the other main roles. Roberta Peters seemed strained and vocally ill at ease at times—except, oddly, in some of the trickiest arias, such as the beloved "Caro Nome"; then her coloratura was radiant. Eugenio Fernandi, making his Met debut as the Duke, revealed an acceptable though scarcely exceptional tenor.

But in Mr. Warren's mastery there was never a doubt. It was not only his massive, wide-ranging voice—capable, it seemed, of expressing every conceivable nuance — but also his highly professional acting.

Inspired orchestral conducting and fine singing marked Les Contes d' Hoffman.

Jean Morel, a Frenchman, conducted this very French work by Offenbach with both delicacy and verve. Rarely, if ever, have its magic tunes been displayed with better showmanship, and rarely if ever has the music that ties the tunes together been lovelier.

Nicolai Gedda sang Hoffman with a true and lyric tenor voice. Mattiwilda Dobbs was both precise and pleasing in the coloratura of the mechanical doll; Rosalind Elias contributed richly to the part of Giulietta, and Lucine Amra's sweet notes were perfect for the pathetic Antonia.

George London was more magnificent than ever in his four roles as Hoffman's contriving and superhuman quartet of adversaries.

The season's first Madam Butterfly brought forth much that is best in opera at The Met. Victoria De Los Angeles as Butterfly created a highly competent singing and acting performance which had flashes of true artistic brilliance. Conducting his first Butterfly at The Met, Erich Leinsdorf provided a careful musical direction.

A point of interest to opera lovers was the debut of Barry Morell. American tenor, in the male lead role of Lieutenant Benjamin Franklin Pinkerton, U.S.N. Mr. Morell brings a good personal appearance and some acting proficiency. His voice, while of good pitch and quality, at times seemed a little lost in the great opera house. It may well be however, that this merely represents a more restrained interpretation of the role of Pinkerton, rather long overdue.

—E. S. B.

NATIVE ATLANTAN

Mattiwilda Dobbs Sings Impeccably

By CHAPPELL WHITE
Atlanta Journal Music Critic

Mattiwilda Dobbs, a native Atlantan who has achieved an international reputation as a coloratura soprano, replaced the ill Birgit Nilsson on Marvin McDonald's concert series Monday night and presented a program that displayed an impeccable vocal technique.

Mattiwilda Dobbs

Miss Dobbs' voice is perhaps a little small to be heard at its best in the Municipal Auditorium, but it is beautifully clear and her control is almost flawless. She can negotiate the most difficult arabesques with grace and apparent ease; her tone is always pure and her floating half-voice in the upper register is the accomplishment of a true vocal artist.

IN THE MAIN, the program was unhackned, but it did not entirely avoid the kind of musican emphasis that plagues most coloratura's recitals.

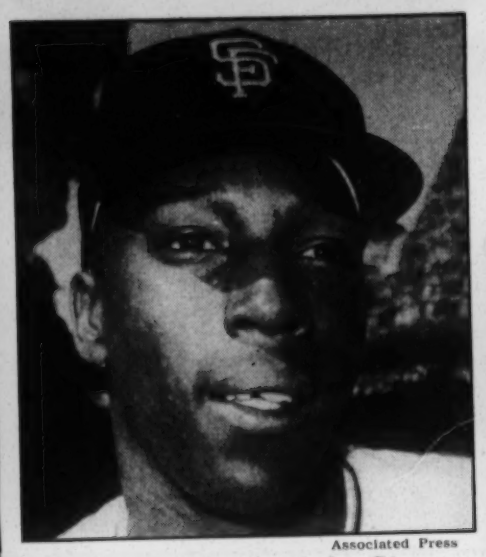
Such works as Bishop's "Lo, Hear the Gentle Lark," Benedict's "La Capinera," and Proch's "Theme and Variations" are little more than vocal exercises attached to commonplace melodies. Interest in them lagged quickly, no matter how beautiful the execution.

Unfortunately these were the works in which Miss Dobbs had the collaboration of Julius Baker on the flute. Mr. Baker is an outstanding artist, and it is a pity we could not have heard him in something more substantial. Even the mad scene from Lucia gave little that was worthy of his talents.

BUT OTHERWISE, Miss Dobbs' program was musically rewarding. There was a charming group by Chabrier, two beautiful songs by Granados, and a portion of "Bachianas Brazileiras Number 5" by Villa Lobos. American opera was well represented by a fine aria from Douglas Moore's "Ballad of Baby Doe" and a light selection from Menotti's comedy, "The Telephone."

Occasionally one might wish for a little more warmth and drama in Miss Dobbs' delivery, but throughout the evening she sang with good taste and a straightforward feeling for musical lines. She never offends the ear or the musical sensibilities. Restraint and musicianship are rare and valued virtues for a coloratura.

Willard Sektberg was her able collaborator at the piano.



Associated Press

McCovey: Hottest of the Giants

BASEBALL:

Willie the Wonder

Suddenly, when San Franciscans asked last week, "How'd Willie do today?", they didn't mean Mays. They meant a 6-foot-4, 200-pound first baseman named Willie McCovey. The answer, every day, was the same: "Willie did just fine." Unknown only two weeks ago, Willie McCovey, the newest San Francisco Giant, was now the hottest prospect in the major leagues.

In his first ten games, McCovey, 21, promoted from Phoenix, slammed fifteen hits (for an average of .375), crashed four home runs, and personally accounted for three victories that helped keep the Giants in first place.

A left-handed batter whose strength, like Hank Aaron's, lies in his wrists, McCovey was taking his new fame in stride. "This San Francisco's a great town," the cheerful Alabaman enthused. "Lots of movies. Lots of movies I haven't seen. This sure beats Phoenix. I saw all the movies in Phoenix."

BASEBALL:

You Can Go Home Again

Natty in a gray-and-red striped suit, the heavily muscled ballplayer arrived early and alone at the Polo Grounds one evening last week, quickly signed four autographs, and headed straight for the home-team dressing room. Then, Willie Mays suddenly stopped, laughed, and turned into the visitors' dressing room. "Guess I forgot," said Mays. He was back with the San Francisco Giants at the Polo Grounds for the first time since moving to the West Coast in 1958. "I've never been in this dressing room before. Man, it's been a long time."

At 31, Willie Mays, who first played at the Polo Grounds with the Birmingham Black Barons of the Negro league in 1947 and later with the Giants from 1951-57, was home again. Earlier in the day, he had visited his lawyer (who is trying to unsnag financial problems that have cut Mays' reported $90,000 earnings to a net of less than $15,000 a year) and dropped in at a Harlem barbershop, Small's Paradise (a nightclub partly owned by basketball player Wilt Chamberlain), and a pool hall (where he shot "a couple games of 8 ball").

Inside the dressing room, Mays looked at a dozen messages (including notes from Roy Campanella and Monte Irvin), made three phone calls, and joked with the three dozen photographers and reporters who crowded around him next to his locker.

"How does it feel to be back?" asked one writer.

"Man," said Willie Mays in his high-pitched squeal, "I haven't been back here too long."

"What do you think of President Kennedy's farm program?" asked an inquiring photographer.

Dignified in his undershorts and religious medal, Mays, for the first time since arriving at the ballpark, turned solemn, then answered: "No comment."

The Best: "Have you missed New York?" another writer asked.

"Sure I have," he said, chewing on two sticks of gum. "I was very happy here. But playing every day you don't get much chance to think about things like that. Sure I'm a little nervous. Good things happened to me here. The best? That first hit [after going hitless in his first twelve major-league at-bats, Mays homered off Warren Spahn] and my catch off Vic Wertz in the 1954 World Series against Cleveland."

As Mays finished dressing, the team bus arrived—and with it former Giant pitcher Johnny Antonelli, now in the tire business. "Hey, Willie, never knew you were a fighter," said Antonelli, referring to Mays' fight with New York Met shortstop Elio Chacon six days earlier.

Newsweek—Tony Rollo

Mays: 'Man, it's been a long time'

"I always thought you were only a center fielder, Buck."

"I'm no fighter," Buck Mays grinned. "I'm like you, Johnny—a lover."

Outside, Mays posed for pictures in front of the bleachers for fifteen minutes ("Hey, when you going to give me a chance to play ball?"), clowned around during infield practice, and finally moved into the batting cage against Antonelli, who was pitching. On the first seven pitches, Mays' best was a grounder to deep short. "You just got too much stuff for me, Johnny," he shouted. Then he was the Mays whom the screaming 44,451 fans remembered—sending three fast balls high into the upper grandstand in left field, more than 350 feet away. "Johnny, you're going to have to start buying us some balls," Mays said.

The Difference: Once the game started, Mays continued his hitting. In five at-bats, Mays, the National League's leading home-run hitter, hit his seventeenth homer and added a single as the Giants defeated the New York Mets, 9-6, to remain in a tie for first place in the National League with the Los Angeles Dodgers.

After the game, more than 30 writers and photographers turned the dressing room into a circus. "No, man, I didn't hear nobody screaming," he said. "It always feels good to hit a homer, but what was so different about this one? I've hit plenty before. If I went 0-for-4, it wouldn't have made any difference. Just playing in New York made me feel great. Man, this was my home." Nearly an hour later, Mays was still in his shorts and still surrounded by newsmen. "It's great being back," he said, "but where the hell is the shower?" Back home, at 31, Willie Mays was somewhat older, but still a boy.

PEOPLE OF THE WEEK

CONTINUED

PICKED TO TELL THE U. S. STORY ABROAD

President Johnson's choice to take charge of America's official image-making machinery—the U. S. Information Agency—is Carl T. Rowan.

Mr. Rowan has been nominated to succeed Edward R. Murrow, who has resigned as USIA Director because of his health. Senate confirmation would make Mr. Rowan one of the highest-ranking Negroes in the Government. He would meet with the National Security Council, where U. S. world policy is often set.

—USN&WR Photo

Carl Rowan, as USIA Director, will sit in on Security Council meetings

Mr. Rowan is 38. Born and raised in poverty in Tennessee, he became, at 19, one of the first Negro naval officers in U. S. history. He rose to prominence as a reporter and foreign correspondent for "The Minneapolis Tribune" and as the author of several books.

President Kennedy named him a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs in 1961, and Ambassador to Finland in 1963.

Early in his Washington career, Mr. Rowan was rejected for membership in the exclusive Cosmos Club of Washington. Several club members — including some high-ranking Government officials —resigned in protest. President Kennedy's name was withdrawn from the list of proposed new members.

In 1961, Mr. Rowan accompanied Vice President Johnson on a round-the-world tour. The men reportedly disagreed at times, but developed a high regard for each other. Last year, Ambassador Rowan played a large role in Mr. Johnson's tour of Scandinavia. In announcing the nomination, President Johnson said of Mr. Rowan: "I need him here."

·Associated Press radiophoto

MAN OF THE CENTURY—Bob Hayes, of the United States team, streaks across finish line to win the 100-yard dash during the track meet with the British in London yesterday in the time of 9.5 seconds. Ron Jones (right) of England was second with teammate Berwyn Jones (center) third.

A Negro to Project Our Image . . .

By United Press International

WASHINGTON.

Carl T. Rowan, 38, was sworn in yesterday as director of the U. S. Information Agency. President Johnson officiated at a White House ceremony which officially made Mr. Rowan the highest ranking Negro in the government. The former Minneapolis newsman, a native of Ravenscroft, Tenn., resigned as Ambassador to Finland to take the information agency directorship.

Mr. Rowan succeeds Edward R. Murrow who resigned after undergoing lung surgery.

At the swearing-in, Mr. Johnson gave a three-word directive: "Tell the truth."

Mr. Rowan's response was "Mr. President, that's all I know how to do."

Herald Tribune—UPI telephoto

A NEW JOB for Carl T. Rowan, who embraces his sons Geoffrey, left, and Carl jr. beside his wife and President Johnson after being sworn as USIA chief yesterday.

. . . And a White Move to Bolster It

Associated Press wirephoto

A NEW HOME for the Mayor of Trenton, N. J., Arthur J. Holland, who with his wife, Elizabeth, holds daughter Cynthia as new Negro neighbor extends her hand.

By Albin Krebs

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

TRENTON.

Mayor Arthur J. Holland yesterday completed his own personal plan for urban renewal—"reverse block-busting." He moved his wife and infant daughter into an old house the Hollands have bought in Trenton's predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican section.

A group of about 75 of his new neighbors, mostly Negroes, lined the sidewalk across from his house at 138 Mercer St. when Mr. Holland drove up in his black 1962 Bel Air. There were smiles on every face, and a few people cheered.

There to record the move were television cameras and two dozen reporters and photographers. Mr. Holland, an amiable, personable man, still seemed mildly shocked that his decision to move into the once-grand neighborhood, and thus help stabilize the neighborhood racially, had captured the imagina-

More on MOVE—P 13

Wide, Wide World of Books

Baldwin's Essays Overshadow Novel on American Negro's Plight

And Then We Heard the Thunder (Knopf; 485 pages; $5.95) is perceptive and engrossing, but, for an ironic reason, is quite likely to be widely unread. Unfortunately for the author, John Oliver Killens, his novel is being published almost simultaneously with a book of two essays by James Baldwin entitled *The Fire Next Time* (Dial Press; 120 pages; $3.50).

Both books are spirited statements by gifted Negro writers on the position of the Negro in American life, so strikingly alike that there is probably not enough room for both on the best-seller lists.

Considering the impact of fiction, it might seem that Mr. Killens' novel would have the better of the contest. The nature of a novelist's medium—especially his freedom to heighten and embroider and emphasize experience — apparently enables him to capture meaningful essences more memorably than any essayist can.

What work of non-fiction, for example, expresses the '20s as compellingly as Scott Fitzgerald's fiction? Is there an essay more expressive of the '30s than John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath?* Where is the essay on World War II that compares with any one of a half dozen novels?

The Child Waits in Terror

Yet it is obvious that no novelist, including James Baldwin himself, has etched a more indelible, or more frightening, picture of the essence of being a Negro in a white society than Mr. Baldwin's "Letter From a Region in My Mind." This essay, which makes up half of *The Fire Next Time,* first appeared in the Nov. 17 issue of the New Yorker. It was a classic a week after publication. That issue of the magazine has become a collector's item.

Although it is not possible to recreate the tenor of Mr. Baldwin's controlled but impassioned essay, some sense of its effect is available from this passage:

"Every effort made by the child's elders to prepare him for a fate from which they cannot protect him causes him secretly, in terror, to begin to await, without knowing that he is doing so, his mysterious and inexorable punishment. He must be 'good' not only in order to please his parents and not only to avoid being punished by them; behind their authority stands another, nameless and impersonal, infinitely harder to please, and bottomlessly cruel.

"And this filters into the child's consciousness through his parents' tone of voice as he is being exhorted, punished, or loved; in the sudden, uncontrollable note of fear heard in his mother's or his father's voice when he has strayed beyond some particular boundary. He does not know what the boundary is, and he can get no explanation of it, which is frightening enough, but the fear he hears in the voices of his elders is more frightening still.

"The fear that I heard in my father's voice, for example, when he realized that I really *believed* I could do anything a white boy could do, and had every intention of proving it, was not at all like the fear I heard when one of us was ill or had fallen down the stairs or strayed too far from the house. It was another fear, a fear that the child, in challenging the white world's assumptions, was putting himself in the path of destruction."

Mr. Killens

Mr. Baldwin

Matched against the cool fury of Mr. Baldwin's intensely personal essays, parts of Mr. Killens' novel seem a bit contrived. Sensual scenes at the length Killens plays them are somehow beside the point in a novel so deeply concerned with the human condition. Mr. Baldwin is telling how it is to be a Negro; Mr. Killens is often luring readers.

A Creator of Situations

The comparison is inevitable, but it is also unfortunate. For the most part, Mr. Killens is a sensitive writer.

The basic story of *And Then We Heard the Thunder* is impressively simple. A handsome, intelligent Negro named Solly Saunders becomes a soldier at the beginning of World War II. He is bent on winning all the success available to a Negro in the military, perhaps even a commission, certain that he can put on a convincing semblance of a smile while he swallows whatever he must. He cannot. Soon he is fighting for justice for the black man in the peculiarly white world of the United States Army quite as fiercely as he fights the more conventional war in the Pacific.

It is a convincing tale, although Mr. Killens is not so much a creator of character—only Solly Saunders comes alive; the others are vague figures—as he is a creator of situations. Page after page the reader watches the scene of the moment, arrested by the author's ability to show. It is essentially a technique of drama, but it is altogether winning.

If this novel gets the readership it deserves, there may be outraged protests from the South and from the Army about the picture Mr. Killens presents of the life of a Negro soldier in a Southern camp; but this reviewer, a white Southerner, derived an uncomfortable feeling of stark reality from it. Certainly, the drawn-out vignette of Solly Saunders' effort to return, AWOL, to camp from a nearby Southern town contains a quality of unhappy truth.

More likely, though, no one will be paying that much attention. James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* is so certain to overshadow *And Then We Heard the Thunder* that Mr. Killens may have the feeling his book was not actually published but smuggled into print.

—WILLIAM L. RIVERS

Martha Swope

Mitchell and Kent in 'Agon': They offer dances to think by

Rebel's Return

Through sheer coincidence, Soviet culture in the past month had been exposed to two American citizens who left Russia in artistic rebellion many years ago, and who were now world-famous for their work and their impact on contemporary art. The first to return was 80-year-old Igor Stravinsky, back after an absence of 48 years. Last week, it was George Balanchine, the 58-year-old artistic director of the New York City Ballet, coming back after 38 years away from the land of his birth.

As a tribute to Balanchine's position as the foremost innovator of Western ballet, the New York City Ballet's entire three-week stand in Moscow was sold out even before the company opened. Whether the customers looked on with appreciation as well as respect and curiosity was questionable after the opening last week. Russian balletomanes are accustomed to long, lavish, old-fashioned ballets which tell a story. Balanchine, on the other hand, does not like anything to distract from the severely abstract patterns he designs for his dancers.

The opening program—"Serenade," "Interplay" (choreography by Jerome Robbins), "Agon," and "Western Symphony"—offered no compromise. "Agon," for example—with music by Stravinsky—is perhaps the most difficult ballet to dance in the modern repertory because of its unbelievably intricate rhythms. But as confusing as the Russians found "Agon," they burst into applause for a brilliant performance of its stunning pas de deux by the company's Negro star, Arthur Mitchell, and his ballerina, Allegra Kent. Mitchell was singled out for prolonged applause again at the end; Balanchine, too, received an ovation.

Bolshoi ballerina Olga Lepeshinskaya, reflecting the conservative hierarchy, praised Balanchine for his "great professional mastery," but found "Agon" too tough to take. "I do not like that kind of art where I have to think. I like that kind which the heart feels immediately."

Balanchine himself was heartened by the intense interest shown by young students and workers who attended two later performances during the week. "I never expected the Russians to jump from the rooftops or wave their hats in the air," he summed up. "I didn't come here to woo them or wow them. But I think they like us. And I am pleased."

Discards Often Become Aces

Scrapbook Got Him NFL Test

Clutching a large object wrapped in brown paper, the well-proportioned young man marched confidently into the office of the National Football League's Los Angeles Rams.

"I'd like to see the head scout," he told a rather startled secretary.

In the inner office, Eddie Kotal looked up as the brash, young man was ushered in. "What can I do for you?" Kotal asked.

"Give me a job with the Rams," came the blunt reply, "I'm a football player."

Kotel sized up the broad-shouldered youth with the slim hips and strong legs. Certainly looked like a football player.

"Where'd you play college ball?" The Ram's scout asked.

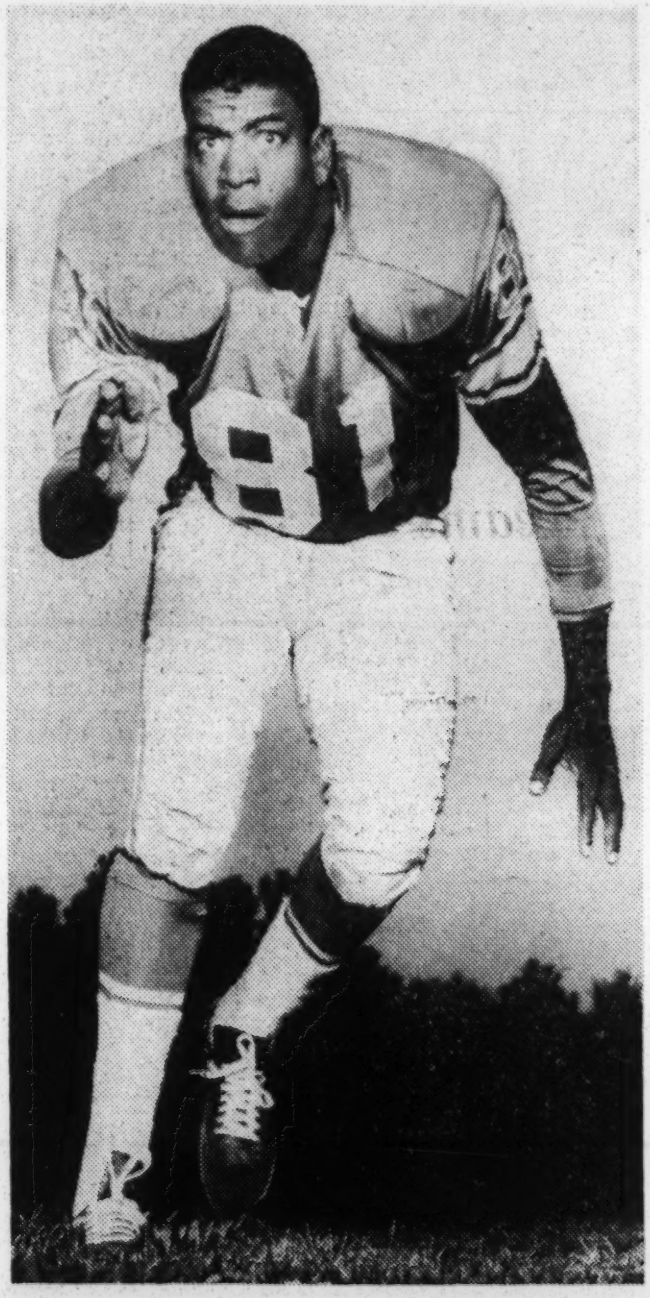
"Scottsbluff Junior College. It's in Nebraska," said the athlete as he reached for the large object at his side, tore off the brown paper and placed a well-worn scrapbook on the desk.

"It's all in there . . . everything I've ever done," he announced proudly.

Kotel leafed through the pages, and made up his mind to take a chance on a hunch. He pulled a contract from the drawer and turned it over to the young man, who hurriedly affixed the signature "Dick Lane."

Dick (Night Train) Lane was an immediate defensive sensation in the NFL, setting a league record in his rookie year by intercepting 14 passes. He since has moved on and currently is with the Detroit Lions in his 11th season in the NFL.

Lane's story is just one of many that can be told about unknown players and small college stars who have made it big in the NFL.



Dick Lane, 'Night Train' nearly ruined the best

There was considerable apprehension some other club might spring a surprise and beat them to the rangy pass catcher.

But on the 15th round, the Bears named Hill. The rest is in the NFL record books.

What about this year?

From coast to coast top-flight material in the small schools is being thoroughly checked by pro scouts.

Among the talented seniors are Joe Iacone of West Chester, (Pa.) State; Nate Craddock of Parsons; Erv Olson of Cathage; Roy Curry of Jackson State; Jerry Linton of Panhandle A&M; Dan Boals of Iowa State College and John MacArthur of Los Angeles Pacific.

There are, of course, many other Saturday heroes in the smaller colleges and some of them could join illustrious company.

A host of still-active NFL players come from small schools. Four, in fact, never played college ball: Defensive tackle Gene (Big Daddy) Lipscomb of Pittsburgh, defensive tackle John Gonzaga of Detroit, defensive halfback Al Hall of Los Angeles and halfback Tom Wilson of Cleveland.

Among the league standouts who made their way to stardom from small colleges are four players each with more than 10 years' experience. No. 1 on that roster is Baltimore fullback Joe Perry, a Compton, (Calif.), graduate, marking his 14th year in the play-for-pay ranks.

Andy Robustelli, New York defensive end, has spent 12 years with the Rams and Giants since leaving now-defunct Arnold College in Connecticut.

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And it's a story that likely will be repeated at the upcoming pro football drafts —next Saturday for the American League and a week from Monday, Dec. 3, for the NFL.

There's bound to be some surprise selections—there always are. Some of today's top NFL stars were picked way down the list.

Roosevelt Brown, offensive tackle for the New York Giants and one of the league's outstanding linemen, was a 27th round pick in 1953 after finishing his college career at Morgan State.

Pete Retzlaff, pass-catching standout for the Philadelphia Eagles was originally selected by Detroit, on the 22nd round. He attended South Dakota State College.

Retzlaff's teammate, halfback Tim Brown from Ball State, Ind., was a No. 27 choice. Halfback John Morris of Santa Barbara went on the 12th round to Chicago.

J. D. Smith, fleet San Francisco back who played his college ball at North Carolina A&T, was drafted by the Bears on the 15th round—as a defensive specialist.

Dick Lane—'Night Train' nearly missed the boat.

Dallas' J. W. Lockett was overlooked in the draft after graduating from Central State, Okla., and signed on as a free agent.

The classic example concerns Harlon Hill, who turned into one of the game's finest ends after the Chicago Bears selected him in 1953.

The Hill story starts at the Blue-Gray football game in Montgomery, Ala., where scout Clark Shaughnessy settled down to watch the many highly touted players.

An old buddy dropped into the seat next to Shaughnessy and remarked about the talent on the field.

"Tell you something though," said the friend, "the best football player in the whole darned South isn't here today."

"Is that so," a curious Shaughnessy replied. "Who is he?"

"Fellow by the name of Harlon Hill," came the answer. "He plays for Florence State Teachers. He's an end . . . a great one."

"Florence State Teachers!" repeated an astonished Shaughnessy. "Where is Florence State Teachers?"

The friend said it was in Alabama, and Shaughnessy, never one to pass up a lead, made a note about Hill. When he returned to Chicago, he and coach George Halas wrote to Florence State Teachers for game films.

After the first viewing session, one of the onlookers raved, "This kid's good enough to draft on the first round. What a find!"

"Not so fast," cautioned Halas. "I think we can hide Hill for a while and pick him later on. If we never heard of Florence State Teachers —and Harlon Hill—you can bet no one else has either.

"If we play our cards right, we can draft the players we've already decided on, and still land Hill."

At the draft session, the tension mounted as the Bears held Hill's selection back.

fensive tackle John Gonzaga of Detroit, defensive halfback Al Hall of Los Angeles and halfback Tom Wilson of Cleveland.

Among the league standouts who made their way to stardom from small colleges are four players each with more than 10 years' experience. No. 1 on that roster is Baltimore fullback Joe Perry, a Compton, (Calif.), graduate, marking his 14th year in the play-for-pay ranks.

Andy Robustelli, New York defensive end, has spent 12 years with the Rams and Giants since leaving now-defunct Arnold College in Connecticut.

Lane and Ray Renfro, of Cleveland by way of North Texas State College, are in their 11th seasons.

Other small-college grads include Green Bay's Willie Davis (Grambling) and Fred Thurston (Valparaiso), Los Angeles' Ed Meador (Arkansas Tech), Baltimore's Odell Brasse (South Dakota) and Dee Mackey (East Texas State), and Chicago's Willie Galimore (Florida A&M).

And here's a point of hope for second-stringers: Take a look at the case of Ulmo Shannon Randle, better known as Sonny Randle of the St. Louis Cardinals.

In 1957, Randle was an obscure, alternate halfback at the University of Virginia.

In one game he caught 14 passes for 158 yards, an impressive performance; but spread out over 10 games it didn't help — and Randle wound up averaging 1.4 catches a game.

Says Randle:

"I wasn't much of a blocker, and tackling wasn't my strong point. But I've always had good speed and hands."

One of the Cardinal scouts noticed the "good speed and hands." Randle was drafted 19th after the 1957 season, even though he still had one more year of college eligibility. In 1958, Dick Voris took over at Virginia, and told Sonny: "You're my wingback."

"That's all I had to hear," Sonny recalls. "I knew then I had a chance to show my best."

"And he did," Voris agrees. And the Cardinals now possess one of the NFL's top pass-catchers.

So watch those names as they come out of the pro draft sessions . . . especially the names that appear well down the list—the ones that appear to be discards and sometimes turn out to be aces.

Leukemia Fatal to Syracuse All-American

Death Takes Ernie Davis

By Tommy Holmes
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Ernie Davis, a great football player and a brave young man, died yesterday at Lakeside Hospital in Cleveland. The end, described as "peaceful," came at 2 a. m., but the news was withheld for hours until his family could be notified.

His family and friends were shocked because they had no idea that Ernie's battle against acute leukemia was so close to its almost inevitable end. There ise evidence, too, to support the belief that Davis himself was mercifully spared the dread knowledge.

As late as Wednesday Ernie was still working for a soft-drink bottling company in marketing and sales.

On Thursday, he dropped in at the offices of the Cleveland Browns and almost apologetically revealed that he was going to the hospital.

"I've felt better," he told Arthur B. Modell, the club president, "but there's nothing to worry about. My neck is swollen and my throat hurts a little."

If anything bothered Davis for the last 11 months, it was regret that he continued on the payroll for the Browns, for whom he was never able to play a game.

He had been signed by the Cleveland club at the highest price ever paid for a rookie in the National Football League, receiving a three-year contract for $80,000, including a $15,000 bonus.

The burden of his illness was something he carried within himself.

Over the 23 years of his brief span, Ernie Davis compiled a record of tremendous achievement as an athlete and as an inspiration to youth.

Born into a broken home Dec. 14, 1939, in Uniontown, Pa., Ernie lived with his grandparents until he was 13, when he joined his mother in Elmira, N. Y.

It was at Elmira Free Academy that his great ability as an athlete became manifest. He won every sectional honor in football, baseball and basketball.

Nearby Syracuse University was a natural landing place for Ernie when he was ready for higher education. Not alone because it was handy, but because of Jimmy Brown, the great all-around athlete who preceded him both at Syracuse and to the stardom with the Browns, that Davis never had a chance to reach.

Ben Schwartzwalder, the veteran Syracuse coach, called Davis the ideal football player, one that gave 100 per cent at all times.

"He could run with power, run with speed, catch a pass and kick," said Schwartzwalder yesterday, "and do all of these things superlatively well."

Davis sparked the Syracuse freshman team to its first unbeaten season in history, then took over Brown's old number 44 or three brilliant varsity years. He was the driving power to the 1959 national collegiate championship and an almost unanimous All-America choice in 1960 and 1961.

In varsity games at Syracuse, Davis churned out 2,496 yards on offense, scored 39 touchdowns and registered 220 points. The Elmira Express broke all of the

Herald Tribune—UPI

ERNIE DAVIS, Syracuse All-America, with his Heisman Trophy in 1961.

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In 1961 Davis became the first Negro ever to gain the Heisman Award, emblematic of recognition as the top college football player of the year.

The same day they handed Ernie that elegant piece of hardware at the Downtown A. C. he was received by President Kennedy at an appointment arranged at the request of the President.

"Two such thrills in one day are too much," Davis said. "First I receive the Heisman Trophy, not as an individual but as a member of the Syracuse team. Secondly, the President wished to meet me."

Professional football seemed an inevitable career for Davis although he was graduated as an economic major with marks well above average.

He turned down a big bid from the Buffalo Bills of the American Football League. The Washington Redskins originally had the NFL rights to deal with him, but traded those rights to the Cleveland club, eager to hook Davis up with Jimmy Brown, who had become his close friend.

Just a year ago, the way seemed paved for Brown and Davis to co-operate in a terrific one-two backfield punch for the Cleveland team. Unknown to anyone, the disease that cost Ernie his life was already at work and had been, doctors estimated, as early as April, 1962.

Last June 29 Davis played a good part of an East-West game at Buffalo and did not perform up to expectations. But he also had a minor ankle injury and nobody thought much about it. This was to be his last game.

About a month later Davis was training with the Browns and preparing for an appearance in the Chicago Tribune All-Star game. Obviously, he wasn't right and he complained of feeling overtired.

A doctor spotted something that caused him to order a thorough examination. When they finished, the announce-

More on DAVIS—P 2

PAGE (s) MISSING

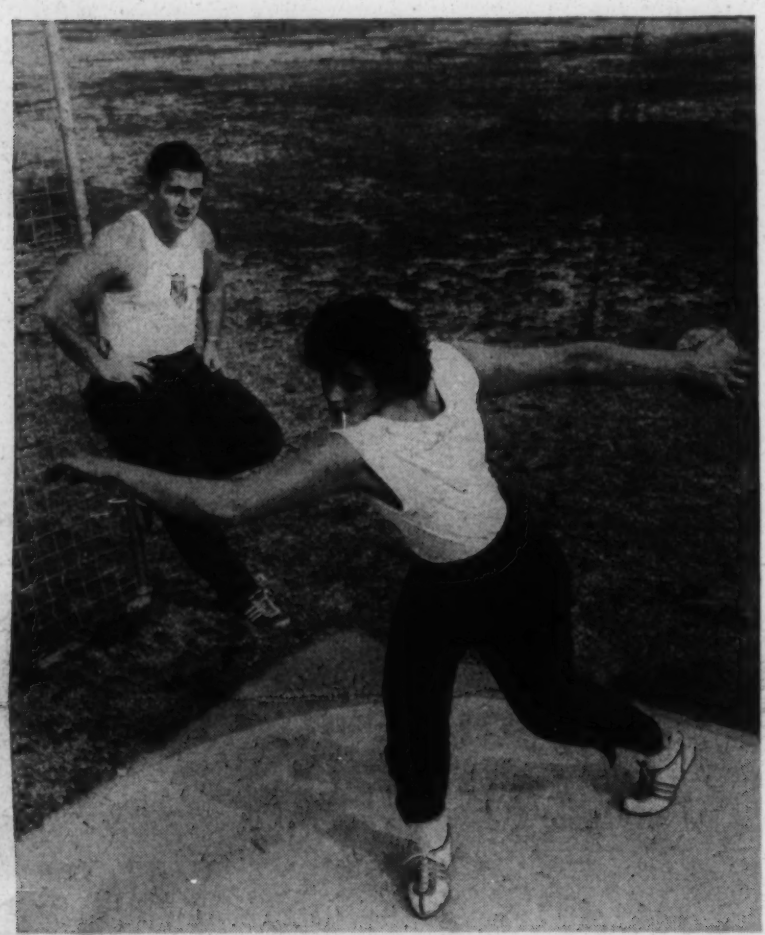
A Guest at the Stadium

Herald Tribune—UPI

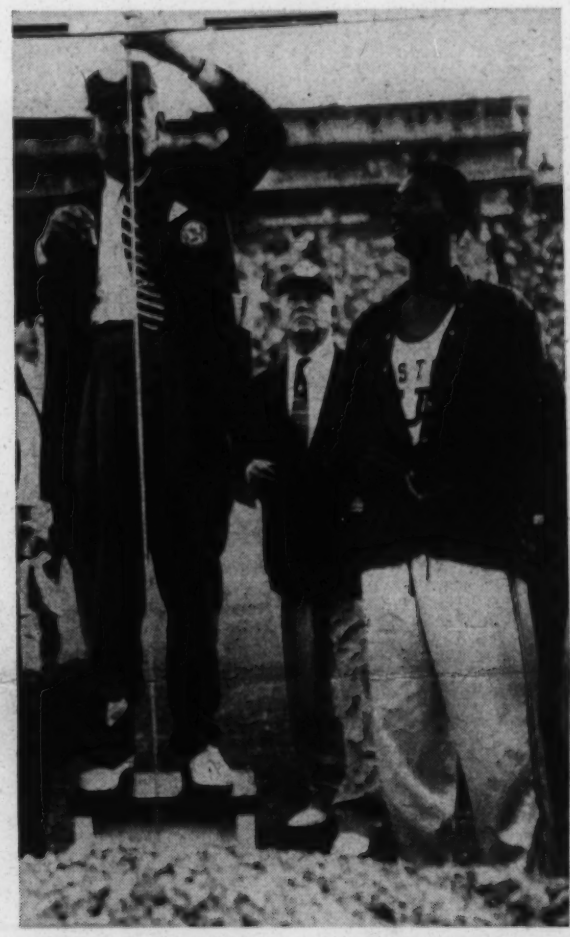
The greatest runner in pro football moves stage center this afternoon in Yankee Stadium where the Giants and Browns clash in the No. 1 game of the pro campaign to date. Will Jimmy Brown have one of his superdays, or will the Giants' defense, wise and tough, stop his rampaging in what promises to be his best season ever? Will Brown rush for more than 130 yards, as he did against the Giants the first time he faced them in '62, or will he be limited to one-third that total, the case the second time the teams clashed last year? Whatever the outcome, whatever Brown winds up with, the fans will be seeing something super-special, just as they have ever since Jimmy Brown exploded on the pro scene in 1957 after a memorable collegiate career at Syracuse. They'll see the "extra effort," that quality of forward movement after his seemingly being stopped, they'll see the grasp of sure-handed tacklers broken in a demonstration of controlled fury unparalled in the game today. Records? Jimmy Brown will break the all-time mark in the next game or two for total yardage. The figure is 8296. It took Joe Perry more than thirteen seasons to set it. Harold Rosenthal's story: Page 4.

Olympic

Next week 7000 athletes from 84 nations will compete in the Olympic Games. A noted sports authority sticks his neck out and predicts the winners.



Women's discus: Olga Fikotova Connolly, the 1956 Czech champion, works out under the eyes of her American husband, Harold, who is the hammer-throw favorite. She will compete for the United States this year.



High jump: Boston University's John Thomas holds the world's record with a 7-foot-3¾-inch leap at the July Olympic tryouts and is expected to take the title.

Pole vault: Don Bragg, who cleared a record 15 feet, 9¼ inches at the tryouts, will lead the strong U.S. vaulters at Rome.

100-meter dash: Ray Norton (left) should take this event and the 200-meter sprint. In tryouts he beat Olympic teammates Frank Budd (114) and Dave Sime (far right).

Decathlon: Top-ranked Rafer Johnson of the U.S. beat Russia's Vasiliy Kuznyetzov (right) in the 100-meter dash and went on to win the decathlon in Moscow in 1958.

SPEAKING OUT*

Bill Veeck has owned three American League baseball teams—the Cleveland Indians, St. Louis Browns and Chicago White Sox. As a youth, however, Veeck lived in a National League household. His father, Bill Veeck Sr., was president of the Chicago Cubs during the great days of Grover Cleveland Alexander.

THEY'VE WRECKED THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

The National League dominates the game of baseball, says a sharp-tongued ex-clubowner, because its rival is paying the penalty for prejudice, complacency and nearsighted management.

By Bill Veeck with Edward Linn

There was a time when you could have a lively argument over which of baseball's major leagues was superior. It was a standard, perennial topic. But no more. The question is now deader than Harold Stassen's campaign headquarters. The National League has become so superior over the past decade that baseball fans are left with little basis for continuing one of their favorite debates.

National League teams have won 6 out of the last 10 World Series and 12 out of 17 All-Star games played since 1950. Last year the Nationals outdrew the American League 11,382,000 to 9,094,000.

The clear dominance of the National League is not, as American League apologists like to claim, just a cyclical swing in the fortunes of war. It is actually the result of policies (and lack of policies) that have been pursued (or not pursued) over the past 15 years. Involved in the shift of power to the National League are problems of race, geography and high finance.

Last year the American League had four .300 hitters, all white. The National League had eleven .300 hitters, and 10 of them were Negroes. The American League had two hitters, both white, who batted in more than 100 runs; the National League had six, and five of them were Negroes. Each league had four men who had hit more than 30 home runs. In the American League, all four were white. In the National League, all were Negroes.

The shift of power actually began on the day in 1947 when Jackie Robinson, the first Negro to play in the majors, put on a Brooklyn uniform and went out to play first base for the Dodgers—and the Dodgers won the pennant. In the following two years, Robinson was joined by Roy Campanella and Don Newcombe. The Dodgers kept winning pennants—or losing them on the last day of the season—with Robinson, Campy and Newk earning five Most-Valuable-Player Awards among them.

In trying to compete with the Dodgers, most of the other National League clubs went scurrying around the Negro leagues in search of other Robinsons, other Campys, other Newks. Civil rights had nothing to do with it. Many Negroes just have stronger legs and faster reflexes and are superior ballplayers. I say this because it is an observable fact. Besides, as Charlie Dressen said after Negroes began to star in baseball, "Nobody asks the color of the guy who has just helped him collect a World Series check."

Now, for contrast, consider the warmth with which the Negro ballplayer was welcomed into the American League. When I owned the Cleveland Indians, we signed Larry Doby, a Negro, in 1947. A year later, we won the pennant and World Series—and broke all attendance records—with Doby and Negro pitcher Satchel Paige.

What followed this artistic and financial triumph was not quite what might have been expected, however. The scurrying after Negro players in our league was restrained to a point which would have thrilled any card-carrying member of the White Citizens Council. The St. Louis Browns did sign two Negroes at the beginning of a long road trip, but they managed to release them before the club returned to St. Louis.

Meanwhile, in Cleveland, we signed Luke Easter, Minnie Minoso, Al Smith and Harry Simpson, all Negroes. Beyond that, however, the American League stayed lily-white.

The A.L.'s attitude was partly that the signing of Negroes in Cleveland was just another of Veeck's cheap tricks. It was also the result of a tone-setting Yankee policy: to prove they could keep on winning without resorting to the use of non-white players. This was all right for the Yanks (who have won 14 pennants in 17 seasons since Negroes entered the majors), but it was a course that other talent-hungry A.L. clubs couldn't afford to follow if they wanted to stay competitive.

The Yankees' efforts to avoid putting a Negro in their pinstripes was not without its moments of high humor. In those days, the first thing any major-league team that did not want a colored player had to do was to sign a couple of mediocre colored players for their minor-league organization and then point to their failure. Playing this game, the Yankees bought a young Puerto Rican, Vic Power, from an independent team in Canada and assigned him to their farm system. Yankee luck being what it is, Power turned out to be a far better player than anyone had suspected. So eventually, without ever bringing him to New York, they traded him to the Philadelphia Athletics and ducked a difficult situation.

Finally, in 1955, eight years after Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color line, the Yankees brought up Elston Howard. He was rated the Most Valuable Player in the American League last year—the first Negro to win the MVP Award in the A.L.'s history. Meanwhile, Sandy Koufax, the Most Valuable Player in the National League last year, was only the fourth *white* player to win the award in 15 years.

The statistic which points up the stagnation of the A.L. most of all, however, is that Larry Doby is still the only Negro ever to have led the league in either home runs or runs batted in—and he did both in 1954. And *no* Negro has ever won the A.L. batting title, while Negroes have won it seven times in the National League.

In other words, the American League has come too late to the market. The gap, far from closing, has widened. The best

**One measure of a democracy's strength is the freedom of its citizens to speak out—to dissent from the popular view. Although the editors of The Post often disagree with the opinions expressed in Speaking Out, they dedicate the series to that freedom.*

They've Wrecked the A.L.

Negro prospects, having a choice of clubs, still go to the National League. And what is the result? Put it this way. If you took the Negro players from any National League team (excepting the Mets and Colts) and put them on any American League team (excepting again the new franchises), they would make that club either a pennant winner or a serious contender. That's how great a difference the Negro player has made.

At the same time the American League was blowing retreat on the Negro players, it blew its chance to establish a foothold on the West Coast. Once again, the fine hand of the New York Yankees was conspicuous.

The American League's opportunity came in the winter of 1954 when the Mack boys put the Philadelphia Athletics up for sale. I wanted to buy the franchise and move it to Los Angeles. Clint Murchison of the Texas Murchisons also wanted to buy the club and move it to Los Angeles.

Del Webb, the co-owner of the Yankees, runs his huge construction business from the Coast. In public he plumped hard to bring A.L. baseball to Los Angeles, but as soon as the A.L. meeting opened (and the doors closed) he assured his fellow owners (as he had been assuring Baseball Commissioner Ford Frick all along) that the West Coast wasn't ready for big-league baseball. What he really meant, I think, was that Del Webb wasn't ready. He had another plan.

Arnold Johnson, who happened to be a business partner of Webb and Topping, wanted to buy the Philadelphia franchise and move it to Kansas City where—by coincidence—the Yankees had a sick minor-league franchise, and more to the point, a decrepit ball park they were rather anxious to get rid of.

Johnson had an agreement with the city fathers that if he could get the franchise for Kansas City, they would buy the ball park and then let him rebuild it to major-league specifications with a contractor of his own choice. By another of those startling coincidences, the contractor of his choice turned out to be none other than Del Webb.

In my book, what Del Webb had in mind was to sell the Kansas City ball park to the city fathers, get the contract from Johnson to rebuild it, let the Athletics remain in Kansas City for a few years as a sort of Yankee farm, then buy the club from Johnson and move it to Los Angeles. Once in Los Angeles, Webb probably hoped he might persuade the city to build a municipal stadium—and, with a little bit of luck, he would get the contract to construct it.

Now, if this was Webb's plan, it was a brilliant one for comforting his sunset years but it wasn't good for the A.L. In any event, Johnson purchased the A's from the Macks and moved the franchise to Kansas City. During the five years he operated the A's there, the team was, in effect, a Yankee farm club run by old Yankee farmhand, Parke Carroll.

Before Webb could carry out the next step, Walter O'Malley moved out of Brooklyn to Los Angeles and persuaded Horace Stoneham to bring his New York Giants out to San Francisco.

The failure of the American League to get a team established on the Coast at this time caused damage that has never been repaired. In the expansion of both leagues five years later, the National League moved back into New York under more advantageous terms than the old Giants and Dodgers had enjoyed, and found itself sitting very firmly in all the key cities. Even with the marginal ballplayers who were foisted off on the Mets, the New York franchise was a prospective financial success because of the fans who would turn out whenever their old heroes from the Giants and Dodgers came to town.

In the same expansion package that brought the N.L. back into New York, the American League was to move into Los Angeles. There was one slight difference. Where the Mets were assured of success, the Angels were assured of disaster. For at the last minute, Commissioner Ford Frick informed us that the American League could only come to Los Angeles with Walter O'Malley's approval, which meant on O'Malley's terms, as O'Malley's tenants in the new Dodger ball park in Chavez Ravine. The lucky owners of the new franchise not only had to pay O'Malley a lump sum to indemnify him for something or other, they had to play in his ball park and pay him rent. O'Malley even runs the Angels' concessions for them. In other words, the American League loses money by having a team in Los Angeles, and the National League (i.e., O'Malley) makes money.

O'Malley calls the tune

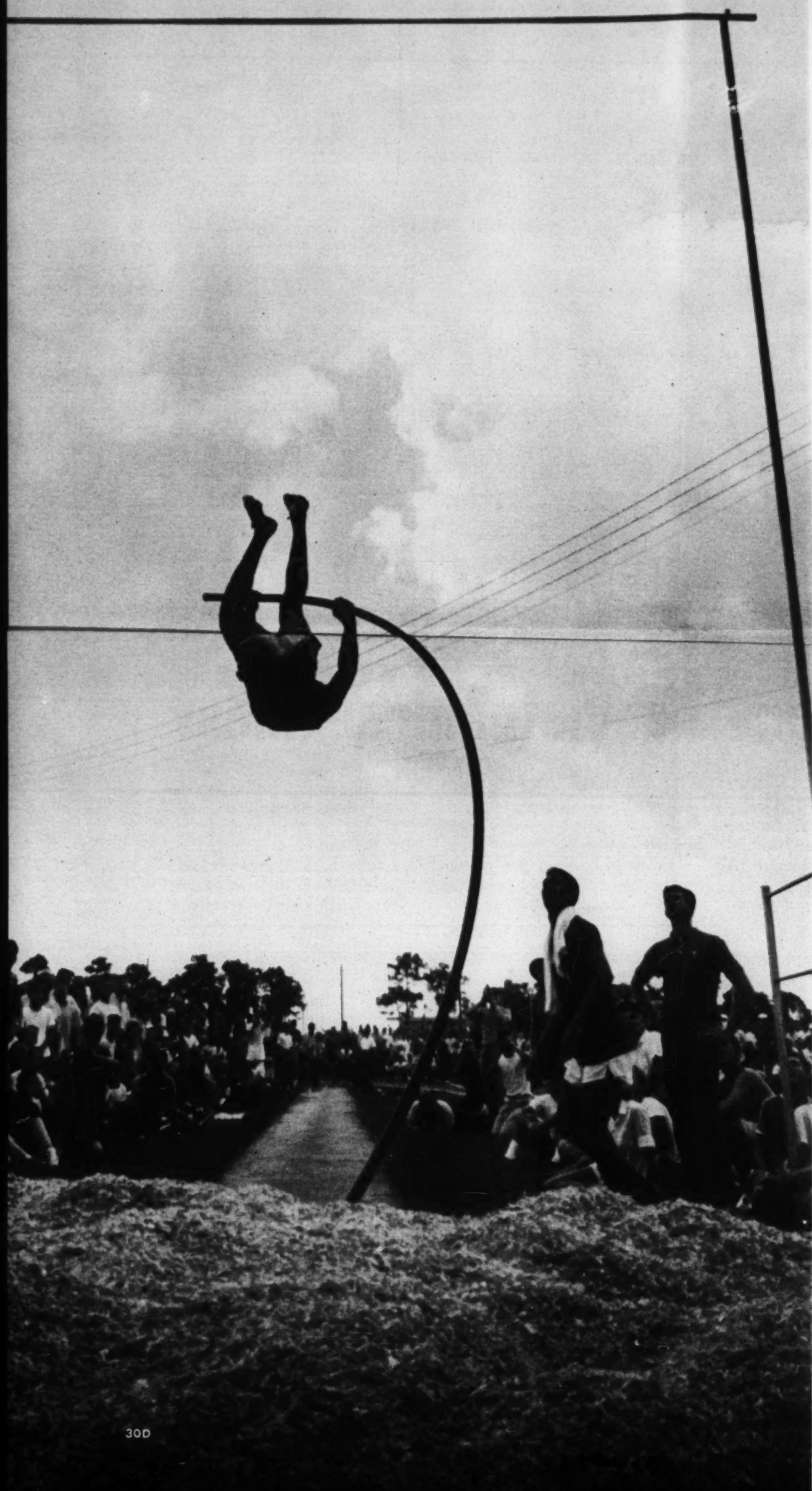
Walter O'Malley, it should be evident by now, runs his league just as completely as the Yankees run theirs. Under his guidance, the National League is run on the assumption that each of the owners knows his own problems and should be permitted to find his own solutions.

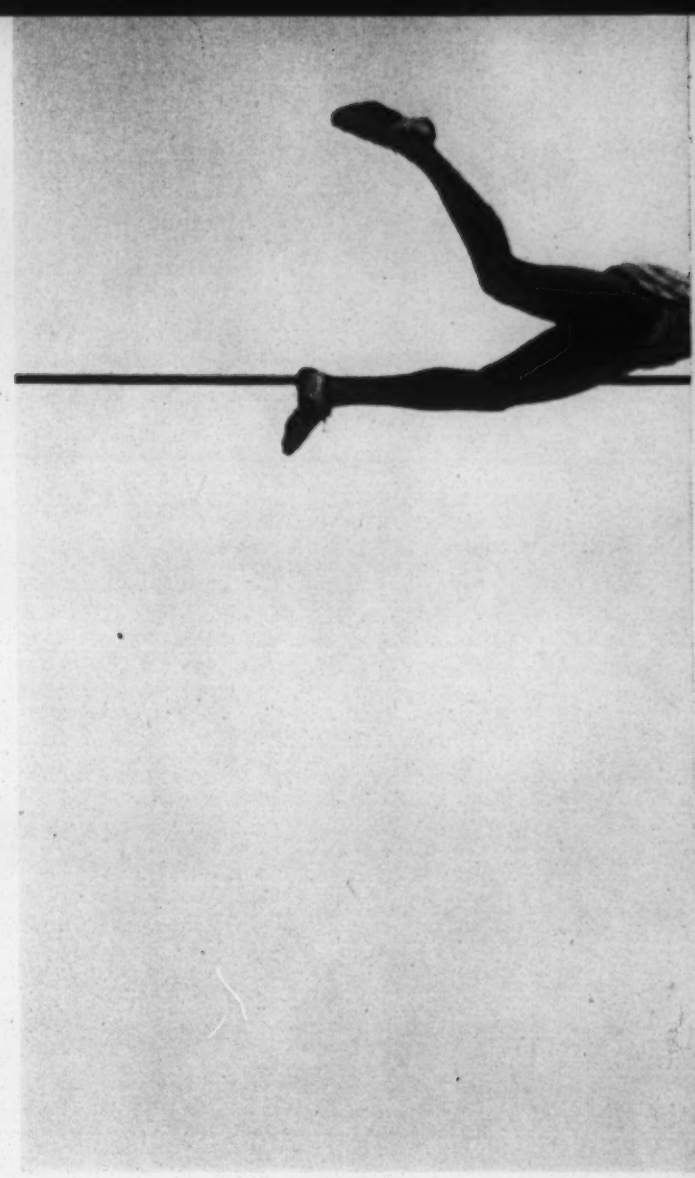
Last year, for instance, the N.L. was perfectly willing to let the new Milwaukee owners move their franchise to Atlanta, even though they had been operating in Milwaukee for only a year. This year, when Charles O. Finley wanted to move to Atlanta, the American League held meetings and sent telegrams and consulted all kinds of attorneys. And Finley remained in Kansas City.

Atlanta, with its new stadium, is easily the most attractive city for a new franchise. Since the American League has no shortage of weak franchises, one would assume that the American League has already staked out the territory. It hasn't. While the American League is holding its debates and casting its recriminations and consulting its attorneys, a National League franchise will pick itself up and quietly move in. The logical club to make the move is still Milwaukee. I have a hunch, though, that it is going to be a real long shot—Pittsburgh. The Pirates will probably move before another season starts, and the National League, which already has a franchise at Houston, will then solidify its position in the South just as it has now solidified its position on the West Coast.

This year, with the Yankee dynasty clearly in its twilight, the American League could have its best pennant race in years. And, with any luck at all, nine out of the 10 clubs could draw fewer customers than in 1963. Winning the American League pennant this season is going to be like winning the checkers championship at a chess club. Nobody really seems to care. That's because there is another—better—game in town It's called National League baseball.

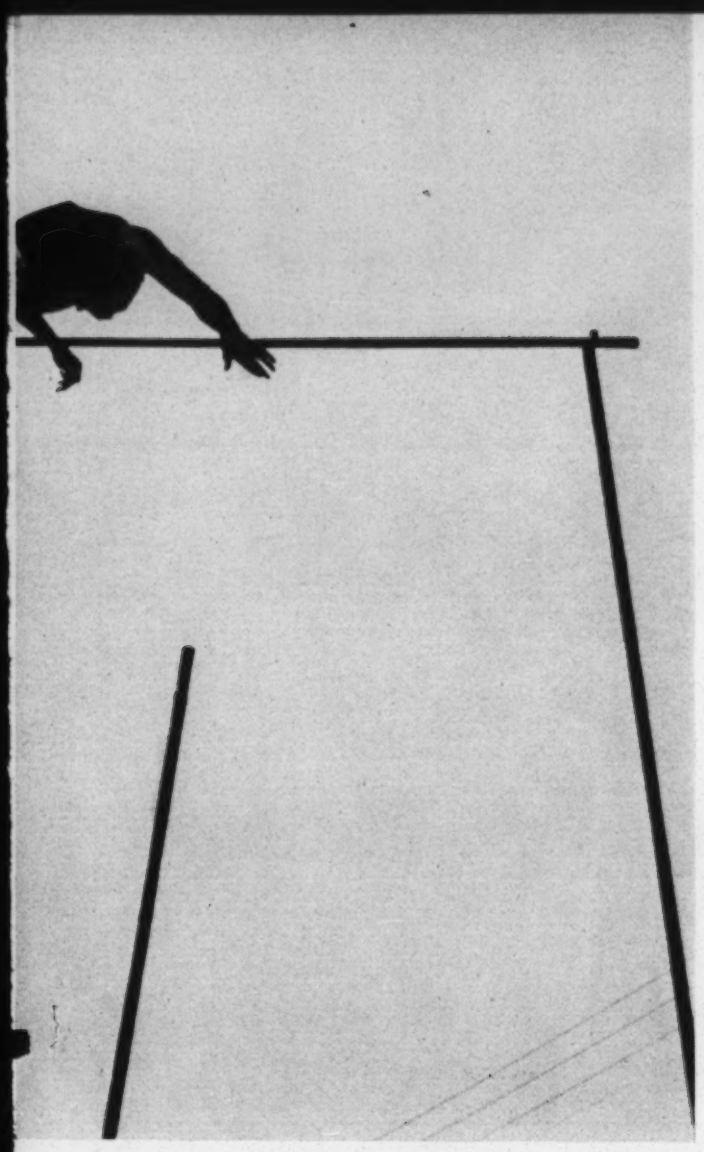
Bill Veeck





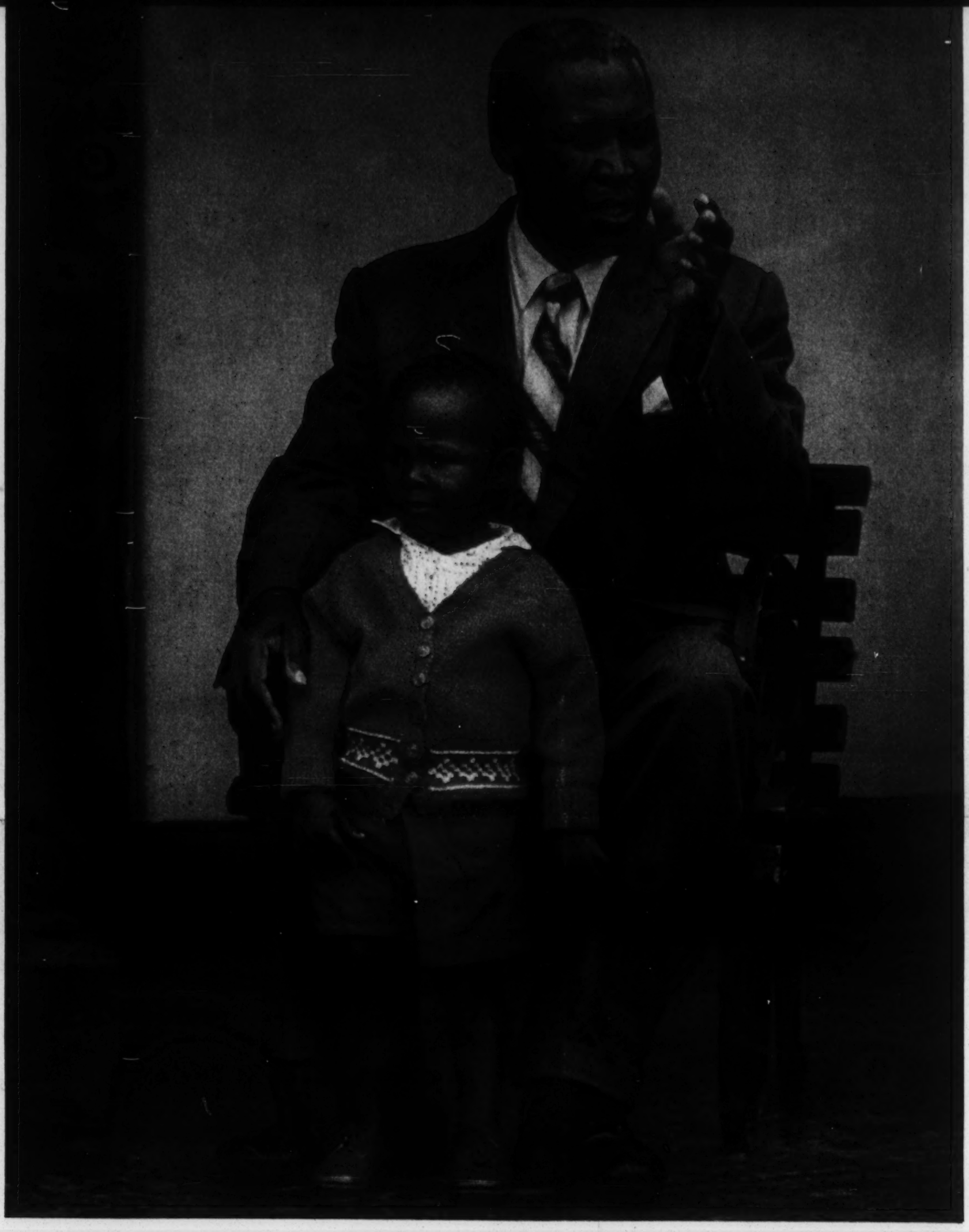
All year long it has seemed that practically every time John Pennel gets his hands on a fiber glass vaulting pole the existing world's record—usually his own—is bested. He did it six times. At the Gold Coast A.A.U. meet in Miami, the 23-year-old senior of Northeast Louisiana State College was shooting at something more impressive than the world record of 16 feet 10¼ inches that he had set only two weeks before. He wanted to soar over a crossbar perched at the never-before-conquered altitude of 17 feet.

A Pole Bends—



The sun had slipped behind a cooling cloud and there was no wind at all when Pennel made his approach to the pit. His pole bent at a right angle, then snapped straight, and you could almost hear it go "boing!" Up went Pennel . . . up . . . up . . . and over. An instant later he had made his re-entry and lay laughing on a pile of sawdust. High above him the crossbar lay undisturbed at 17 feet and three quarters of an inch. With awe and astonishment onlookers swore he had cleared it with inches to spare.

the Great Pennel Breaks 17-foot Barrier



A PRIZE FOR A ZULU CHIEF

The graying freedom fighter, seated on the porch with his grandson, is Albert John Luthuli, a man of massive dignity, a former Zulu chief and now co-winner (with Dag Hammarskjöld) of the Nobel Peace Prize. Chief Luthuli won the prize the hard way. In 1935 he quit a career as a teacher in a missionary college in South Africa to take over as chief of his impoverished tribe. In 1952 he was forced to quit that job when he defied the white government's apartheid policy. Elected head of the militant but nonviolent African National Congress, he was arrested for treason in 1956, acquitted, then in 1959 banished to his home district.

Today Luthuli is South Africa's leading black statesman, although his insistence on moderation is scorned by black extremists. The South African government, furious at the slap which the award embodied, held back on permitting Luthuli to go to Oslo to receive his $43,300 prize. This did not matter to the 62-year-old chief. "God," he mused, "has answered the call."

CONTINUED

Advertisement

Meet Mrs. W. C. Kiefer of White Plains, N.Y.—housewife, mother and top-flight salesman. As a part-time representative in her community for LIFE Circulation Co., Mrs. Kiefer has discovered a pleasant way to earn extra income. She provides friends and neighbors with a complete magazine subscription service—for LIFE, TIME, FORTUNE, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED and other fine magazines. She is in business for herself, working when she wants to work, at her own pace and in her own home. Couldn't you, too, use extra income—to finance a vacation, buy new clothes or support a favorite community project? There's an easy way to earn it: join the thousands of men and women who make excellent part-time or even full-time income as local representatives for LIFE Circulation Co. No cash outlay on your part is required. You need only a sincere interest in making extra money and the willingness to devote at least one hour a day to earning it. We provide everything else: free professional supplies, training booklets and special sales material you can mail to prospective customers. No door-to-door selling is involved. For further information (and without obligation), send your name and address today to Thomas R. Hopkins Jr., Manager of Local Representatives, LIFE Circulation Co., 115 East Ohio Street, Chicago 11, Illinois.

Woman At Work

Smiling at the good news, Luthuli said, "The award is not just an honor to me but to all freedom-loving South Africans."

A busy chieftain and man of God

When he took over as tribal chief, Luthuli taught his tribesmen how to improve their sugar-cane fields, raised and educated his seven children and entered national politics. But he remained active in the Bantu Congregational Church founded by the American Mission Board (he still speaks English with an American accent). In 1937 he represented the Christian church in South Africa at a world conference in India. Since his home-exile started in 1959, visitors have reportedly been barred to him, including the Nobel Prize investigators and even Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. He has run his outlawed party as best he could by mail while managing his farm, reading and listening to the music he loves on a battery-run stereo record player.

Luthuli writes answers on a questionnaire submitted by reporters from South African radio which later bitterly assailed him.

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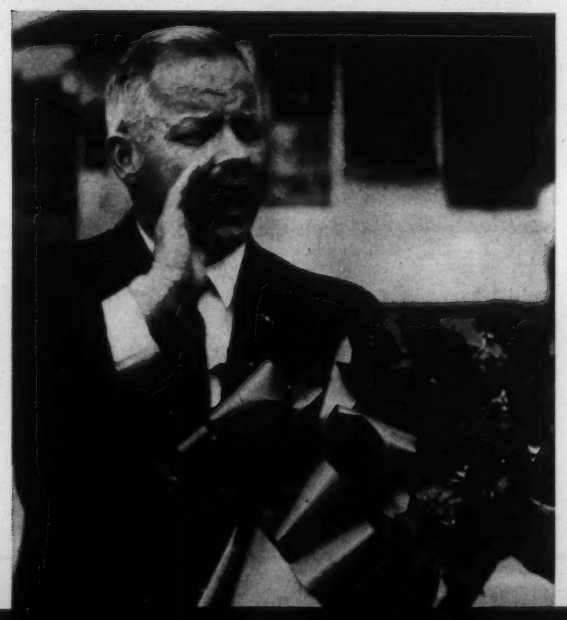
Chief Luthuli stands on his back *stoep* with his wife, Nokukanya, 57. He has a 25-acre farm and small sugar cane trucking business.

WILMA'S HOME TOWN WIN



The young Negro girl, who had gone to Rome and won fame, came back home to Clarksville, Tenn.—an old southern town some of whose residents remark gently "we've never had any race trouble here and no integration either." But for Wilma Rudolph the town was integrated for a day, at the biggest parade and the first integrated banquet in its history.

Wilma had won three gold medals at the Olympics for her running. She had also won praise for her good looks and charming ways. Clarksville had made plans to greet her, but she almost got back before the celebration was ready. Town dignitaries persuaded her to wait an extra day in Nashville, 50 miles away, and when she arrived the mayor, William Barksdale, was there to welcome her with a bouquet, and the streets were draped in bunting. Parachutists at nearby Ft. Campbell, Ky. put on a special drop for her and in the evening 1,100 of Wilma's friends and admirers crowded into the armory to hear her eulogized. With tears in his eyes, County Judge William Hudson said, "If I can overcome my emotions, I'll make you a little speech. Wilma has competed with the world and brought home three gold medals. If you want to get good music out of a piano you have to play both white and black keys."

← WAITING WITH WILMA'S BOUQUET, MAYOR BARKSDALE TELLS POLICE TO CLEAR ROAD

ON PARADE, she rides in a convertible down a Clarksville street. The soldiers following behind her car are from the famous 101st Airborne Division. At the left is the color guard from Ft. Campbell.

SMILING CHARM that captivated Rome lights up Wilma's face as she holds mayor's bouquet. City officials talked about giving her a car or television but feared that it would jeopardize her amateur status.

CONTINUED

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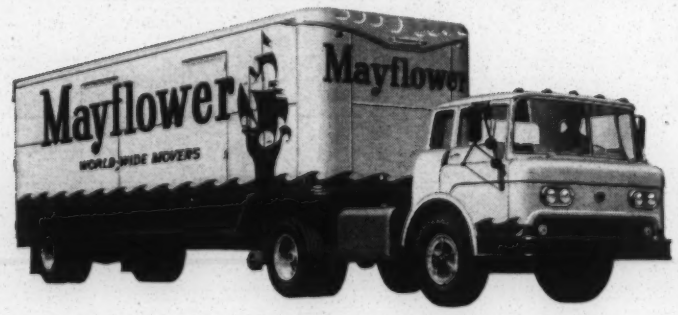

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Safeguards all your items, even the most fragile, with special Mayflower methods and materials.

HER PARENTS, Ed and Blanche Rudolph, await Wilma at parade's starting point. He is retired drygoods store worker, twice-married father of 19 children.

FOURTH-GRADE TEACHER Sammie Hodgkins embraces Wilma. Mrs. Hodgkins tried to shake hands, but Wilma said, "No you don't!" and gave her a hug.

CONTINUED

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Science proves Absorbine Jr. acts on tired, aching muscles to reduce fatigue itself— to bring relief twice as fast

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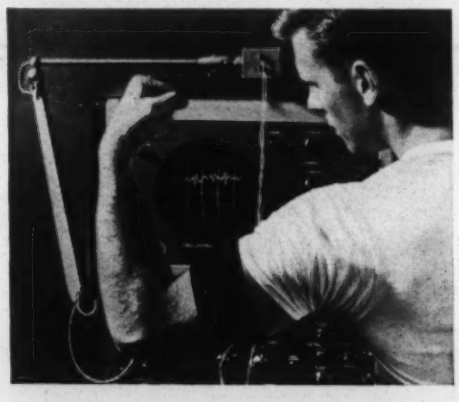

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AUTOGRAPHS FOR WHITE FANS are signed by Wilma at parade's end. This week she returned to Tennessee State where she is a junior in education.

RECEIVING COMPLIMENTS, Wilma sits at banquet in her honor as Mayor Barksdale, Brigadier General and Mrs. Charles Timmes gather around her.

LISTENING TO PRAISE, Wilma looks out over audience as Judge Hudson says, "You had great receptions in New York, Detroit . . . but this is home."

THE MEANING OF HARLEM

by Peter Abrahams

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ARNOLD NEWMAN

• We walked slowly up the sloping land. About us lights twinkled and cabs flashed by along the broad avenue. But I felt quiet and tranquil for all the rush and bustle of New York. It was early spring but still quite chilly, and a keen biting wind reached at us through our heavy clothing. I felt it sharply. It was going to take more than a few weeks to get me adjusted to cold climates; a few years in Jamaica's tropical warmth had thinned my blood utterly. But then, I am a child of the sun; my life began in Africa in the world of the tropical sun, and all the years I have spent in cold climates have not been enough to undo the sun lust in me. Forty-five degrees, a few weeks out of tropical Jamaica, was terribly cold to me.

My companion fared much better against the cold. To her the tropical sun was an ancestral memory three centuries removed, something one experienced on vacation or during a New York heat wave.

She looked at me as we passed a street lamp. My face must have mirrored my discomfort.

"Cold?" she murmured with a touch of concern in her voice.

I grunted in the way men do when trying to show a woman that they are tough and that discomfort does not matter; but I was comforted by the concern in her voice. It meant I hoped we could go back to the old friendly footing which had disappeared when I had told her about my wife and children over dinner.

I had met her one evening four days earlier, on Fifth Avenue in downtown New York. She was standing at a bus stop; small, very dark—almost black—with big brown eyes in a round face.

"Excuse me; could you please tell me which bus would take me to Harlem?"

She pulled back a little, suspiciously. Then my outlandish accent had penetrated. She had relaxed.

"You're a foreigner ——"

I decided to trade on my foreignness and pretended a greater ignorance than I possessed. It worked. She was going to Harlem herself and I could travel with her. And if I told her exactly where I wanted to get she would direct me. "I live in Harlem," she said, smiling; "I know it well."

"Just Harlem," I said. "I want to get to know it. I want to get lost in it. I want to get the feel of it."

"You will have to live there," she said; then, after a pause, "for a long time."

Continued on Page 76

MRS. BESSIE ALLISON BUCHANAN, first Negro woman to serve in New York's State Legislature, poses on Lenox Avenue near 112th Street, where a modern housing project gives evidence of the New Harlem. The remarkable Mrs. Buchanan, much honored for her civic good works, looks back on yet another career; she spent fifteen years, until 1929, acting in drama, musical comedy and D. W. Griffith silent films.

LANGSTON HUGHES, world-famous poet, is pictured in Mount Morris Park, with Harlem's segment of Fifth Avenue stretching southward behind him. Although born in Missouri, Mr. Hughes has lived in Harlem for many years; his affection for the district has been called a long and beautiful love affair. From his rise as a leader of the "Negro Renaissance" in poetry to his current tales of the shrewdly naïve Jesse B. Simple, all his works evoke life in Harlem and the Negro experience in America.

Continued from Page 74

She grew curious about me, and some of her suspicion returned. Just then the bus pulled up. After we had settled ourselves she turned curious brown eyes on me.

"I'm an African," I said and told her my name.

That rang a bell of some kind but she remained silent until we got off the bus at 125th Street.

"You're going to write about Harlem; about us."

She sounded coldly impersonal, almost hostile. I sensed some strong emotion at work and waited for more. Almost automatically we started walking along 125th Street. About us were the dark faces of the citizens of Harlem. Here we were a part of the background, not distinctive as we had been on downtown Fifth Avenue. The air, the mood, the atmosphere was different from downtown New York. Almost, this was a completely different place, not a part of New York City.

The long silence between us dragged on, with me waiting for an outburst that did not come. She seemed preoccupied with her own thoughts, hardly aware of me beside her. We crossed the wide avenue and I steered her into the bar of Harlem's Hotel Theresa.

With an odd mixture of defensive aggressiveness, she voiced her strong emotion over a drink. Beneath the half-angry, half-protesting flow of words lay an anxiety not to be misunderstood; an anxiety for me not to feel that the attack was personal. I tried to reassure her on the point.

"I—many of us—do not like some of your writings on Africa."

"Why?"

She looked into my eyes. Her expression said: "Are you really as naïve as all that?"

Then she explained, with obvious self-control. White folk tend to fasten on to every instance of squalor I had reported finding in Africa: the smells and the open drains. This reinforced the stereotype they had built up in their minds of how blacks lived. Why had I not written about the finer things: the schools, colleges, hospitals? Even if what I had written were true, didn't I know how it would be twisted and used against the Africans? That's what they did with the Negro in America.

She went on in that vein, explaining and justifying her stand; justifying the view that we ought to edit truth in our own interests because the white folk around us edited truth in their interests.

It suddenly hit me then with the sharp clarity of lightning that the American Negro must live in a semi-permanent state of psychological embattlement with the white world around him. I reflected that a white young female New Yorker would not carry on this kind of conversation with a white man from Europe whom she had met at a bus stop on Fifth Avenue. And it seemed to me that this was the measure of the gulf in experience between the black and the white New Yorker.

As though reading my thoughts, she stopped talking abruptly, smiled self-consciously and got up to go.

"I am still going to write about Harlem," I said, "so you had better help to educate me."

We met the following evening and again the evening after that. We wandered about the streets of Harlem; we went into drugstores and bars; into fancy restaurants and cheap little places; and we talked about Harlem and the Negro and freedom in America and Africa; and I rediscovered my Harlem bearings. My previous visit had been four years earlier.

Now at last we reached the top of the sloping land, the crest of Harlem's Sugar Hill. We turned and looked down, bracing ourselves against the wind. Below us, a sea of twinkling lights—the Black Metropolis, Black Manhattan, Nigger Heaven, the Greatest Negro City on Earth, the Capital of the Negro World, call it what you will—sloped away gently. It looked soft and kindly from where we stood. The darkness and fairy-tale lights hid its scars and blemishes. Harlem's physical location is one of the most desirable in Manhattan. It is within easy reach of most things in New York, almost at the center of the city's elaborate network of public transport, and the land on which it is situated is attractively varied and raised. It covers a triangular area of roughly six square miles. According to my guidebook, Harlem is that part of Manhattan Island from East 96th Street and West 110th Street on the south to West 155th Street on the north: from the East and Harlem Rivers on the east to Morningside and St. Nicholas Avenues on the west. Estimates of its population vary from 300,000 to more than 500,000.

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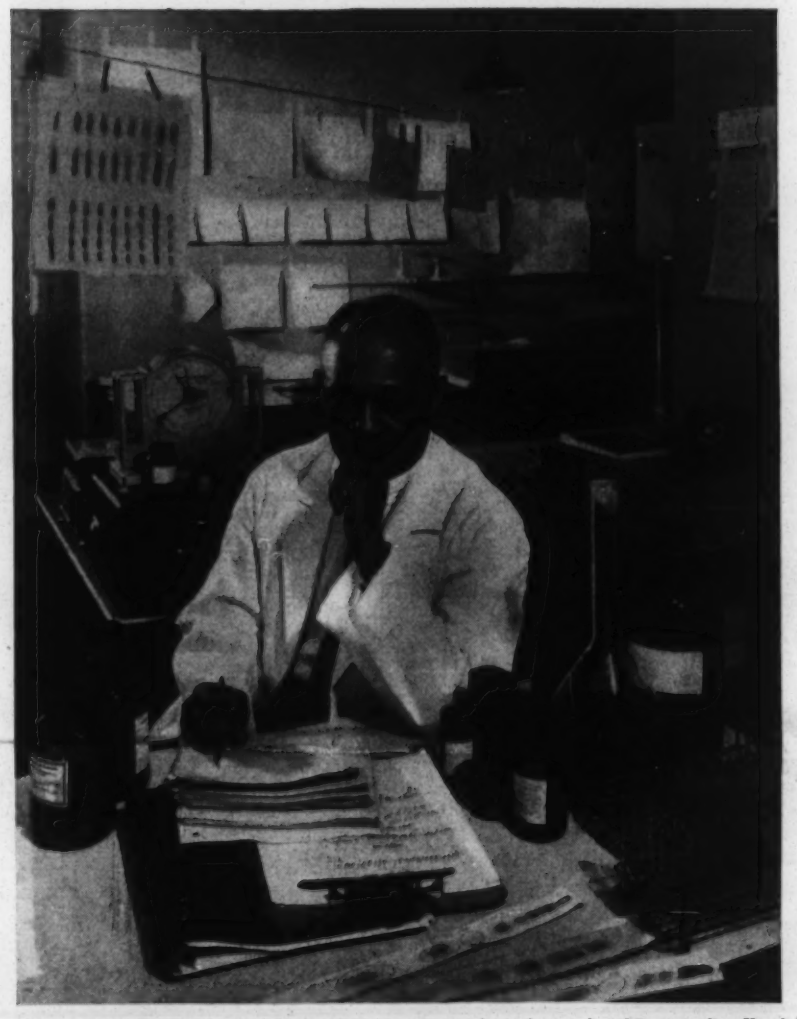

DR. AUBRE de L. MAYNARD was appointed to the House Staff of Harlem Hospital in 1926, the first Negro appointment. He is now Director of Surgery there, an authority on thoracic surgery, and consultant surgeon at Misericordia Hospital in the Bronx and Columbus Hospital in Manhattan. Here in one of the laboratories he continues the surgical research which has been extensively reported in major scientific journals.

SUGAR RAY ROBINSON, boxing champion and businessman, in his Harlem office on Seventh Avenue; from here, under an enormous picture of his wife, the former dancer Edna Mae Holly, he directs a sizable empire of holdings in New York, Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago. The perfume-loving Sugar, who learned to use his fists when he moved to Harlem at twelve, used them later in the ring to hang up a resounding record: as a welterweight he retired undefeated; as a middleweight he won the title twice, retired, then came back to win it three more times.

SPORTS
ILLUSTRATED

Continued from Page 76

The vast majority of Harlem's population is of course Negro, but there is an Italian Harlem as well as a growing Spanish Harlem with a steady flow of immigrants from Puerto Rico.

My companion touched my arm and pointed: "Four-O-Nine is over there," she said. This "409"—there was never any need to add "Edgecombe Avenue"—had once been the stylish center, the very heart of Sugar Hill. In the great and glorious days of the Negro Renaissance, when the millennium seemed just around the corner, Sugar Hill had been the home of the black élite, the Park Avenue of Negro America. And the apartment block known simply as 409 had once had such distinguished tenants as W. E. B. DuBois, Walter White, Thurgood Marshall, as well as a host of well-known writers and artists. There had been no question about your social and economic status if you could say—and you generally tossed it off casually—"I live at 409."

Today 409 is a legendary reminder of those grand days. There is still an air of grandeur about Sugar Hill, but it is run down; the grandeur of something that "has been." The majority of today's Sugar Hill dwellers take in lodgers. Those who can afford to pay the high rents without taking in lodgers have moved out to suburban New York. The very modern cocktail lounges, eating places and bars have run to seed or been turned into small shops. And the present-day citizens of Sugar Hill do not send their sons and daughters to the best universities in America or abroad.

Today the residential citadel of Negro financial and cultural success is Columbia University's Morningside Gardens Co-operative. But whereas the old élite of Sugar Hill were exclusively Negro, the new élite of Morningside live cheek by jowl with whites. The tenants of the Morningside Co-operative are an integrated mixing of Negro and white: 30 per cent are Negro, 70 per cent white. And there is a new Sugar Hill in the making on Riverside Drive.

I said to my companion: "It took a lot of sugar to move up to the Hill in those days, didn't it, honey?"

She was startled and amused by my attempt to speak like an American, but she responded: "It sure did, honey child, it sure did." As we walked down the hill, away from the vanished glory that was Sugar Hill, I thought of this girl beside me. I wondered how representative she was. How much of her feelings and opinions reflected group feeling in Harlem? How pervasive the "Nationalism" she had expressed so forcefully? How universal the sense of embattlement, of constant consciousness of the "enemy?"

We paused on the corner of Lenox and 125th. I suggested a parting drink. She did not feel like one this evening: she had a lot to do at home. Would we meet the following evening? No; she had another date. What about the evening after? No, that was out too.

I realized this was the moment of parting, I knew why, and there was no way of apologizing without embarrassing. I watched her walk away from me, small and graceful, a slightly lilting swing to her walk, like soundless music. And suddenly she seemed very lonely, very alone, as one can be in big cities. It might have been about her that Langston Hughes wrote:

Lovely, dark, and lonely one,
Bare your bosom to the sun,
Do not be afraid of light
You who are a child of night.

At one point she and I discussed the problems faced by sensitive educated Negro girls in finding mates. The tradition among American Negroes, she said, had always been that the girls had the better opportunities for education. When parents could put only one of two children through high school or college, and these were of different sexes, the choice almost invariably was the girl. Thus educated girls outnumbered educated young men. For the educated man the situation was ideal. He had a wide range from which to choose a mate. For the woman it was the opposite. Her choice was limited, competition fierce. For the sensitive this could be a situation of painful frustration.

I told her that the position was the exact opposite in Africa. There are pitifully few educated African women. The educated African male's range of choice is even more restricted than that of the American Negro woman. In almost every case, the educated African's wife is no more than a woman who cooks and cleans for him and breeds his children. I suggested, half in jest, that it would solve this problem if the

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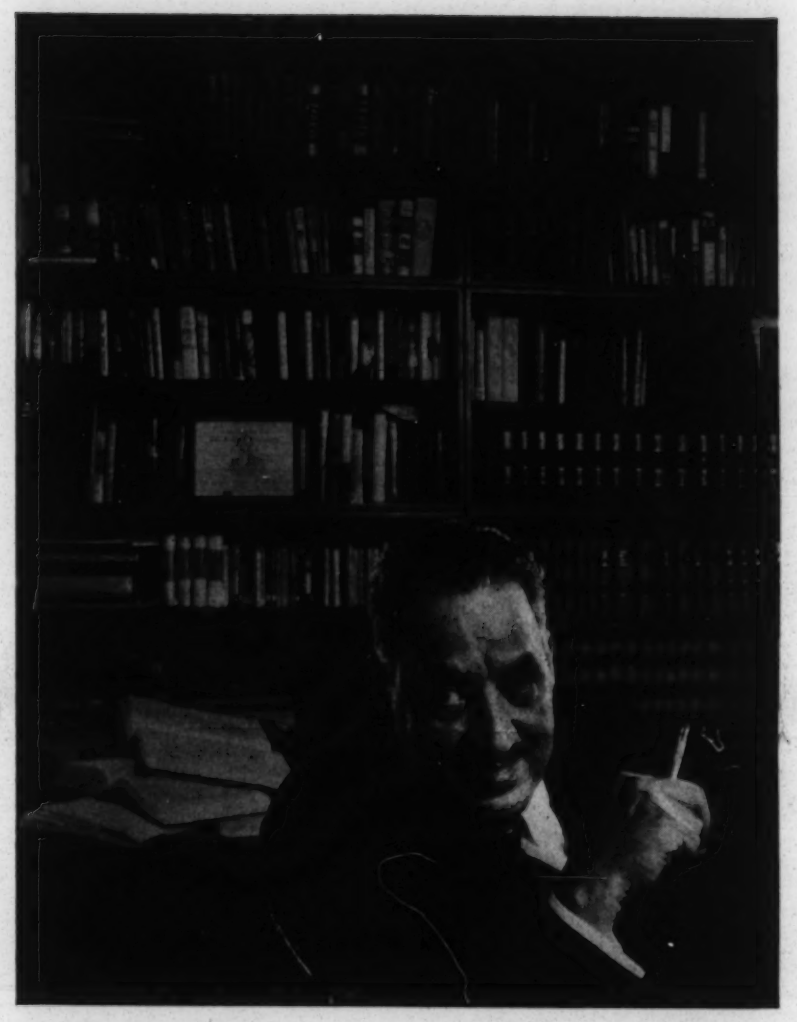
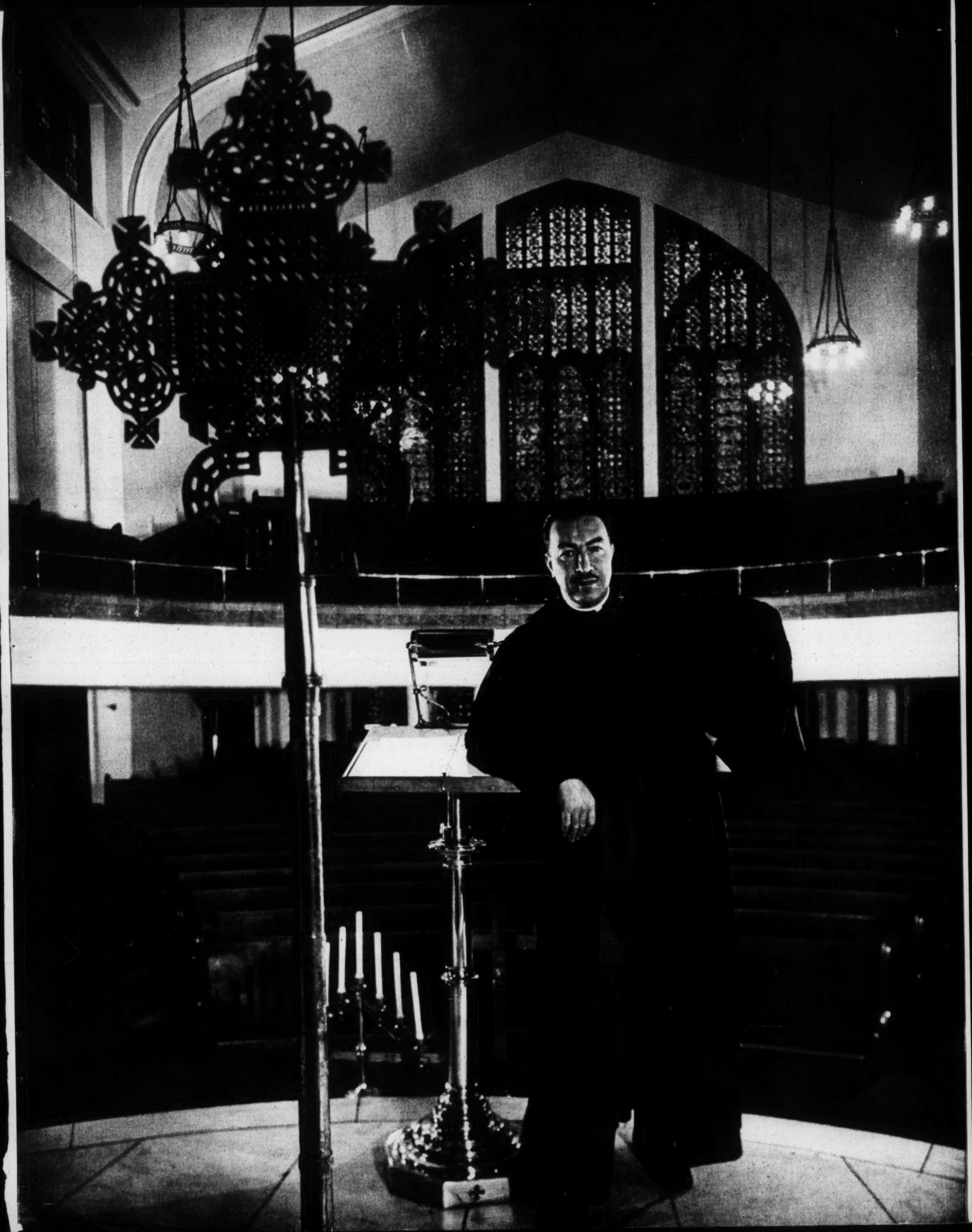


THURGOOD MARSHALL, the country's leading lawyer in Negro and civil-rights cases, spearheaded the legal fight which produced school desegregation, and is responsible for many other constitutional precedents. Versatile, outgoing, a great storyteller, Mr. Marshall is as popular in Harlem for his warmth as for his professional achievements. To relax from hard work and much travel, he turns to his hobby—cooking.

THE REV. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., the most powerful figure in Harlem, at his lectern in the Abyssinian Baptist Church of Harlem; from here he guides the largest Negro church in the world and the largest Protestant congregation in the country. A political leader as well, the Reverend Powell has been a United States Congressman for fifteen years, during which he has often been the central figure in crackling controversies. His parishioner-constituents, for whom he can do no wrong, admire him also for his elegance in clothing, cars and homes.



Continued from Page 78
surplus educated Negro women of marriageable age were shipped to Africa. She treated the suggestion with the utmost seriousness. She and some of her women friends, she said, had discussed this selfsame idea and found it the ideal solution, and it had the added attraction of fitting in with their "Nationalism."

At last she swung around a corner, out of sight. I stood watching, hoping she would look back just once so that we could have a final farewell. But she was made of the stern stuff of the practical, hardheaded American child of our time.

The sharp wind that had chilled me on Sugar Hill seemed to have died down, or else it did not reach this low-lying section of Harlem. I felt more comfortable, less anxious to hurry to my overheated hotel room. I began to wander slowly down in the direction of 7th Avenue.

This avenue and 125th Street are the commercial and social centers of the street life of Harlem; 125th and the corners off it constitute the main shopping area. But just as very few Negroes in Harlem own the homes in which they live, so very few of Harlem's stores are owned by Negroes. Only some 20 per cent of the merchants and store managers are Negroes. This has in the past led to the injecting of racial overtones into essentially economic problems.

In the main Negroes tend to own small businesses: barbershops, beauty parlors, the smaller eating places. Whites own the big grocery stores, meat markets, bakeries, coal-and-ice companies, the big restaurants, clothing, department and furniture stores. One field in which Negro businessmen are extremely successful is the funeral-parlor home. The Negro spends more than the national average of $600 to bury his dead. The result is that undertakers are among the wealthiest men in the community. I found this preoccupation with giving the dead the right kind of send-off strikingly African in its psychological undertones. In tribal Africa the spirit of the dead is, if anything, treated with more thought and consideration than was the person while living. The body is well decked out. In some tribes the best in food and drink is buried with the body, as well as gifts to deliver on the other side in the spirit world. Then there is the ceremonial of drinking and singing, sometimes for nine or even twelve nights, to keep the spirit company on its dark journey. Burial is not so elaborate as all that with the New World Negro—but certainly the memory of old, forgotten ways is suggested; changed by time and a new situation.

Seventh Avenue is the broadest of the avenues in Harlem; one of the few tree-lined thoroughfares in that area of Manhattan. It is the avenue on which I saw more young lovers strolling than on any other. They were about me now, some holding hands. And I found it refreshing when I passed one particular couple—both teen-agers—and the girl self-consciously disengaged her hand when she saw me looking at them.

I paused at a street corner to listen to a Nationalist haranguing a small crowd for their lack of Nationalism and race pride. Earlier that same day, about eleven in the morning, I had met the principal "theoretician" of Harlem's Nationalist movement at the Frederick Douglass bookshop on 125th Street. It is a small, narrow shop jammed with literature on the Negro, and I was looking through some old historical books when he walked in. His name is J. A. Rogers. He is very tall—well over six feet—and ramrod straight. He is extremely fair, fairer than many a genuine white Caucasian (how silly can the language of race and color get?). There is something militaristic, solid and very British about him. He is hardly known outside Negro circles, yet is the most widely read pamphleteer in Negro America. Most of the ideas shouted by black speakers from soapboxes at street corners are culled from the writings of J. A. Rogers.

It was close on midnight and the streets were alive. I had been warned, mainly by white friends, to watch out for muggers. But Harlem seemed to me much safer, much more peaceful than the jungle of my native Johannesburg after dark.

Here and there I passed groups of men talking freely, loudly. They were relaxed, assured, as people are within the protection of home ground. Courting couples sauntered up and down, window-shopping. There were even a few children abroad at this late hour. And the only people who seemed out of place were the white policemen on their beat. Here, on the dark streets of Harlem, they were the outsiders.

Continued on Page 136

NORMAN LEWIS is a Harlem painter whose sensitive, mood-filled canvases have won steadily increasing national and international attention. Now fifty, Mr. Lewis began painting in the 1930's, later taught at the Harlem Art Center, and after numerous one-man shows he won the Popularity Prize at the Carnegie International Exhibition in 1955. More recently his work has been shown at the Venice Bienniale.

WILLIE "THE LION" SMITH, the master of lacy, lyrical, intense, barrelhouse jazz piano, makes himself at home at Ed Smalls' Paradise, one of the few surviving night clubs from the great days of Harlem jazz. Willie the Lion earned his nickname as an artilleryman during World War I and has sustained it since as an endlessly inventive jazz performer and composer. His personality is as forceful as his art: the cigar and the derby are symbols well in keeping with the Lion's native exuberance.

BURSTING TO FINISH OF 100-METER EVENT, WILMA STRAINS FOR TAPE. CRIPPLED BY DISEASE IN CHILDHOOD, SHE WAS UNABLE TO WALK UNTIL SHE WAS 8

OLYMPIAN QUINTESSENCE

A girl's triple win, a caper in the Colosseum, a Russian victory

The quintessence of Olympian effort was expressed in the lissome, straining figure of this 20-year-old American girl as she sprinted explosively across the finish line. Wilma Rudolph (*above*) of Clarksville, Tenn., who had already won the crowd with her high-stepping sparkle and easygoing air, now wowed everyone by her performance. She won the 100-meter dash in 11 seconds flat, just 8/10ths of a second slower than the men's time. She broke the Olympic record for the 200-meter dash in a qualifying heat, then, in the final, she breezed home four yards in front. For an encore she anchored the winning U.S. 400-meter relay team. This made her the first U.S. women's track star to win three gold medals since Babe Didrikson's 1932 victories.

Wilma's three wins were not enough to give the U.S. the unofficial team victory. To no one's surprise the hardy Russians emerged from the games with a commanding lead in both medals won and unofficial points scored (*p. 118*). They had 43 gold medals to the Americans' 34. But the final U.S. score was high enough to permit some moments of relaxation by Olympians like Don Bragg, men's pole-vault winner, who realized (*next page*) his ambition to play the role of his childhood hero.

CONTINUED

DWARFING A CELTIC, Wilt Chamberlain rises high over Boston's Ramsey while trying for basket.

THE LEAP THAT NO ONE CAN STOP

Legs flying, arms flailing, Wilt Chamberlain finally descended on the National Basketball Association. The pros had been waiting for him since they first got wind of the seven-foot giant at Philadelphia's Overbrook High School (LIFE, Feb. 21, 1955). Later at the University of Kansas (LIFE, Jan. 28, 1957) Chamberlain was acclaimed as the greatest college player ever. Still the pros had to see it to believe it. In his first games as center for the Philadelphia Warriors they hazed him unmercifully. They pushed him and held him and battered him with their elbows. But Chamberlain would not wilt. Keeping his temper, he began popping in baskets and gathering rebounds at a record rate for a rookie. Even against Boston's great defensive player, Bill Russell, he was able to score 30 points and make 28 rebounds. And wherever Wilt played around the league, the gate was up. A game that seemed to be growing stale because of all its big men looked suddenly very fresh indeed because of the biggest.

BATTLE OF THE GIANTS is waged between rookie seven-footer, Wilt Chamberlain (*right*), and old pro Bill Russell at 6 feet 9 inches. Here Chamberlain comes down hard after beating Russell to a rebound.

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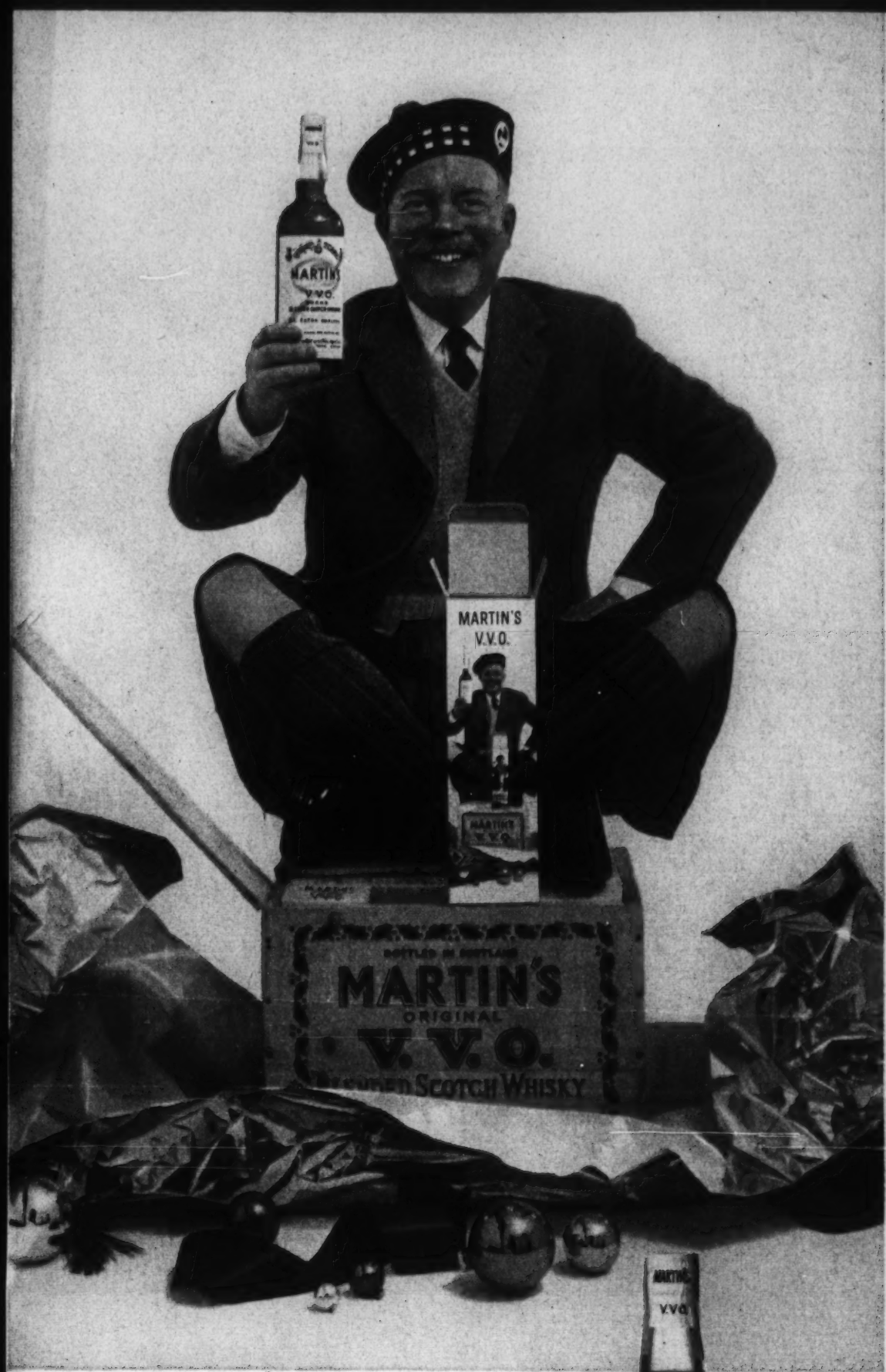


The happiest scotch for the Holidays

MELLOW, LIGHT— JUST RIGHT FOR TONIGHT

MARTIN'S

V.V.O. SCOTCH

86.8 PROOF. IMPORTED BY McKESSON & ROBBINS, INC., NEW YORK, N. Y. ©McK. & R.,'59

PLAYING ROUGH in his own right, Wilt crashes down on two Boston players. "A man gives me an elbow," Wilt says, "I'll make sure he gets one back."

BEING OUTPLAYED underneath the basket, Wilt waves one of his huge hands over Bill Russell's head in a vain attempt to deflect a scoring shot.

CONTINUED

HT 9-7-40

BOOKS AND THINGS

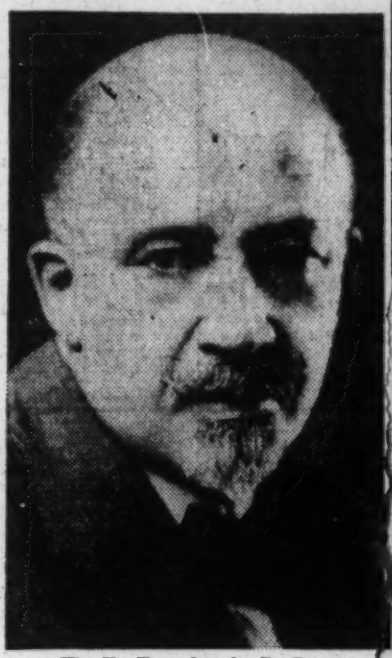
By LEWIS GANNETT

FIVE years after the Emancipation Proclamation, up in the Berkshire hills, an American was born—as he himself later put it, "with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but, thank God, no 'Anglo-Saxon.'" In 1903 he published one of the great books of its period, "The Souls of Black Folk," which had a good deal of autobiography in its pages. In 1920 he published "Darkwater," also partly autobiographical. And this year W. E. Burghardt DuBois issues "Dusk at Dawn," a book to which he gives the curious subtitle, "An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept."

Books

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

When Dr. DuBois was born, New England conceived itself as having helped put down a wicked rebellion for the purpose of freeing four million slaves. In the South black men newly emancipated, were voting freely; two groups of laborers—freed slaves and poor whites—dominated what had been a slaveholders' oligarchy. His Massachusetts neighbors regarded the new situation as an extraordinary experiment in democracy; Dr. DuBois still sees it so, and regards it as a tragedy that a film, "The Birth of a Nation," and a novel, "Gone With the Wind," have, even in the North, twisted the popular picture of an era of emancipation and enfranchisement into a legend of orgies of theft, rape and degradation.



W. E. Burghardt DuBois

He grew up with a consciousness of destiny, personal and racial. He was somewhat ashamed when another colored student, entering the Great Barrington High School, failed to excel the white students as he had easily done. When he entered a course in English composition at Harvard, he wrote proudly that "I believe, foolishly perhaps, but sincerely, that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12 in order to say it well." Barrett Wendell, who was perhaps less 100 per cent Brahmin than Van Wyck Brooks pictures him in his "New England: Indian Summer," read that sentence to the class; and whether English 12 had anything to do with it or not, DuBois became a master of English style.

Blend of New England and Africa

At graduation, on a basis of scholarship, DuBois was chosen Harvard commencement orator. His theme was "Jefferson Davis as a Representative of Civilization." He pictured Davis as a strong man of the "Teutonic type," and suggested that the world would some day honor as highly the patient, trustful African type of civilization. The leading New York

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"Patient" and "trustful," however, have never been the proper adjectives to describe Dr. DuBois. Among the intellectual leaders of his race he has always been unique in that he wrote primarily for his own people, rather than for a white audience. He believed in those days in the leadership of a Talented Tenth, and he set out to demonstrate such leadership in his own person. He challenged Booker T. Washington's passiveness as the South stripped the Negroes of the rights won after the Civil War. He was bitter. He was untactful. Whatever he has believed—and his new book is a study of his own changing concept of race—he has believed and stated with a passion and a power that are partly the heritage of the uncompromising New England of Garrison and Phillips, partly, perhaps, of sunlit, sensuous, laughing Africa.

Not American—Colored

"I was not an American," he says. "I was not a man; I was, by long education and continual compulsion and daily reminder, a colored man in a white world; and that white world often existed primarily, so far as I was concerned, to see with sleepless vigilance that I was kept within bounds. . . . How I traveled and where, what work I did, what income I received, where I ate, where I slept, with whom I talked, where I sought recreation, where I studied, what I wrote and what I could get published—all this depended primarily upon an overwhelming mass of my fellow citizens in the United States from whose society I was largely excluded."

The "Income-Bearing Value of Race Prejudice"

How that affected his teaching in Ohio, in Tennessee and in Georgia, his social studies, and his frank talk about the facts of racial intermixture in the South, seldom faced by either black or white, Dr. DuBois here tells. At first he thought of the situation as a peculiar product of American history. Gradually he grew into a conception of race as a determinant of world history, and then his conception of race began to merge into a still larger conception of mass and class. It was in Africa, whither President Coolidge sent him as Envoy Extraordinary to the Republic of Liberia, that DuBois came clearly to connect race and wealth. He came to believe that "the income-bearing value of race prejudice was the cause and not the result of theories of race inferiority; that particularly in the United States the income of the Cotton Kingdom based on black slavery caused the passionate belief in Negro inferiority and the determination to enforce it even by arms."

He had begun believing that race prejudice was primarily a matter of ignorance, and could be cured by the spread of knowledge; he came increasingly to understand that men are moved by deeper, subconscious springs. Statistical denial of the old legend that lynchings were revenge for the rape of white women did not stop lynching. Supreme Court decisions did not end segregation. Dr. DuBois lost his faith in the leadership of the Talented Tenth. He came to believe that "democracy" would remain a mockery until the colored peoples of Asia, Africa and the Americas were all freed from their prisons of poverty and ignorance.

From Frederick Douglass to Richard Wright

After a quarter of a century of preaching and editing in New York with "The Crisis," organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as his pulpit, he broke with his erstwhile colleagues and, returning to Atlanta in the Deep South, accepted the realities of segregation for himself and his people, announcing a new doctrine, tha the only way to fight the color line was by color organization. It brough him into increasing contact and conflict with the Communists.

In this new philosophy Dr. DuBois is not always as clear as he w in his old crusading; it does not lend itself to ringing, poetic statemen of faith. Nor is he always fair to opponents in stating his disagreemen But his life bridges the history of the Negro in America from Frederic Douglass to Richard Wright, and this his life-story, with its painf honesties and reticences, its occasional wild flashes of African exultatior and its constant strain of genuinely philosophic insights, is an importar contribution to understanding of the major failure in America's evolutic into democracy.

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This Clipping from

Raleigh N. C. News & Observer
January 30, 1946

RALEIGH, N. C., WEDNESDAY MORNING,

'Quit the South'

Harlem's Negro Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell, has written a book called "Marching Blacks," in which he closes with advising all Negroes to "Quit the South." In bitter words he calls to Southern Negroes: "Come North and let the bigots and race-baiters die alone among their own crumbling economic structure."

Fifty years ago, when Peg Leg Williams carried many Negroes from Southern farms to work on Western farms with the promise of big pay, laws were passed against such solicitation. Even so, many Negroes went. After a time many returned and others remained in their new homes. During World War I many Negroes went North where they were employed at high wages. When there came sweeping reduction in workers employed, the Negroes were the first to be fired. Many returned to the South where conditions were more to their liking but quite a number chose to be permanent residents in Northern States. They tended to live among their own race, and by Northern segregation most of them lived in Harlem, a like district in Chicago and Negro sections in other cities. Few of them went into the rural districts. During World War II the need for many workers and domestic labor attracted quite a number of Negroes to Northern cities where they received better wages. As a rule they lived with members of their race and in some places built their own churches and social centers. Will history repeat itself? When normal conditions return and there is reduction in employes, will many trek back to the South from which they went to get better paying jobs?

The Negro has the right to live where he pleases and most of them will reside where they are happiest and most prosperous. And nobody should say them "nay." The South hopes most of them will remain where they were born and where they are liked and where they will get better wages and better schools than in the old days where all—white and black alike—were poor. With more prosperity, the South is paying Negroes better wages, giving

jobs?

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> I want to commend you on your fair, illuminating, and informative address. There is just one thing that disturbs me about it—I am just sorry that I can't be be a Negro and live in North Carolina.

Even Representative Powell, who tells Negroes to "Quit the South," said:

> I have always thought of North Carolina as not only the best State in the South but as one of the finest in the nation.

Many will elect to go North, as is their right. Nobody should hinder or help. In the North they will find no Utopia, doors will not swing open to them except in their own Harlem and Negro sections of the North. They will get lip service, but whether in the North or in the South their advancement will depend upon their own industry, character and usefulness. In 1945 Senator Ball of Minnesota asked the question and it came out that there had been more complaints of discrimination in employment in the North than there have been in the South.

Congressman Powell takes upon himself a great responsibility in urging the Negroes to "Quit the South." Southerners go out of their purview to say "Stay in the South." Competent and honest and industrious Negroes will do well no matter where they reside; those who expect to be lifted up on flowery beds of ease will be disappointed whether they live in New York or New Bern. Like all races everywhere, their future is largely in their own keeping. Work, correct habits, skill are the trinity that writes the future of the Negro as of all races.

In North Carolina, as Governor Hoey pointed out in a recent address in the Senate, the Negroes as a whole have better opportunities and better educational advantages than in any place they have ever lived. There is much to be desired and that both races will bring about in years of prosperity. It would be unwise for all Negroes to take the advice to "Quit the South" at the time when nobody can show there is a section where they will be happier or get along better. But nobody should be unwise enough to issue commands, "Stay in the South." It is equally unwise to give the slogan, "Quit the South." The Negro has come of age and may be depended on to chose his own place of abode. It would be hard for them and the South if they should en masse heed the slogan, "Quit the South." They

Lillian Smith on Georgia Mountain Writes of White Culture in South

Chattanooga Times 6/16/46

BY WARD MOREHOUSE
North American Newspaper Alliance.

CLAYTON, Ga., June 15 — Lillian Smith lives on a North Georgia mountain, and she also owns it. This mountain is called Old Screamer, a mile and a half from Clayton. She worked for seven years in the little rock house writing her best-selling novel, "Strange Fruit," and spent another year and a half making a play of it.

In the village of Clayton, county seat of Rabun County, this alert, articulate, 48-year-old southern woman is known as "Miss Lil"; she has the respect and the affection of the community. When the news got around that her play was to be done on Broadway her fellow Georgians responded. People of Clayton decided then and there to go into show business.

Miss Smith's favorite taxi driver put in $1,000, laying down cash on the line. Her colored cook invested $50 and her colored truck driver $500, giving her the money in $5 and $10 bills. Thirteen stockholders from Clayton (population about 900) included a doctor and a contractor. Friends in Atlanta invested eagerly. Approximately $43,000 of the $102,000 production cost of "Strange Fruit" was contributed by southerners, all of them persons believing in the author. And in such ways do plays of our time reach the Broadway stage.

"It was my first play for the professional theater," Miss Smith, novelist and editor, now tell you, "and after I got over the shock of the notices I went to work trying to save the play. I knew things weren't right before we opened in New York; I also knew we had a lot of actors and an expensive show to operate. There were 165 persons in the book; I cut that down to 35 in the play.

"Well, on the opening night I gave a party for my family and my southern friends. Then I went over to the Biltmore Hotel and read the morning notices. Some of the New York reviews were nice. But I could have spanked you critics and put you off to bed for the winter. 'Strange Fruit' has sold nearly 2,000,000 copies; it ran on Broadway for only eight weeks . . . but I'll be back."

"You know," smiled Miss Smith, "I'm not the reformer everybody insists I am. I think being called a crusader has hurt me the most. A few years ago we had few educated Negroes; now we have 70,000 and they are articulate. We must realize that if we educate Negroes we can't segregate them. I've had Negro friends from Atlanta here in my home.

"'Strange Fruit' was not a propaganda play; it wasn't a play about Negroes. It was a play about white culture and I was saying that our culture might collapse if it goes along dry-rotted as it has. I was trying in 'Strange Fruit' to probe into the lives of all of us. I got many letters on the play and about 4,000 on the book. They came from all sections and about 95 per cent of them were favorable. . . . The success of the book was very gratifying after all those years of patient work."

Miss Smith continued, quietly: "I come from a family of churchmen: I live in Georgia and love it and get along with the people. The South is full of decent, civilized, intelligent people who feel imprisoned by old customs, who don't know how to free themselves. I don't think the southern family has been really written about in fiction.

Loves to Live in South

"I enjoy my stays in New York and my travel—I'll be going to India within a few days—but I wouldn't dream of living anywhere except the South. I love the sweetness and graciousness of the people. In recent years I've been reading widely in fields of psychoanalysis and psychiatry and I've found all of that of great help in understanding the South and its people. . . . This place, this mountain, that little town, all that is home for me. We can't have a world in which everybody leaves home, can we?"

For nearly a decade Miss Smith has been co-publisher and co-editor with Paula Snelling, another deep-South woman, of the magazine, "South Today," temporarily suspended. Miss Smith is now working on a short novel and a non-fiction book, "Mr. White Man," which is about white culture.

"When I'm through with that, I'll be through with race subjects for awhile. I wrote one novel before 'Strange Fruit' but I won't let the publishers do anything with it."

"You will do another play—of course."

She smiled and said: "It was a lot of fun, even though the play didn't run very long. I enjoyed being in the theater and watching the play grow. The Communists began fighting me as soon as the book of 'Strange Fruit' came out and I always thought the stage hands were fighting we with the play. I thought they were openly antagonistic because of the subject matter. There was so much racket in changing the scenes the opening night I almost went out of my mind. We had some good actors, though."

Copy received Sept. 1946 9-1-46

Harry Harrison Kroll

Deep South

QUALITY.
By Cid Ricketts Sumner.
. . . 286 pp. . . . Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. . . . $2.75.

Reviewed by
FLORENCE HAXTON BULLOCK

MRS. CID RICKETTS SUMNER, who was born and bred in Mississippi, has written a very ingratiating propagandist novel designed to sell Americans, whatever the shades of their skins or their prejudices, some of the author's excellent ideas for improving the condition of the colored people—and incidentally, that of white people as well.

"Quality" takes accurate aim and makes a palpable hit without, believe it or not, wounding anybody at all. For so tender and genuine is Mrs. Sumner's love for the human race, be its skin black or white, that she is able to portray stupidities on both sides of the color line without undue

the white folks' coach and thereafter, for a half dozen or so good years, into the white folks' lives. For Pinkey, while she was in the North, "passed." And for a time enjoyed to the full her freedom to be herself among other free young people. It was a love affair that she had to forego which drove Pinkey back South in the end. She brought back to the battered old Negro cabin and Aunt Dicey a broken and confused young heart, and the competence and training that had made her a registered nurse. The rest of Mrs. Sumner's story—and that is to say, the most of it—shows what kind of life a girl like Pinkey could make for herself and her people—against all the old handicaps and limitations in the deep South of 1946.

The framework of "Quality" is aptly contrived to illustrate all the points Mrs. Sumner wishes to stress. She dramatizes the folly of the radical Negro newspaper man with his passion for organization and publicity and his naive faith in the fantastic freedoms that will be his after a bit of struggle. And over against him she puts the quiet earnestness of the young Negro doctor whom Pinkey brings down from New York to help her

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Yet "Quality" goes directly and unblushingly to the points its author wishes to make. Mrs. Sumner is honestly engaged in reporting the truth as she sees it about the Negro in the deep South vis-a-vis the white man who has been for generations his avowed best friend, but in fact his worst enemy.

"Quality" is a nice little parable set forth in the experiences of Pinkey, the promising young granddaughter of Aunt Dicey, an old colored woman whom the white folks regarded as "quite a character." They approved her loyalty to the old ideas—in her case to acid but honorable Miss Em in the big house—and gave little heed when Aunt Dicey saved enough money from bending over the washtub and the smoothing iron to send twelve-year-old Pinkey, all dressed up in blue gingham with white rickrack braid and her first straw hat, on the train to go North to school. Pinkey—who later called herself Patricia, then Pat, and finally Pinkey again, when unhappy circumstances forced her back South once more—had, it happened, a pretty, light skin. And she had also what her white Northern schoolmates were later to refer to as "class." And she was smart, besides. But at the moment of taking the train, Pinkey was merely a frightened little colored girl shrinking into her seat in a Jim Crow car.

It was the train conductor who looked at her white skin and told her, mistakenly, that she was in the wrong car. Pinkey said nothing, and followed him—into

Bachrach

Cid Ricketts Sumner

with her people, and the patient hopefulness and indomitability, in spite of disasters invoked against her by the white people, of Pinkey herself.

Moderation is Mrs. Sumner's watchword for the colored people, and she speaks it over and over again in "Quality." Somewhere between Aunt Dicey, who is willing to go along with the old ways, and Arch Naughton, who is looking for free streetcar rides and plenty of government relief, there is the middle dream which Mrs. Sumner, a bit sentimentally perhaps, believes can be made a reality in the Deep South before too long. The impatient may find her counsel of a slow and solid build-up of quality and character in the individual, in preference to mass action, a little puzzling in view of the shortage of decent schools and decent housing and chances at decent jobs that confront the Southern Negro in the here and now. And they may feel that patience for the Negro has long ceased to be a virtue.

As a novel "Quality" has not the spaciousness or richness of Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit," and Mrs. Sumner shares Miss Smith's weakness in oversentimentalizing her colored heroine. Nor is "Quality" by any means so sturdily and realistically built up as Hodding Carter's fine "Winds of Destiny." But it has its own special merit. Mrs. Sumner is actually a protagonist neither for the white nor the colored race but, over and above all, for the human race itself, confronted with this pressing problem of adjustment and readjustment. And "Quality" is her tract designed to help us all, black and white, so far as in her lies, to find the way ahead.

'Quality' Treats Race Issue Fairly

By EMILY WOODWARD

TOO MUCH of the writing about race relations in the South is done with pens that drip prejudice, passion and ignorance.

Readers, weary of searching through fogs of emotionalism and error for clear paths to pursue in their reasoning on this subject, will find an oasis in Cid Rickett Sumner's book "Quality," just released by Bobbs-Merrill. Here, an author has chosen to work with a pen fed by the liquid light of truth. Mrs. Sumner's sustained loyalty to exactness gives the impression that she has just gotten around to developing a film out of a magic camera, left open in her mind while she lived in the South.

It is the face and the heart of Liberty Grove, Mississippi, that rise up in sharp relief out of the words moving through the pages of "Quality." It is the face and the heart of the South.

Blemishes Amid Loveliness

If moved by any sentimental impulse to touch out the blemishes on the face of her Mother State, Mrs. Sumner has proved unyielding. They are all there, sharply defined against the loveliness which is there also—furrows, deep-ploughed by evil passions; softly wrinkled paths, traced by gentle human emotions: moles, warts, pockmarks, crowded in between tiny laugh-lines. It is a face carrying the battle-ground marks of continuous psychological warfare.

All the elements of human passion are seen tugging at the heart of Liberty Grove, laid bare by Mrs. Sumner. We hear its gentle beating as it is fed by veins of kindness, when violence, hatred and injustice rush tidelike through its valves.

The characters in "Quality" are as true to type, as if stamped from originals. Miss Em, Dr. Joe, Mrs. Wooley, Aunt Dicey, Patsy, Jake, Rosalie, Arch, the lawyers, court attendants and judge, might have stepped out of any Southern town into the pages of "Quality." With them could have come the rambling old house and tangled garden on the hill, the magnolia trees, camellia bushes, the town's dark, ragged fringes with their dingy, staggering cabins, untidy crooked streets, twisted hungry-looking trees, sagging fences, dusky little denizens, running, hobbling or chained by disease to lumpy, cotton pallets in shadowy rooms.

The sociological complexities in Liberty Grove could have come out of a community in any region. The cruelty, generosity, callousness, egotism, bigotry, nobility, greed, gallantry, wisdom, ignorance, courage, hope, despair, class distinction and strife in each race and between races, follow a universal pattern.

Not Only in the South . . .

The author is not guilty of the common error of giving all the vices or all the virtues to any one individual or racial group: she has kneaded them into the fabric of one and all. Like nature, too, she has yielded to caprice in distributing "quality" in human character; tucking it beneath the sagging coat of a weary country doctor, the frayed bed-jacket of a proud white daughter of the Old South, the white uniform of another daughter, wearing the cream-skinned badge of dishonest heritage; and, taking time to choose something extra special to leave under a dusky old servant's shabby second-hand frock.

A claim to genius in the art of giving power to words is proved for Mrs. Sumner in "Quality." More important is the proof of her rich endowment in the talent to exhort without dull preachment. In addition to stirring readers to chair-edge with excitement and suspense, Mrs. Sumner stirs consciences into a realization that latent storms lurk in the clouds of slums allowed to settle in pockets and on the rims of towns and cities—not only in the South, but everywhere.

Journal Sept -?. 1946

N.Y. Herald Tribune
Weekly Book Review

In the South

MOONRISE.
By Theodore Strauss. . . .
216 pp. . . . New York: The Viking Press. . . . $2.50.

10/13/46

Reviewed by
WILLIAM ABRAHAMS

THE scene of this short psychological novel is a small town in the South. Its hero, a young man named Danny Hawkins, has grown up there always on the outside, socially insecure, obsessed and stigmatized by the memory of his murderer father. In a desperate attempt at self-assertion, Danny "takes on" the most offensive of his tormentors, Jerry Sykes, son of the local banker. But the brawl that follows serves only to remove Danny from the role of symbolic outsider to actual outlaw; in the passion of the moment he smashes in Sykes's skull and kills him. He must hide the body; he

Theodore Strauss

must behave as though nothing has happened; he is terrified, guilt-ridden, conscience-stricken. And to make everything more complicated, he falls in love. By ironic coincidence, the girl he chooses is Gilly Johnson, a school teacher who was to have married Jerry Sykes, and it is perhaps less irony and more coincidence that Gilly responds to Danny instantly and passionately. Theirs, of course, is one of those love affairs doomed before it begins, for it is only a matter of time until Danny realizes that he must surrender Gilly and his freedom, if he is ever to achieve the spiritual freedom that matters most.

Even so brief a summary as this will indicate the dramatic values of "Moonrise," and it can be said that Mr. Strauss has not slighted them. He has handicapped himself, however, by a too scrupulous attempt to tell the story not merely from Danny's point of view but in his own terms. Something of the young man's inarticulateness communicates itself to the printed page; the many reflections on life and death, while quite consistent with Danny's intelligence, are regrettably commonplace: a monotone of surface thinking. Significantly enough, once Mr. Strauss allows himself, [illegible] his [illegible] elli- [illegible] behind the [illegible] reals himself as a writer [illegible] ied talent. The sections dealing with Billy Scripture, a deaf-mute idiot boy, are written with feeling and accuracy of observation.

SOUTHERN
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Atlanta, Ga. Journal
November 25, 1946

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AUTHOR MEZERIK SPEAKING

Prosperity Held Key To Racial Problems

Prosperity is alleviating racial antagonism in the South, and race relations will continue to improve if the South can rid herself of widespread poverty, A. G. Mezerik, author of "The Revolt of the South and West," said here Monday.

A. G. MEZERIK

"Since I have spent most of my life in Toledo, Detroit and New York, I don't like to talk about race relations, because I know we haven't solved the problem in those cities," he said. "But I do know that economic and job competition is the basis of racial ill-will. Prosperity lessens this feeling."

Mr. Mezerik believes that the recent action of the North Carolina Baptist convention, urging a federal antilynching law and equal hospital, suffrage and educational opportunities for all races, is "the most significant development" in Southern race relations in years. He also noted that the Georgia Baptist convention held a joint session with Negro Baptists recently.

The author said no one has challenged the section of his new book which described Atlanta in these words: "Atlanta is the ultimate in joint political and social control by varied eastern owners working with special southern interests to control the city and the state." His information about Atlanta, he said, was obtained in interviews with approximately 50 local business men.

"I'm not against branch industries in the South," he explained, "but I believe that they aren't the basis for a sound economy. Your economy must be based on your own industries. You talk about your tenant farmers in the South, well you have tenant industries, too. The South needs more technical colleges, so you can train people to manage industries. Mr. Mezerik spoke to Georgia Tech students Monday morning.

Atl. Journal 11-25-46

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Book Reviews

by J. Saunders Redding

"A NEGRO'S FAITH IN AMERICA," by Spencer Logan 88 pages, Macmillan Co., Price $1.75.

Toward the end of the first autobiographical chapter of his book, "A Negro's Faith in America," Spencer Logan has this to say:

"I have given this brief statement of my background and experiences before entering the Army so that the reader may judge the point of view from which I write."

But the point of view is extremely dubious and equivocal, and as for the rest, one must conclude that there is nothing either in Mr. Logan's background or experience that qualifies him to write the kind of book "A Negro's Faith in America" turns out to be.

"Presumptuous, Condescending"

For the book is in no sense a personal testament, as the title implies. Instead, it attempts to speak for all colored Americans; and in so doing it is at least presumptuous. It is also condescending, captious, and pretentious, though I feel certain that the author intended it to be none of these things.

Mr. Logan, one feels, is a sober and sincere man. Now a man who is sincere can be forgiven much, but the kind of sincerity required in a book of the sort "A Negro's Faith in America" purports to be should stem not from individual frustration, but from an objective, coldly clinical knowledge.

This knowledge the author simply does not have. Somehow he has been led into inexcusable errors. He passes judgment on matters which he understands imperfectly.

Opinions Contrary to Fact

He utters opinions which are unsupported by fact, and, indeed, are sometimes quite contrary to fact; and he uses cliches which, whatever else they do, do not clarify meaning.

In a turgid resume of what colored people in America have tried to do to better their lot, Mr. Logan says:

"Certain Negro leaders possessing more zeal than realism have propounded impressive but impractical plans for their people. These plans failed . . . ." (because) "the proponents of all the plans overlooked this (the impulse of a civilization to protect its own chances of survival) when they glibly announced their purpose . . ." (The leaders) "were intent upon setting up concepts and institutions which were alien and even unfriendly to this civilization.

"Dr. DuBois through the Pan-African Congress wanted unity of Negro thought. Dr. Miller would have set up a central clearing house for Negro opinion which would in time have become autocratic in its operation. . . ."

"'Sheer Nonsense"

The central point in this statement (that W. E. B. DuBois and Kelly Miller were interested in setting up concepts alien and unfriendly to America) is sheer nonsense, as are such statements as these picked at random:

"It is generally recognized by Negroes that the lighter the color, the less stability of character and purpose.

"This senseless belligerancy (of Negro leaders) created the atmosphere for the recent rioting in New York City. . . . The rioting could not be explained directly in terms of hunger for food. It could be attributed, however, to the constant agitation carried on by Negro leaders for the letter of democracy."

Meaningless Statement

And what does this statement mean?: "America is a potential proving ground . . . of the theory that all men have within themselves a mental and spiritual unity."

But of course, if Spencer Logan had left out all the immature appraisals, all the carping, and all of the material that shows his woeful lack of historical and social fact, he would have had an essay of less than three thousand words — and an essay of less than three thousands words would not have made a book.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
March 2, 1955

Race Relations

Racial Integration Cited in South's Social Trends

By Bicknell Eubanks
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Dallas

Economic change in the South has been a dominant theme of the region in the past decade. What was once called the nation's number one economic problem has become now a major force in the continued boom in the United States.

Parallel with these material improvements which are changing the face of the South are sociological and political shifts which are altering the thinking of southerners and mark a continuing transition from passive to active efforts to attain a broader base of democracy. Dominant in this politico-sociological shift has been a change in the pattern of racial relations which, according to the biracial Southern Regional Council, has been developing with "phenomenal rapidity."

Postwar Tension Fades

"Nine years ago," the council recalls, "Negroes were for the first time casting their ballots in the erstwhile white primaries; there were no elected Negro officeholders in the South; the Ku Klux Klan showed formidable signs of reviving; lynching appeared to be on the increase amid postwar tensions; the armed forces were still segregated; white and Negro passengers were rigidly separated on interstate railway coaches and dining cars; no Negro students attended any southern state university, and inequalities in the dual school system were just beginning to be seriously challenged."

In a small, potent volume just published by the council from its Atlanta headquarters, the SRC dramatically details the "profound changes in these and other areas of public life" during the past 10 years. The council has reprinted selected articles from its monthly publication, New South, in which it has portrayed since January, 1946, the vivid as well as the often little-noticed shifts in public opinion which are developing a solid base of interracial understanding south of the Mason and Dixon's line.

"The 42 selections included afford an over-all view of the main trends of the last decade," the SRC emphasizes. It insists that the basic theme which emerges is inescapable: "That the South is moving—not always smoothly, but with seeming inevitability—toward an increasingly integrated society. The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, against segregation in the public schools was simply the most far-reaching in a long chain of developments."

The council has designed this collection from its monthly bulletin to "show clearly that many of the gains in principle and in public policy have yet to be achieved in everyday practice. The attainment of a broader democracy is now particularly the task of local officials, the churches, civic and labor groups, civic clubs—in short of all individuals and citizen groups active in community life."

The collection of articles, entitled "Changing Patterns in the New South," is designed, according to the SRC, to help "in this ongoing effort."

"It was inspired by two considerations," the nonpartisan, interracial group emphasizes. "First, there were the interest and recognition that have been accorded New South in its nine years of publication by those who have wanted responsible facts and interpretation of the southern scene. Secondly, there was the evident need for a single publication of this kind as an aid to both study and action."

The collection of articles has been printed under several general topics, such as "The Ballot," "Law and Order," "A Voice in Policy," "Work and Color," "The Press," "The Right to Read," "Interstate Travel," "The Armed Forces," "Higher Education," and "The Public Schools."

It includes such dramatic and important documents as the historic Durham Statement by Negro southerners, which was issued originally in 1942 and reprinted in 1952, the SRC's own stirring call in November, 1952, for a "shift from paternalism to democracy," an editorial from the Atlanta Constitution, called "A South of Union and Freedom," in which Ralph McGill one of the nation's outstanding editors and winner of the 1953 Southwest Journalism Forum Award, expresses his "thoughts on Negro officeholders," the Hot Springs Statement of November, 1954, in which a group of Negro educators from southern states analyze the Supreme Court decision on school segregation and term it "another milestone in the nation's quest for a democratic way of life and in the Negro's long struggle to become a first-class citizen."

The council, while not hiding the debits, emphasizes the credits in the South's steady march toward solving a problem which all groups, while differing on methods of solution, agree is serious and must be worked out.

Check on Violence Cited

The theme of the SRC's program might be taken from an editorial of the Asheville, N.C., Citizen marking a report issued by Tuskegee Institute in January, 1953, that for the first time in its 70 years of keeping records of lynching a whole year, 1952, had passed without such an outbreak of lawless violence.

"Education, respect for the law, and most of all an awareness of the rights of the human person under the law—these things have prevailed," the Citizen noted. "The record of a year is a record to be viewed at length with pride just as in the unhappy past it was viewed at length with sorrow and humiliation.

"The South can lift up its head."

Chattanooga Daily Times

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1955.

BODY WOULD DEFY SEGREGATIONISTS

Southern Regional Council Says Many in South Are Ready for Integration

By JOHN N. POPHAM
New York Times News Service.

ATLANTA, March 6—A group of race relations experts urged today that "responsible Southern voices repudiate fraudulent leadership on the school segregation issue."

Fourteen executive committee members of the Southern Regional Council declared that "there are thousands of Southerners, white and Negro, for whom the demagogues do not speak and whose voices have been little heard above the din of controversy."

"In the Deep South," they charged, "there is presently a concerted attempt by official leadership to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation.

"Consequently, it is imperative that responsible Southerners confirm the fact that vast numbers of us will not defy the United States Constitution, the teachings of our religion and the prevailing opinions of the free world."

First Assessment

The council, widely regarded as the South's most effective interracial organization, made its first assessment of area attitudes since the Supreme Court ruled last May 17 agains public school segregation statutes.

Successful school desegregation in 80 border state counties, including three major metropolitan areas, the committee members emphasized, currently demonstrates to the world that American democracy has the vigor and capacity to solve its thorny racial problems.

The entire country, the committee continued, owes "a heavy debt of gratitude to the many private citizens and public officials whose allegiance to the law of the land made this progress possible."

At the same time, the committee chided those Southern political leaders whose stratagems deny "Southerners of good will the opportunity to work similarly toward compliance with the Supreme Court decision."

No Blind Alley

The committee warned, however, that "the people of the region will reject those who would lead them down the blind alley of rebellion."

Illustrative of the stratagems designed to "hoodwink" the public, the committee members declared, are measures recently enacted in Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana.

"Most of these measures," the committee noted, "impose heavy penalties on any local authorities or school systems that might choose voluntarily to comply with the Supreme Court ruling.

"Ironically, the proponents of these measures are the same spokesmen who repeat over and over that most Negroes and virtually all white persons will defend segregation at any cost. Obviously, they don't believe their own words."

"Moreover, leading Southern authorities on constitutional law who have examined these circumventing statutes have agreed that they are dodges and will not stand in court."

In other parts of the South, the committee members added, there are some officials who pursue the policy of "wait and see" that might better be described as "look the other way."

For Local Planning

"Such an attitude," they continued, "promotes paralysis of public thought and thereby forfeits a valuable opportunity for advance discussion and planning to insure a smooth transition to integrated schools."

In summary, the committee members emphasized that intensive study of the South's racial problems has led the council to "strongly recommend local planning by citizens of the two races as the soundest means of preparing for compliance with the Supreme Court decision."

Those signing the statement were Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N.C., president of the council; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Atlanta, executive director of the council; Morris Abram, lawyer, Atlanta; Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie, lawyer, Atlanta; Paul Christopher, labor union official, Knoxville, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atanta University.

Also, John A. Griffin, educator, Atlanta; the Rev. Harry V. Richardson, president of Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta; the very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, dean of the Catholic Oratory, Rock Hill, S.C.; Miss Josephine Wilkins, civic leader, Atlanta; Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard University, New Orleans; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, professor emeritus, Virginia Union University; Carter Wesley, newspaper publisher, Houston, Tex., and Leonard Haas, lawyer, Atlanta.

The South and I

A Southern newspaper editor who exposed the "white Citizens' Councils" in LOOK *tells what happened to him as a result—and how he has defied his detractors*

By Hodding Carter

It happened on April Fools' Day. But it wasn't a joke to me or to the majority of the Mississippi House of Representatives who, by formal resolution, voted on April 1, 1955, that I had lied, slandered my state and betrayed the South in a LOOK Magazine article (March 22 issue) about the Citizens' Councils—the militant Southern white groups which have been organized to discourage school integration and Negro suffrage.

Perhaps in the history of state legislatures, other citizens have been made liars by legislation. But I doubt that any of them received the accolade under the same conditions as I did.

April 1 was the final day of a special legislative session at which our Mississippi lawmakers had been seeking feverishly, and finally with success, to find new money to equalize the dual school systems, as a means of avoiding racial integration. April 1 was also the opening day of the turkey-hunting season. With four friends, a cook and a guide, I was turkey hunting forty miles from my home town, Greenville, Miss. Our headquarters was the *Mistuh Charley,* my newspaper's cabin cruiser, and we were playing cards aboard her that afternoon after an unsuccessful opening day.

The game was interrupted by a low-flying plane that dropped a bundle near the wooded shoreline. I kept on playing cards but John Gibson, the *Delta Democrat-Times* business manager and my publishing associate, went out and found the bundle. He returned and handed me some sheets of paper. "You'd better read this," he said.

I did, and for the time being I lost interest in cards and turkeys. Joe Call, a cotton-duster pilot and friend, had dropped a press-association report of what the House of Representatives had done, together with a note from my wife. I read the note first:

"We've played the story on page one as second lead. Everybody's calling for your answer. When can we get it and what else shall we do? Love, Betty."

Then I read the wire service report. It was like being kicked in the stomach by 89 angry jackasses. That number of state legislators, with 19 opposed and 32 others not voting, had officially branded me a liar. During two hours of angry debate preceding the vote, I had been described in terms not often used by lawmakers. I was a Negro-lover and a scalawag, a lying newspaperman, a person who "as far as the white people of Mississippi are concerned, should have no rights." I had sold out the South for 50,000 pieces of silver. *(Note to* LOOK: *You owe me money.)*

The elderly Speaker of the House, a perpetual seceder and a backer of the Citizens' Councils, cast a vote for the resolution, gratuitously, although ordinarily he would not vote on any measure except to break a tie. I was defended by a few, notably the two young lawyer-legislators from Greenville and another young representative, Joel Blass of Stone County. Blass told how he also had felt the Councils' lash because he had opposed a Council-backed constitutional amendment making it possible to abandon the state's public-school system. The fact that these men are young is important to this story and to the future of Mississippi.

My hunting companions thought the whole thing was funny. I didn't, even though they assured me—and I agreed—that a Mississippi legislative majority was mentally and morally incapable of insulting anybody. I ducked below and started writing. I'm glad, I guess, that my fellow turkey-stalkers talked me into watering down the original version. [The watered-down version is reproduced on Page 77. Ed.]

I decided to wait until the next morning to telephone in the reply I had written. We turned on the radio and heard how I had been done in, and then went on playing cards.

But in the woods on the rest of the hunt I couldn't forget what had happened. I did a lot of thinking about my twenty-three years as editor and publisher of small newspapers, four years in Louisiana

continued

Liar By Legislation

By a vote of 89 to 19, the Mississippi House of Representatives has resoluted the editor of this newspaper into a liar because of an article I wrote about the Citizens' Councils for Look Magazine. If this charge were true it would make me well qualified to serve with that body. It is not true. So, to even things up, I herewith resolve by a vote of 1 to 0 that there are 89 liars in the State Legislature beginning with Speaker Sillers and working way on down to Rep. Eck Windham of Prentiss, a political loon whose name is fittingly made up of the words "wind" and "ham".

As for the article, I stand by it. This action by a majority of the House of Representatives only serves to add new proof to what I wrote. There is one editor of this newspaper. I vote only in Washington County. The Citizens' Councils claim 30,000 members who vote all over the state. That is explanation enough for the resolution.

I am grateful to the 19 legislators, and especially to Greenville's two representatives, who voted against the resolution. I am also appreciative of the sane comments of Rep. Joel Blass of Stone County who likewise has been a target of the dishonest and contemptible tactics used by the Citizens' Councils against anyone who differs with them or their methods.

I am hopeful that this fever, like the Ku Kluxism which rose from the same kind of infection will run its course before too long a time. Meanwhile, those 89 character mobbers can go to hell, collectively or singly, and wait there until I back down. They needn't plan on returning.

Hodding Carter

Carter's counterattack on the Mississippi legislators who voted him a liar appeared April 3, 1955, on the front page of *The Delta Democrat-Times*.

and the last nineteen in Mississippi. I had never looked on myself as a starry-eyed crusader or an unfriendly critic of my homeland. No book or editorial or article I had ever written, including the LOOK article, would so identify me. I do like to believe that we've tried on our paper to take seriously the idea of man's equality. But we've been generally orthodox newspaper people, my wife and I.

I have noted, however, that an editor is remembered longest for his unpleasant comments—and for comments made about him. Long ago in Louisiana that odious anti-Semite, Gerald L. K. Smith, said that I had been run out of Mississippi as a young newspaperman and would be run out of Louisiana. Every now and then, some politician will repeat that preposterous fantasy as gospel. When I won a Pulitzer prize for editorial writing in 1946, the late Theodore G. Bilbo, then running for re-election to the United States Senate, told his listeners that "no self-respecting Southern white man would accept a prize given by a bunch of nigger-loving, Yankeefied Communists for editorials advocating the mongrelization of the race."

When, ten years earlier, in 1936, ours had been the first Mississippi paper to print a picture showing a Negro in a favorable light—it was of Jesse Owens, the Olympic triple-winner—some of the readers who canceled their subscriptions said that our action was part of a Communist plot to end segregation.

When (and this again was unique in Mississippi) we began using the courtesy title "Mrs." before the names of Negro women in news stories, the tale spread that we would soon demand "social equality" for Negroes. And every time we have come out for anything that some of our special pleaders or Stoneagers haven't liked—from the Blue Cross nearly twenty years ago, to a good word for the United Nations—we have known we could expect the same emotional cacophony, and that the cumulative roaring would echo loudest during political campaigns. But never had we been ganged up on by a state

continued

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PROBLEM?

READ: Dr. Norman Vincent Peale in each issue of LOOK.

HEAR: Dr. Norman Vincent Peale every weekday morning at 10:05 EST on

NBC RADIO *a service of* RCA

The Southern dissenter is not a martyr

legislature. Most of all, I wanted to know what this thing portended.

I've been trying to figure it out ever since. I think I've come up with some answers, and I'd like to say first that I'm not as worried as I was about Mississippi or our newspaper or anything except our politicians. Perhaps the reaction of so many of my home town and Southern fellow-citizens, and my fellow newspapermen, particularly in Mississippi, is what keeps me from being worried.

When I got home, I asked our two Greenville legislators what they thought about the resolution. Both had strongly defended me on the floor. Young Joe Wroten, a lawyer and a minister's son, didn't mince words. "Some of our people who pay lip service to constitutional government pay homage in practice to a government of men," he said. "The resolution was abortive thought-control by legislation against facts, and I don't like it. But maybe those venomous attacks on freedom of the press may wake people to the danger of a clandestine government of men." And Joe punned: "—a Klandestine klavern of men. . . ."

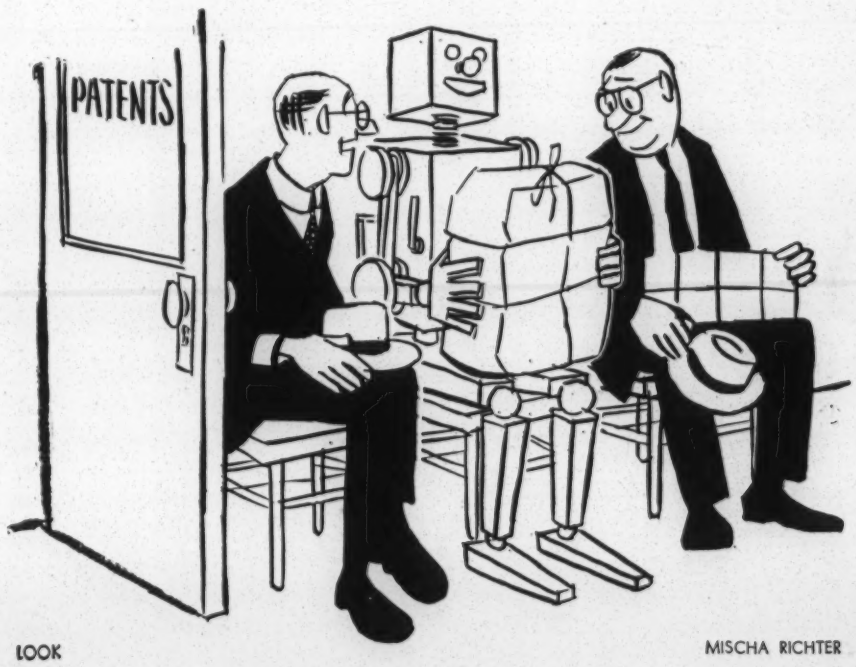
Jimmy Robertshaw, likewise a lawyer, was more amused than disturbed. "It's partly because they were scared, partly because they're sore at the Supreme Court and partly because they were on edge after twelve weeks of looking for money," he said. "And some of them, don't forget, are Council members. But I would like to think that they're ashamed, too, and don't want people outside to know that the Councils really exist."

Joe and Jimmy are two of the legislative minority that wouldn't go along. Numerically, they aren't important. But numerically and otherwise, the letters that continue to pile up as an aftermath of the LOOK article and its legislative sequel do seem to me to be important. I have received more than 2,000 letters about the Council piece. They've run about 3 to 2 in my favor in the South, and better than that elsewhere. Heartening is the preponderance of letters from young people, especially servicemen; clergymen of all faiths; educators and fellow-newspapermen, and the accent of so many of them has been upon the Christian challenge. The several hundred that quickly followed the resolution favored our side at least 10 to 1. I think this shows that Americans dislike seeing people ganged-up on.

It is significant, too, that the critical letters were overwhelmingly emotional, often anti-Semitic, and, when unsigned as many were, contained filthy personal attacks and threats. Some, of course, came from people honestly disturbed over the Supreme-Court ruling and wondering whether the Council's program of economic terrorism is not the South's only anti-integration weapon.

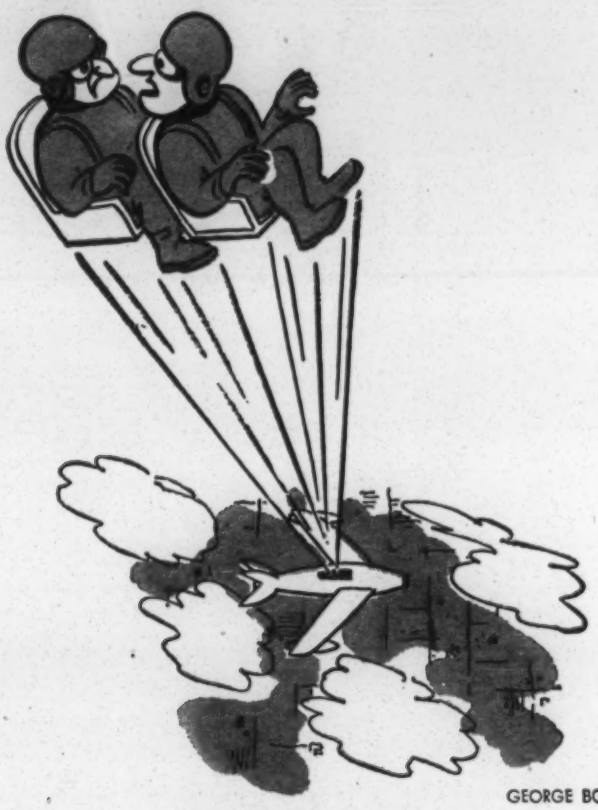
A man in Alaska sent $100 to be used as I saw fit to oppose the

continued



LOOK MISCHA RICHTER

"I invented him and he invented that."



LOOK GEORGE BOOTH

"Wrong button."

Councils. Three priests, each from different communities and one of them 300 miles away, came to Greenville within a few days of each other to offer aid and comfort to this battered Episcopalian. But an unidentified telephone caller told me to get out of town before I was carried out.

Less trivial than threats or insults have been the efforts at boycott, only spasmodic before the LOOK article appeared, but now accelerated. We've lost circulation in some areas, but we've managed to hold to our 12,500 average. We've been hurt a little in our commercial printing and office-supply sidelines. So far, none of our advertisers has knuckled under to the arrogant demands of Council spokesmen that they join the Councils, or take away their advertising from us on penalty of losing the trade of Council members. This economic weapon was announced last summer as being planned for use only against Negroes who tried to vote or enter their children in white schools, but it has been turned against anyone who doesn't go along with the Councils.

It seems to me that the general reaction to the legislature's blast, and the failure so far of any boycott, points up something that our non-Southern friends possibly don't know. The thinking people of Mississippi and the South are a long way ahead of their politicians; and those of us who seem to be in a completely rebuffed minority aren't as alone or as out of step as legislators and Councils might lead the outsider to believe.

I don't mean that many white Southerners are willing to have the public schools integrated now, especially in the deep South where numerical pressures are greatest. But they know that inflammatory political behavior and the formation of vigilante groups aren't the answer any more than would be a Supreme-Court edict ordering complete integration next fall. There must be a middle ground.

That brings up something personal. I've been pretty much a middle-of-the-roader all my life. Some of my fellow Southerners think otherwise. They've been conditioned largely by political demagogues to believe that anybody who challenges extremism in the South is in league with the Supreme Court, the N.A.A.C.P., the Communist party, the mass-circulation magazines and everybody north of the Mason-Dixon Line to destroy the Southern way of life. There's a lot of it I do want destroyed. There's a lot I want to keep.

And some of my non-Southern correspondents have been wrong also, though in a kindlier way. They envision a dangerous life for the Southern dissenter, or at the best, a social and economic martyrdom. That, I am glad to say, just isn't so, though it could have been twenty years ago.

We live normal small-town lives in Greenville. That means we're busy with all kinds of matters besides racial problems. Accord-

continued

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NEW Ansco ALL-WEATHER PAN

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Braying demagogues can't stand forever

ing to my calendar for the general period between the LOOK article and the legislature's resolution, I was chairman, so help me, of the Rotary Club's Ladies Night; planned a spring boating week end with the skipper of the Sea Scouts whose unofficial flagship is the *Mistuh Charley,* and gave a wiener roast for the Cub Scouts, including my youngest, whose den father I am; met three times with my fellow directors of the Chamber of Commerce; awarded the annual *Democrat-Times* plaques to the outstanding man and woman citizen; served as ringmaster for our neighborhood teenagers' Cypress Saddle Club show; met with our monthly discussion group, a dozen business and professional men, in my home; judged a college and high-school newspaper contest; went to two square dances; attended the Tulane University annual Board of Visitors meeting; began work on a talk for the convention of the Mississippi Bankers Association; helped my wife entertain for two engaged daughters of friends, and for each of our two older sons home from college and school for Easter holidays; planned a board meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society, of which I'm president; and worked with my wife on the 150-year history of the Episcopal Diocese of Louisiana. This accounting is only partial, but it doesn't leave much time for scalawagging.

A great many of my friends, and uncounted thousands of other Southerners, are too busy to spend time on boycotts and threats even were they so inclined. A good many other thousands, however, do seem to have the time and inclination too. The Southern struggle, it seems to me, is not so much between two races as between these groups. In four or five deep Southern states, the Supreme Court and the Negro stand on the sidelines. In these states, integration is distant. In their public schools, it will be no more than token for as far ahead as I can see. The gradual adjustment will be aided by accompanying improvement in the Negro's economic status; by Negro migration which will reduce the pressure of numbers; by the tolerance of those who today are our young; and by the persistent growth of the idea that democracy and Christianity and man's responsibility for his brother are all facets of the same bright dream.

I know that against these forces, the South's braying demagogues, its Klans and Councils and Southern Gentlemen, Inc., cannot forever stand. As our eldest son, who is twenty, disdainfully told our ten-year-old, who has been delighted with all the excitement:

"If you think this is something, you should have been around when *I* was in the fifth grade. . . ."

Or when I was. END

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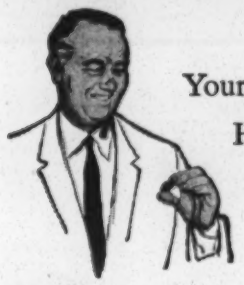

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Clips - Civil Liberties

Manifesto of the Civil Liberties Union

By R. Carter Pittman
Dalton, Ga.

Note by Editor Alabama Lawyer. In the *Congressional Record* of May 6, 1958, appears an article entitled *The Secret Manifesto of the Civil Liberties Union.* Hon. Herman Talmadge, the distinguished junior United States Senator from Georgia placed the article in *The Record* at pages 7246, 7247. *The American Bar Association Journal,* where the *Manifesto* was published, declined to publish Mr. Pittman's commentary on the *Manifesto.* The *Alabama Lawyer* is glad to publish this commentary by a great and courageous American lawyer. W.B.J.

Mr. Talmadge. Mr. President, much attention and publicity have been given to a statement by a group of 100 so-called representative lawyers, declaring it a duty to recognize decisions of the Supreme Court as the supreme law of the land.

That statement was first published in the December 1956 issue of the *American Bar Association Journal,* and was reprinted in the *Congressional Record* in January 1957. It was not until April of this year, however, that the identity of its sponsors and the circumstances surrounding its preparation were made public in the publication of hearings held by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

In order to set the record straight about the questionable motives and background of the initiators of this statement, a noted member of the Georgia bar and a recognized authority on constitutional law, Hon. R. Carter Pittman, of Dalton, Ga., has written an article, which he has submitted to the *American Bar Association Journal,* setting forth all the facts which now have been brought out about this matter.

Mr. Pittman's article is most revealing; and I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that it be printed herewith in the body of the *Record.*

I also ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed following it in the body of the *Record,* Mr. Pittman's article giving the true definition of "the law of the land," as it appeared in volume 6, No. 2, of the *Journal of Public Law* of the Emory University Law School, of Atlanta, Ga.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the *Record,* as follows:

Ala Lawyer
Jan. ~~May~~ 1959

The Secret Manifesto of the Civil Liberties Union, Signed by 100 "Representative" Lawyers

The December 1956 issue of the *American Bar Association Journal* published an article entitled "Recent Attacks Upon the Supreme Court: A Statment by Members of the Bar." In a foreword Hon. George Wharton Pepper, a respected and aged attorney of Philadelphia, stated that he was submitting it for publication and bringing it to public attention for a "representative group of American lawyers" whose names were affixed to it.

Both before and since publication by the *Journal,* it was reproduced in many newspapers throughout the Nation, in many State and local bar association journals and, in January 1957, was printed in the *Congressional Record.*

That statement was an attempt to answer statements, speeches, and articles by numerous constitutional authorities, Members of Congress, newspaper editors, and others critical of the Supreme Court and charging the Court with usurpation of power.

Among the doctrine propounded in the statement, that appeared peculiar to many, was the following:

"The privilege of criticizing a decision of the Supreme Court carries with it a corresponding obligation – a duty to recognize the decision as the supreme law of the land as long as it remains in force."

That doctrine seemed peculiar because it purports to take the Court from under the Constitution and put it over the Constitution. It reduces the Constitution from the dignity of a founding charter, commanding faithful support by all, including judges, to an expedient to be used by any with the naked power to command. Sociology, chance, caprice, or the will of judges, not elected by the people or amenable to their will, were thus made paramount over the Constitution – and the people too.

That strange doctrine challenges the fundamental principle that forms the basis of all republics, which requires all laws to be made by or with the consent of the people.

Decisions, decrees or edicts have never been accepted or enforced as "the supreme law of the land" anywhere except in totalitarian lands. Government by consent of the governed, under laws enacted by their representatives elected for such purpose, is the very definition of a republican government of laws. Government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of a despotism.

The mystery as to the influences that brought about the preparation and formulation of the amazing statement seems to have remained secret until February 1958. The publication of the hearings

of the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate around April 1, 1958, first made it public.

The second signer of that statement was Mr. Ernest Angell, of New York City. On February 27, 1958, Mr. Angell testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate against imposition of any curbs on the Supreme Court. On page 214 of part II of the hearings Mr. Angell took the position that the Supreme Court may make the law of the land, not by the process of legislating but by the process of declaring. He contended that the Court may not only make law, but that it may convene itself into a constitutional convention and change the Constitution itself "in the sense of adaptation." Mr. Sourwine, counsel for the Senate committee, inquired:

"In other words, it is merely changing the meaning of the Constitution in accordance with the Supreme Court's finding, according to the social atmosphere of the country?"

To which Mr. Angell replied:

"Social atmosphere, practical necessities of the society, business demands, the growth of industry beyond the capacity of a single State unit effectively to control it — there are many reasons for adaptation."

On page 215 Mr. Angell evidenced great pride in the statement, mentioned above, saying with becoming modesty:

"I had a hand in initiating it."

On page 126 he continued:

"The circulation was originally undertaken from Senator Pepper's office in the summer of 1956 after it had been prepared. At that point, being then, well, I forget whether it was 89, or some such age, nearly that, he became ill and couldn't go to his office regularly. The development happened upon me as one of the original starting group, and I sent out the statement to this larger group after some 30 or 40 of us had already indicated our approval of it. When the letters of approval, all of them in writing, had come in from slightly over a hundred lawyers, we then put it out as a public release and statement. It appeared in the *American Bar Association Journal.*"

The questions by Mr. Sourwine and answers of Mr. Angell continue:

"Mr. Sourwine. It was widely printed?

"Mr. Angell. Yes; it was very widely printed. We produced it in whole or in part in a great many newspapers around the country and in full in a number of local bar associations.

"Mr. Sourwine. You drafted the statement?

"Mr. Angell. I had no part in drafting the statement. It was done by a man who is a scholar in constitutional law, one of the

original group whom we drew in one of the small conferences with Senator Pepper.

"Mr. Sourwine. Who was the drafter?

"Mr. Angell. Prof. Paul Froyen [sic], of Harvard Law School, who in his younger years had been a secretary to one of the Justices of the Supreme Court. I have forgotten now which one.

"Mr. Sourwine. His name is well known?

"Mr. Angell. Yes; he is recognized as an outstanding scholar.

"Mr. Sourwine. I thought it was of considerable interest to develop that."

Many others agree with Mr. Sourwine that it was "of considerable interest to develop that."

At the beginning of his testimony Mr. Angell introduced himself as a lawyer with a New York City address, saying:

"I appear on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which I am chairman of the board of directors."

Martindale's Legal Directory reveals some extraordinary information about this "representative group of American lawyers," to which Senator Pepper referred. One hundred and three names were affixed to the statement. The school affiliations of only 95 could be be found. While the graduates of Harvard Law School represents perhaps less than one-twentieth of 1 percent of all the lawyers in America, 32 out of the 95, or more than 33⅓ percent of the representative group were Harvard men. By way of contrast, the school furnishing the next largest number was Michigan with 7.

Certainly not more than one-tenth of 1 percent of the lawyers in America are professors. However, Martindale's reveals that 21 percent of the 95 in this representative group were of the cap and gown variety.

Thus it unmistakably appears from Martindale's and the voluntary assertions of Mr. Angell that the good name and high reputation of Hon. George Wharton Pepper who, at the age of 89, was so ill and infirm that he couldn't go to his office regularly, was used as a front by the American Civil Liberties Union and dubious segment of the Harvard Alumni Society to lead the editors of the *American Bar Association Journal,* the members of the American Bar Association and the generality of the American people into the belief that an impartial, and indeed a representative group of more than 100 American lawyers was bold to proclaim that the Supreme Court of the United States may not only make the law of the land, but may make the supreme law of the land.

The February 1958 issue of the *American Bar Association Journal* carries an article by Hon. Alfred J. Schweppe, of Seattle, Wash.,

former dean of the law school of the University of Washington, a constitutional lawyer of national repute and one of the editors of the *Journal*, which demonstrates authoritatively and conclusively that the Supreme Court of the United States has no power to make the law of the land much less the power to make the supreme law of the land.

Since the true authorship and the sponsorship of the so-called statement by a so-called "representative group of American lawyers has been kept secret from the American people for almost 2 years, this disclosure and exposure of the secret is made with the hope (vain as it may prove to be) that the press, that was so generously free to those who promulgated the statement, will feel free to demonstrate a decent respect for the rights of the American people to know the whole truth. If the people want to pardon or sanction a deception they may do it, but the press is not free to do it for them.

R. CARTER PITTMAN
Dalton, Ga.

Announcement

R. A. NORRED and JACK WILSON announce that ROBERT B. PROPST has become a member of the firm and the removal of their offices to 906 Commercial National Bank Building, Anniston, Alabama, where they will engage in the general practice of law as NORRED, WILSON & PROPST.

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Asbury Howard Tells His Version Of The Bessemer "Vote Sign Case" Involving Him

Editor's note:—In the interest of clarification, the Birmingham World is publishing today Asbury Howard's account of events, details, and additional background material in connection with a case in which he was arrested, fined and sentenced. Because some of the details he supplies seem to cast additional light on case, we see fit to publish the personal account by Mr. Howard.—Emory O. Jackson)

BY ASBURY HOWARD

On Saturday, January 24, 1959, I was tried in the Bessemer City Recorder's Court: James Hammonds, Presiding Judge.

My attorney, David H. Hood, Jr., and I reached the City Hall at approximately 8:30 a. m. As we entered the lobby a police officer was standing at the entrance to the stairway. He demanded to search the brief case of the attorney for a pistol or gun. He informed the attorney that he was acting under orders. When the officers gave us permission to go, we proceeded upstairs to the courtroom. When my case was called, Judge Hammonds said that I was charged with violating 25-72 of the city code of Bessemer, Alabama as amended.

Through my attorney, I pleaded not guilty (25-72 deals with obscene libelous publications causing breach of the peace, etc.)

I testified that I directed the sign painter to print the cartoon out of the "Kansas City Call," a a newspaper dated December 26, 1958. I added to the cartoon "Vote Today for a Better Tomorrow." The sign painter had completed the cartoon all but the Caption: "Hands That Can Still Pray." My purpose for having this sign painted was to carry it to the Bessemer Voter's League meeting which is held once a month. I told this to Chief George W. Barron before he arrested me. Chief Barron then asked me why didn't I have some posters made and tack them on the posts. I said: I am a law abiding citizen, and I have no intention of violating any laws, and I didn't think having a cartoon from a newspaper reprinted was violating the city law.

The painter was given the cartoon about two weeks before the day I was arrested. He was told to go slow. My reason for telling him this was that I wanted to check with the entire Bessemer Voters League executive committee, "The Call," Kansas City and my attorney. I presented this newspaper in court, but I was found guilty by the City Recorder and sentenced to six months in jail, plus one hundred dollars ($100) in cost.

While my attorney, Hood, was perfecting my appeal bond, my wife, son, and I proceeded out of the courtroom located on the second floor, and down the stairs to the ground floor where white men lined up from the front door to the stairway on both sides. As I stepped down to the last step, I was struck from the rear. It was such a hard blow that it knocked me off my feet, and then the crowd lined up around the wall began to strike, and beat me about the head, face, and body, necessitating ten stitches being taken on my head.

During this time, my son, Asbury Howard, Jr., was also being assaulted and struck by these white men. My son was then arrested and placed under $600 bond being charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

I wish to make clear that this sign had never been on display nor was it in my possession at the time of my arrest, because it was still on the painter's bench.

The Birmingham News in reporting on the incident mentioned that I was a Vice-President of the Mine-Mill and Smelter Workers (Union). I am a Vice-President and have been elected by the membership in United States and Canada for (2) two-year terms. It was also mentioned about an incident that happened in 1952 and stated that I was fined $500. To that, I wish to clarify, I was tried in the City Court of Bessemer and found not guilty. The county also had a charge against two white men and myself. Following advice from counsel, we pleaded "no lo contendant" "no protest". Each person was to be fined $250. One of the white men was out of the state at the time, and so it was agreed by my council that the $250 fine would be assessed against me. (however, Attorney Hood, who is the lawyer for our Bessemer Voter's League, and was not my lawyer during this $500 fine agreement, had advised me not to accept this responsibility of having fines assessed against me for any person, as this would be a permanent record against me. Nevertheless I did not heed his advice so that he wouldn't have to come back to the state to appear in court. The question of an indictment was mentioned. To that I wish to state that our organization has already stated to the public, in no certain terms that neither I nor the men indicted are guilty of the charge lodged against them and I know that I am not. I am grateful to live in a country where a man is considered innocent until he is proven guilty.

Furthermore, the officers and executive board of our union, has publicly made it clear that this union not only had no connections with the Communist Party or communism, but also that our union and its leaders had nothing in common with the aims of the Communist Party. However, the Bible instructs us "to judge not by words but by deeds" and it is on this basis alone that I invite judgement on the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers (Union) and those of us who have been charged with wrong-doing.

I am a native Alabamian, and have been a resident of Bessemer for 42 years. I have been an active leader in church, and in community affairs during most of these years. I am President of the Bessemer's Voter's League and have been elected by the people eight times.

All of my adult life I have fought for the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to our Constitution and for democracy in general. I thank God that I live in a country where I can fight for these great principles.

In our fight for first class citizenship we must not forget to pray. Remember the caption on the cartoon which caused my arrest: "Hands that Can Still Pray." While other organizations are calling for violence and bloodshed, we must always remember our theme: "Prayer and Non-Violence." No matter what happened and amount of bloodshed, stay on bending knees. As I was being attacked by the mob, I was informed later that there was an old Negro gentleman praying with a loud voice and with his head toward the heaven, asking the Lord to come now because we need you. I believe and know this prayer was answered. Nothing could have saved my life from this mob, but a God, and I humbly thank Him. The fight for first class citizenship through the ballot will continue. "Freedom's Price Comes High. Whatever the Price for my People I am Willing to Pay it."

I feel like the young Patrick Henry who said standing in Philadelphia one day, "Is life so dear and peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chain and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." Signed: Asbury Howard, Sr.

Birmingham World

Feb. 4, 1959

Civil Liberties

EDUCATION

The Dotted Line

Time 2/16/59

Years after the squabble seemed to have been won, U.S. colleges and universities last week were skirmishing with their old hoodoo, the loyalty oath. Source of the trouble: a paragraph in last summer's $887 million National Defense Education Act, which provides that to qualify for a loan or fellowship, a student must 1) swear allegiance to the U.S., and 2) affirm that he "does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods."

Walter Bennett

SENATOR MUNDT
Farmers get billions without a word.

By week's end, six schools—Bryn Mawr, Haverford, Antioch, Princeton, Swarthmore and Reed—had refused to accept money under the act. Other schools are accepting funds but protesting the oaths. Presidents Nathan Pusey of Harvard and A. Whitney Griswold of Yale praised Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Arthur Flemming for criticizing the oaths, and Griswold wrote: "In our eyes, such measures are at best odious symbols, at worst a potential threat to our profession . . . Belief cannot be coerced or compelled." Other institutions whose heads object to the provision: Colby, Bates, Bowdoin, the University of Wisconsin and Atlanta's Emory University.

Particularly irksome to the colleges is the apparent implication that students and professors are more suspect than other groups. Said Carleton's President Laurence M. Gould: "We give $6 billion to the farmers but don't expect any loyalty oath." Said President Courtney Smith of Swarthmore: "Sheer nonsense. You don't start out by saying that you don't trust your students, by asking a 17-year-old freshman to take an oath."

Surprised at the uproar, South Dakota's Republican Senator Karl Mundt, an old schoolteacher himself, said he wrote in the oaths provision because "it would be the height of absurdity to make funds available to Communists or saboteurs under the heading of national defense." He conceded that Communists would not hesitate to take the oath, said that if they did so, at least they would be guilty of breach of contract. In Congress the oaths are gathering enemies. Three bills to repeal them were introduced in the House. And in the Senate, Massachusetts' John Kennedy, who co-sponsored a repeal bill with Pennsylvania's Joseph Clark, called Mundt's anti-Communist mousetrap "an unnecessary, futile gesture toward the memory of an earlier age."

Civil Liberties

Civil Liberties - 1959

WE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

Guided in the past 176 years by the great and
Universal truths of our Declaration of Independence,
have built for ourselves,
Within the framework of freedom and opportunity,
A Great Nation----
With the highest standard of living in world history.

And Yet today,

More than ever since July 4, 1776
We must make still another declaration.

A DECLATATION OF DEPENDENCE

WE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

Assert ourselves to be a Brotherhood
The All-for American team

Men and women of all races and all creeds
Working together, laughing together
and even dying together.

Men and women of all creeds and all races
Needing each other and depending on each other.

Depending upon every American
never to put his personal gain
or that of his business,
or that of his labor organization
or that of his constituents,
ahead of the welfare of our people as a whole.

Depending upon an abiding faith
that free men, will resolute will to remain free,
can out-think, out build
and, when necessary, out-fight
any who try to destroy that Freedom.

Depending upon free nations,
united in the common good of all mankind,
to preserve peace in a troubled world.

Depending upon speech and a free press
upon an enlightened rather than a frightened people
and upon armed preparedness
only while the "live and let live" alternative
is forbidden us.

And always depending upon prayer
And reverently upon God
to guide us in the right,

For only by declaring this Dependence
can we hold fast our Freedom
our way of life - and our Independence.

Freedom Sought From Jail For "Prayer Poster"

Civil Liberties

FEB 27 1959 ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

Bessemer Leader Given Six Months For Freedom Poster

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — The intervention of President Eisenhower in the case of a Negro civic and union leader now serving a six months conviction for ordering a poster portraying a Negro praying to God for help to win equal rights has been requested by civic, union and religious leaders.

Asbury Howard, Sr., 52, president of the Bessemer Voters League and deacon in the Starlight Baptist Church began serving a six-month jail term Feb. 23 after losing an appeal on a technicality.

Circuit Judge Gardner F. Goodwin, Jr. dismissed the appeal from a Jan. 24 conviction on charges of violating a local ordinance prohibiting the publication of "intemperate matter tending to provoke a breach of peace, or and matter prejudicial to good morals." Mr. Howard had been fined $100 also in the same case.

ASBURY HOWARD

The chain-ganging of Asbury Howard, president of the Bessemer, Ala. Voters League and International vice-president of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, came promptly after his appeal for a new trial was turned down by a Jefferson County court.

In a telegram to the President, Raymond Dennis, executive board member of the union, declared that "each day we allow Asbury Howard to remain chained on the streets of Alabama for the "crime" of having a poster painted which portrayed his faith in God's fairness to all men makes our proclamations for freedom and democracy abroad a sham in the eyes of other nations."

The now-famous "prayer poster" case which saw the 52-year-old Howard and his son beaten inside the Bessemer Court House by an anti-Negro mob with police nearby, was regarded here by civic leaders as a desperate and flagrant act.

Howard is regarded as one of Bessemer's most outstanding Negro civic leaders.

Meanwhile, the Chicago Afro-American Heritage Association joined with the American Civil Liberties Union in demanding full-scale federal probe of Howard's attack and conviction.

Leo F. Sparks, president of the Association, reported that a national campaign had been launched by that organization to reverse Howard's conviction and declared that the freeing of the Southern leader was one of "the most significant struggles for the achievement of democracy and the establishment of civil liberties in the nation."

Judge Goodwyn ruled that the Circuit Court was without juridiction to consider the case since "no valid and legal appeal has been perfected in the Circuit Court."

Atty. David H. Hood, Jr., who represented Mr. Howard prepared a series of writ which he said he would file seeking to get relief in the case. Reporters were unsuccessful in trying to contact him Wednesday for a statement.

Mr. Howard is eastern vice-president of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Worker Union.

When Mr. Howard left the Bessemer courtroom Jan. 24, he was savagedly attacked, he said, by a mob. His son, Asbury Howard, Jr., who came to his rescue was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. His case has twice been postponed.

Mr. Howard was arrested Jan. 21. He had given a sign painter a cartoon taken from one of the national Negro weeklies, to reproduce.

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 4)

Freedom Sought

(Continued From Page One)

The cartoon carried the drawing of a Negro in chains praying, "Lord, Help . . ." A line to be added to the poster read, "Vote Today for a Better Tomorrow."

The sign painter, J. McAlister, was also arrested and placed under similar charges as lodged against Mr. Howard. At trial, he drew identical punishment.

The poster was never completed. It was not distributed.

ATTORNEY GENERAL WRITTEN

Meanwhile Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director of ACLU, made public a letter sent to Attorney General Rogers urging a federal inquiry into the Howard case.

The ACLU leader in supporting the case declared that "The beating of an American citizen by a mob in the presence of the local police is not only of importance to the citizen under attack, but to all Americans who believe in the sanctity of the law and fair treatment by law-enforcement officials. Whenever necessary, the federal government should act to safeguard these principles."

Malin stated that "at least a de facto conspiracy had occurred when, in violation of the federal civil rights law, police officers stood by as two citizens were assualted in the City Hall while there under compulsory process."

The painting which touched off the Howard arrest by Bessemer police had been confiscated from a local white artist whom the Negro leader had hired for the poster.

Charged with violating a Bessemer city ordinance against "obscene, lewd, nude, scurrilous, libelous" publication, both Howard and the white artist had been sentenced by Judge James Hammond to a $105 fine and six months in jail pending appeal to a higher court.

Among those Southern leaders and organizations protesting the jailing of Howard were the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, of Montgomery, Ala., the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham leader, along with the Bessemer Ministerial Alliance and the Baptist Ministers Alliance in Bessemer.

Civil Liberties, - 1959

Asbury Howard Begins Serving Jail Term After Losing Appeal

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The poster was never completed. It was not distributed.

Birmingham World
Feb 28 '59

Civil Liberties

Ike Asked To Free Asbury Howard From Alabama Chain Gang Sentence

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Negro Civic, Union Leaders Gets 6-Mo. Sentence In Bessemer

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ACLU Asks Federal Government To Probe Bessemer, Ala. Beating

NEW YORK, N. Y. — The American Civil Liberties Union has called on the federal government to investigate the beating of a Negro civic leader of Bessemer, Ala., by a mob inside the Bessemer City Hall while local police made no effort to help him.

The civil liberties organization urged the Justice Department to probe the incident to determine if federal civil rights laws had been violated and "to take all steps necessary to see that the offenders are properly and promptly dealt with." At a press conference here, ACLU executive director Patrick Murphy Malin made public a letter sent on February 19 to Attorney General Rogers urging a federal inquiry into the Asbury Howard case. Howard, head of the Bessemer Voters League, a Negro organization which seeks to advance the rights of Negroes to vote, was convicted on January 24 for seeking to reproduce a newspaper cartoon expressing the desire of Negro citizens for equal treatment under law. Following the conviction, Howard was assaulted by a mob of more than 40 men in the City Hall and received severe head injuries. A group of 15 local policemen in the building did not intervene. Howard's son, Asbury, Jr., who came to his father's aid, was also injured. He was then arrested for disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

Informing the Attorney General that the ACLU is supporting the Howard case because of the "serious invasion of civil liberties," Malin wrote, "The beating of an American citizen by a mob in the presence of the local police is not only of importance to the citizen under attack, but to all Americans who believe in the sanctity of the law and fair treatment of law-enforcement officials. Whenever necessary, the federal government should act to safeguard these principles."

Birmingham World
Feb. 28, 1959

Civil Liberties

Release Sought For A. Howard

BESSEMER, Ala.—Atty Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham has joined with Atty. David H. Hood, Jr., in seeking the release of Asbury Howard, Sr., 52-year-old president of the Bessemer Voters League and deacon of the Starlight Baptist Church who is currenly serving a 180-day prison sentence in the strange "Vote Sign Case."

Shores and Hood were unsuccessful in their effort to get either an appeal from the six-month jail term and $105 fine or to free Mr Howard on bond in a series of legal manuevers. They said last weekend they planned to carry the bitter legal fight to the Alabama Supreme Court.

Circuit Judge Edward L. Ball on Feb. 26 rejected a writ of habeaus corpus and also turned down a request for a bond. He also threw out an attack on the constitutionality of the ordinance and held that the Recorder Court had jurirdiction in the case.

The defense lawyers filed a writ of certiorari with the Alabama Supreme Court and suggested that they would press for an ex parte hearing.

But they faced an uphill battle Atty. Hood said that Judge Ball's written opinion on the issues raised before him had not been issued (2) The clerk of the court could take advantage of the 30-day period in getting the transcript of the case (3) The ruling by Judge Goodwyn that the appeal was invalid blunted the legal weapons which otherwise might be used.

Under Bessemer law, as explained by the defense lawyers, to appeal the defendant must post an appeal bond bearing two surities or licensed bonding agency with the written approval of the Recorder or Mayor. It was added that the practice has been to merely post the appeal bond. The appeal papers filed on behalf of Mr. Howard did not carry either the approval of the Recorder or the Mayor. That made it invalid, under strict following of the law.

Foundation has appealed to President Eisenhower to intervene in the jail-term development.

What Bessemer civic leaders were doing with respect to the "Vote Sign Case" was not immediately determined.

Mr. Howard is eastern vice-president of Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers Union. He has been one of the center-of-struggle leaders in Bessemer where he has lived for 42 years.

The 30-day appeal period had expired when Mr. Howard appeared Feb. 23 for what was expected to be an appeal trial. Mr. Howard was then placed in jail and assigned to a street labor crew.

Bond was denied him subsequently on the ground that when no appeal is taken and one begins his sentance it is too late to get bond.

Mr. Howard was arrested Jan. 21, along with Alfred J. McAllister, white sign painter for allegedly violating an ordinance forbidding the publication and circulation of "intemperate matter tending to provoke a breach of the peace, or any matter prejudicial to good morals." Atty Hood said he was also representing Mr. McAllister.

For 30 days, Mr. Howard was out on what was thought to be an appeal bond, Atty Hood said. He added that Hand Bonding Company made the bond which Mr. Hood said he and another person signed.

The American Civil Liberties Union has urged the federal government to probe the alleged mob-style attack on Mr. Howard which occurred in the Bessemer City Hall. The American Heritage

Birmingham World
Mar 4, '59

Civil Liberties

CIVIL LIBERTIES

NUMBER 168, MARCH 1959

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Jeffrey E. Fuller, *Editor*

COMMENTARY ON CHART AT RIGHT

The table at the right indicates how far the ACLU has come in its first thirty-nine years—and in the past ten years: in 1949, for example, the Union's membership was but 10,000 (nearly half in New York), and the ratio of members per 100,000 was 6.5.

It also makes clear how far the Union has yet to go—in membership growth (especially in the South and in the Plains-Mountain states), in affiliate and chapter development, and in building its corps of volunteer cooperating attorneys.

When considering the membership figures, it should be kept in mind that a husband and wife who do not pay separate dues are counted as one member. Also, there is no sure way of knowing how many of the national organization's 1,800 members in Northern California also belong to the un-integrated Northern California affiliate, which has 4,000 of its own members.

Of the twenty-four affiliates, six have full-time offices: Massachusetts, New York City, Ohio, Illinois, Northern California, and Southern California; two, Pennsylvania and Greater Philadelphia, share one full-time office. Five employ part-time secretaries: Maryland, Indiana, Minnesota, Colorado, and Washington. Eleven operate on a volunteer basis with some paid clerical help: Connecticut, Niagara Frontier (Buffalo), Florida, Louisiana, Detroit, Lansing, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Iowa, St. Louis, and Oregon.

The figures on cooperating attorneys represent currently active lawyers with whom the national office or the affiliate in their state has been in touch within the past two years. The 630 total is probably 200 below the actual figure, because only the Florida, Indiana and Pennsylvania-Philadelphia affiliates have reported statistics on their attorneys.

ACLU GEOGRAPHY—JANUARY 1, 1959

	Population, in millions	Rank by population	Number of ACLU members	Members per 100,000 pop.	Rank, members per pop.	ACLU Nat'l Committee	ACLU Affiliates	Chapters of Affiliates	Cooperating Attorneys
Northeast	**49.8**	—	**18,418**	**37.0**	—	**42**	**7**	**12**	**263**
Maine	0.9	36	95	10.6	27	—	—	—	4
New Hampshire	0.6	45	147	24.5	16	2	—	—	2
Vermont	0.4	47	108	27.0	12	—	—	—	3
Massachusetts	4.9	9	2,320	47.3	5	5	1	3	20
Rhode Island	0.8	40	152	19.0	18	—	—	—	4
Connecticut	2.9	26	1,125	49.0	4	3	1	3	18
New York	16.8	1	8,553	50.9	3	18	2	1	112
New Jersey	5.6	8	1,600	28.6	10	3	—	1	22
Pennsylvania	11.2	3	2,785	24.9	15	4	2	4	56
Delaware	0.4	46	111	27.8	11	—	—	—	1
Maryland	3.5	22	762	25.4	14	1	1	—	4
West Virginia	2.0	30	42	2.1	47	—	—	—	2
Dist. of Columbia	0.9	37	618	68.7	2	6	—	—	15
Southeast	**32.3**	—	**1,703**	**5.3**	—	**9**	**2**	**1**	**74**
Virginia	3.8	16	312	8.2	31	—	—	—	9
North Carolina	4.4	11	228	5.2	42	1	—	—	14
South Carolina	2.4	25	39	1.6	49	—	—	—	2
Georgia	3.8	15	111	3.0	45	4	—	—	6
Florida	4.1	13	583	14.2	24	2	1	1	10
Tennessee	3.5	17	139	4.0	44	1	—	—	6
Alabama	3.2	19	56	1.8	48	1	—	—	6
Mississippi	2.2	27	23	1.0	50	—	—	—	2
Arkansas	1.8	32	46	2.6	46	—	—	—	11
Louisiana	3.1	20	166	5.4	41	—	1	—	8
Midwest	**49.2**	—	**10,059**	**20.4**	—	**11**	**10**	**14**	**149**
Michigan	7.9	7	1,153	14.6	20	—	2	—	23
Ohio	9.6	5	1,988	20.7	17	2	1	9	34
Indiana	4.6	10	822	18.0	19	1	1	4	20
Kentucky	3.1	21	216	7.0	37	—	1	1	8
Wisconsin	3.9	14	560	14.4	23	1	1	1	18
Illinois	9.7	4	3,464	35.7	6	3	1	—	12
Minnesota	3.3	18	880	26.7	13	—	1	—	12
Iowa	2.7	24	341	12.6	25	2	1	—	7
Missouri	4.4	12	635	14.4	22	2	1	—	15
Plains-Mountain	**23.2**	—	**2,031**	**8.8**	—	**6**	**1**	**1**	**80**
Texas	9.4	6	402	4.3	43	2	—	—	24
Oklahoma	2.2	28	134	6.0	39	—	—	—	8
Kansas	2.2	29	176	8.0	34	2	—	—	9
Nebraska	1.4	34	88	6.3	38	—	—	—	3
South Dakota	0.7	41	38	5.4	40	—	—	—	—
North Dakota	0.7	42	51	7.3	36	—	—	—	5
New Mexico	0.9	39	130	14.4	21	—	—	—	2
Colorado	1.7	33	607	35.7	7	2	1	1	18
Wyoming	0.3	48	31	10.3	29	—	—	—	—
Montana	0.7	43	73	10.4	28	—	—	—	5
Arizona	1.2	35	145	12.1	26	—	—	—	3
Utah	0.9	38	75	8.3	32	—	—	—	2
Nevada	0.3	49	28	9.3	30	—	—	—	—
Idaho	0.6	44	53	8.8	31	—	—	—	1
Pacific Coast	**19.4**	—	**12,062**	**62.2**	—	**8**	**4**	**20**	**49**
California	14.5	2	10,675	73.6	1	6	2	19	23
Oregon	1.8	31	528	29.3	9	1	1	—	14
Washington	2.8	23	836	29.9	8	1	1	1	10
Alaska	0.3	50	23	7.7	35	—	—	—	2
Outside Cont'l U.S.	**3.7**	—	**227**	—	—	—	—	—	**3**
Hawaii	0.7	—	46	6.6	—	—	—	—	—
Puerto Rico	2.8	—	22	0.8	—	—	—	—	3
Other Territories	0.2	—	12	6.0	—	—	—	—	—
Abroad	—	—	147	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	**177.6**	—	**44,500**	**25.1**	—	**76**	**24**	**48**	**618**

Cooperating Attorneys Needed

As the chart makes obvious, the Union has far too few cooperating attorneys in Northern New England, in the South generally, in most of the Plains and Mountain states, and in Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico. ACLU members in these sections of the country who are lawyers and who would like to be added to the list should communicate with Staff Counsel Rowland Watts. While cooperating attorneys receive no fees, the Union does try to cover their out-of-pocket expenses, and they are asked to work on cases and legal problems only after they have agreed to do so in each particular situation.

Atlanta Court Finds Wilkinson Guilty; ACLU Set for Appeal of HUAC Test Case

Civil Rts.

Another ACLU-backed test case challenging the constitutionality of the House Un-American Activities Committee is now moving through the courts.

A Federal District Court jury in Atlanta on January 23 found Frank Wilkinson guilty of contempt of Congress last summer when he refused, on First Amendment grounds, to answer the Committee's questions concerning alleged Communist associations. The Committee was investigating what it considered subversive influences at work in the South's controversy over desegregation.

The Union is providing Wilkinson, whose home is in Los Angeles, with the services of its Staff Counsel Rowland Watts because of its belief that the case offers another opportunity to bring before the U.S. Supreme Court the constitutionality of the HUAC mandate. Since the Committee was first created in 1938, the ACLU has opposed its mandate to investigate "un-American propaganda activities" as an invasion of First Amendment freedoms.

Federal Judge Boyd Sloan sentenced Wilkinson to twelve months in prison, the maximum sentence, but did not impose any fine, and declared that the HUAC was clearly authorized by the House to carry out its activities and that the Atlanta hearings were an investigation for a valid legislative purpose. He concluded that a moderate prison sentence would not be a sufficient deterrent to other persons refusing to cooperate with the Committee.

Staff Counsel Rowland Watts moved for a new trial immediately after the sentence was imposed on the ground that the trial court had erred in denying his previous motions for acquittal. Watts argued, as he had during the trial, that the HUAC mandate was unconstitutional and therefore Wilkinson's refusal to cooperate did not constitute an offense against the United States.

Judge Sloan did agree with Watts' suggestion that the court reserve decision on the new trial motion until the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled in the Barenblatt case, and released Wilkinson on $1,000 bond. The Barenblatt case, which raises questions involved in the Wilkinson case, was argued by ACLU attorneys before the Supreme Court last fall. If Wilkinson is denied a new trial after the Barenblatt decision comes down, the Union will take his case to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Civil Liberties
3/59

Civil Liberties, 1959

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

The Shifty Line 4/4/59

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has detected a substantial shift in the Communist party line regarding the nation's Negro population. Cecil Sherrill

Nearly 40 years ago the idea of a "black republic" was advanced as a party aim for the South with its heavy Negro concentrations. The fantastic scheme—which we suspect the party theorists never had any intention of trying, much less realizing—has been cited time and again by extremists as a reason to continue, even to strengthen, racial discriminations. To do anything else, they said, would be to "follow the Communist line."

Now, the House committee says, the Reds are aligning themselves with the aspirations of patriotic Negroes for a surer measure of legally granted, constitutionally guaranteed benefits of American life. To the Negroes' great credit, let it be said there has been an overwhelming rejection of the party and its leadership. Only a tiny few of the race are numbered among defectors to the Communist side.

The present line, of course, is a far different thing from promising the Negro a republic of his own. But the point is that in neither case were the Communists motivated by any real concern for the Negro's welfare; in both, they moved to foment and to deepen differences existing between Americans. For them, it is a matter of tactics.

The Communists' strategy is to advance the party's aim of world domination by subverting America and causing its submission to Russia. It is unchanging, but they have failed miserably in bringing it about.

Their tactics, which may shift overnight, include stirring up strife wherever they can in the hope of destroying America's capacity to contain diversity of thought and belief and action within the unity of a fundamental purpose.

It will never serve America's best interest, or that of its many peoples, to oppose any given course just because it happens to coincide right then with the Communist party line. Automatic rejection of something the Reds profess to espouse places the initiative in their hands; they have simply to say they are for something to have us turn against it.

Better by far for us, as Americans with blessed protection for making up our own minds, to set our course and plan our actions on the basis of what we believe to be right, and doing it, without the slightest regard of what the Communists' shifting—and shifty—tactics may be at the moment.

Cecil Sherrill - 1959

Reds Now Travel on Their Subversive Errands—by Supreme Court Decree!

During the convention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February, Dictator Khrushchev flung insults and threats at the United States. Marshal Malinovsky, the war minister, also threatened the United States, bragging that the Kremlin's missiles can strike "precisely any point" in this country.

At that same convention in Moscow, was an American citizen who himself made a lying, anti-American speech. He was James E. Jackson, representing the Communist Party of the United States.

How did Jackson get there? He got there openly and legally. And so did other U. S. Communist leaders who went to Moscow at the same time. These characters were present because the Supreme Court ruled last June that the Secretary of State had no right to withhold passports from members of the Communist Party.

Jackson had been convicted by a jury in a Federal court as a conspirator against the United States. But last August the Court of Appeals reversed the conviction, on the ground that the Supreme Court in a similar case had freed several convicted California Red leaders. Thus Jackson was saved from prison.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court had issued its decision that Communists must not be denied passports. President Eisenhower quickly sent a special message to Congress, urging legislation authorizing the Secretary of State to withhold passports from supporters of Communism. The bill was passed in the House, but when it came to the Senate it got tied up in the jam of legislation just before adjournment. So the Communist Party was free to send Jackson to represent it at the convention of the Soviet Communist Party.

Also present in Moscow was the best-known member of the C.P.-U.S.A., Paul Robeson. He, too, had received a passport after the Supreme Court's decision. And who should show up in Moscow, almost immediately after Jackson, but Harry Bridges, president of the Communist-controlled International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union? Years ago a split decision of the Supreme Court saved this Australian-born citizen from deportation.

A few days earlier, Khrushchev received Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, ninety-one-year-old scholar, former professor and intellectual leader of the pro-Kremlin forces among Negroes in the United States. Both Du Bois and his wife were identified long ago as members of the Communist Party. Although not a member now, he makes no secret of his devotion to the Soviet regime. For years his efforts to get a passport failed. Then came the Supreme Court decision—and Du Bois was free to go to Moscow. From Moscow, Du Bois and his wife flew to Peking, defying the State Department regulation that United States passports are not valid for travel to Red China.

Another United States citizen in Moscow was George Morris, labor editor of the Communist Party's misnamed paper, The Worker, and member of the C.P.'s Labor Commission. After months of delay, the State Department had unwillingly given him a passport.

Meanwhile, Dr. Alpheus Hunton, another identified Communist Party member, had gone to Africa. Hunton used to be director of the Council on African Affairs, which Attorney General Brownell called a Communist front.

The State Department has been forced to grant passports to scores of important Communists and fellow-travelers. The department even felt obliged to give passports to a precious pair one of whom on a previous trip abroad made speeches charging the United States with germ warfare! Who can check on what harm such people do to the United States abroad? Congress should adopt the bill which President Eisenhower urged last summer, unmistakably authorizing the State Department to deny passports to Communists and their "willing instruments," and to cancel every passport now in such hands.

Civil Liberties - 4/4/59
The Saturday Evening Post

1959 - Civil Liberties

Birmingham Leader

Civil Liberties,

Shuttlesworth To Address Rights Rally In Louisville

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, famed leader of the Birmingham freedom fight, will speak here May 22 at a rally for civil rights and civil liberties.

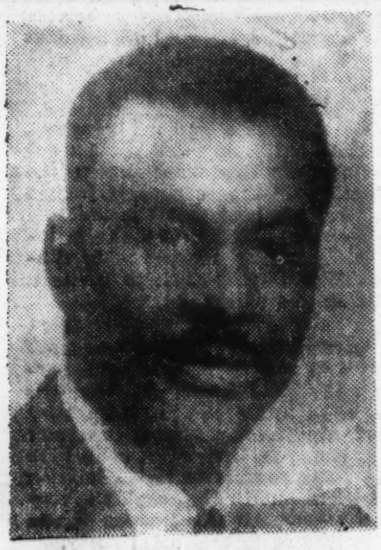
He will appear at West Chestnut Street Baptist Church under auspices of a committee of leading citizens. The meeting will be coordinated by the Southern Conference Shuttlesworth Fund, of which Mr. Shuttlesworth is a board member.

Co-chairman for the rally are Dr. M. M. D. Perdue, pastor of Emanuel Baptist Church and publice relations chairman of the Baptist Ministers And Deacons Meeting of Louisville and Vicinity; the Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, dishop of the AME Zion Church, and Dr. Daniel J. Hughlett, executive secretary of the Jefferson County Sunday School Association

DR. PERDUE

Dr. Perdue said that one purpose of the rally will be to stimulate work for civil rights and civil liberties in Louisville. Another aim will be to rally support for the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, of which Mr. Shuttlesworth is president.

The ACMHR is sponsoring a bus protest and other civil-rights actions in Birmingham. Mr. Shuttlesworth himself is under sentence for his part in the movement, and recently the Rev. Calvin Woods was sentenced to six months in jail for urging his congregation to stay off segregated buses. Both are appealing to the higher courts.



REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH

Mr. Shuttlesworth will stress the vital link between civil rights and civil liberties. He said recently in his column in The Pittsburgh Courier: "If the state can dictate to Negro preachers what to say and what not to say, when to do and when not to do, how to act and when to act, then Americanism has become far less than that which the Founding Fathers established, and what we have for so long proclaimed."

The Birmingham leader said he also wants to arouse support for white persons who come under attack in the South for taking a stand for integration and equal rights for all citizens. Dr. Perdue noted that the Southern Conference Educational Fund has long supported white and Negro citizens working for integration whose patriotic motives have been impugned by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

OTHER MEMBERS

Other members of the committee sponsoring Mr. Shuttlesworth's visit to Louisville include Frank L. Stanley, publisher of The Louisville Defender; the Rev. Charles N. King, editor of The American Baptist; the Rev. W. J. Hodge, president of the Louisville branch of NAACP; Dr. Katharine Dodd, Distinguished Professor of Pediatrics at the University of Louisville School of Medicine; the Rev. R. J. Miller, pastor of First Virginia Avenue Baptist Church; Neville Tucker, attorney and leader in the NAACP Youth Council; the Rev. G. K. Offutt, pastor of West Chestnut Street Baptist Church; the Rev. J. V. Bottoms, pastor of Green Street Baptist Church, and Anne and Carl Braden, field secretaries and editors for the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Additional members of the committee will be announced later.

Civil Liberties 1959

FLORIDA CLU, UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS SCORE STATE PROBE AT UNIVERSITY

The Florida Civil Liberties Union and other groups, noting serious violations of civil liberties, have protested a state legislative committee's investigation of alleged homosexuality at the University of Florida. The probe was conducted by Senator Charlie Johns.

A detailed criticism of the investigation was contained in a letter sent by the Florida chapter of the American Association of University Professors to its members. "Faculty members have been called on the telephone, or issued personal summonses by a member of the university police force to 'appear before the Johns Committee, and have been given no inkling of the reason for the summons or why they are asked to appear," the letter said. "Further, they may not be informed either by the police or the investigators of their legal and constitutional rights, including the right to counsel, or that their coming without being subpoenaed is purely voluntary. The ...committee has conducted interrogation in a suite of rooms at a local motel or hotel. After the individual has been questioned by one of the investigators...he is directed into another room...where he faces a group of interrogators with a tape recorder or court reporter, or both. He may be placed under oath for a portion of the interrogation."

The Florida Civil Liberties Union's protest, made by Stuart Simon, chairman of the FCLU Legislative Committee, stated that: (1) the investigation would result in "permanent damage to the reputation of human beings" if it continued to attract newspaper attention; (2) the university officials are better equipped to conduct such an inquiry; (3) "the committee investigation...constitutes a legislative usurpation of a judicial function" inasmuch as the laws of Florida "render various types of lewd and homosexual behavior subject to criminal penalties; and (4) legislative investigations all too often violate the basic concepts of individual human rights set forth in the Bill of Rights and our federal constitution."

The inquiry also has come under sharp attack in the press. In an editorial The Daytona Beach, Florida News decried the conduct of the Johns Committee. It is "serving as a roving Grand Jury," the editorial declared, "with political power....It has just completed its indictment of the U. of Fla., but not as would an ordinary Grand Jury. The indictment will not be turned over to a court of law where the facts it alleges may be proved in a judicial manner with conviction or exoneration the just result. Instead the Johns 'Grand Jury' already has indicted the university." The editorial backed the FCLU letter of protest to Sen. Johns and after noting that a chapter might be organized on the campus said that "it would seem...the university is very much in need of a protector of civil liberties."

As to why the Johns Committee focussed its attention on alleged homosexuality (its original mandate authorized it to look into "conduct inimical to our country"), it has been suggested that intimidation of the faculty and student body would serve as a deterrent against racial integration on the campus or a university chapter of the FCLU. Under a Federal court order, the first Negro is now attending the state university's law school.

Civil Liberties

Feature Press Service
4/20/59

Civil Liberties
1959

Negro Red Spars Angrily With Probers

ARKANSAS GAZETTE
APR 23 1959

Carol Sebesta

Washington, April 22 (UPI).—A Negro Communist leader told House investigators today that they should be investigating the "murder of Negroes in the South" instead of "prying" into his politics.

William Lorenzo Patterson of New York, general manager of the Communist Sunday Worker, clashed angrily with members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter (Dem., Pa.) told Patterson it was "to the everlasting credit of the colored people in the United States" that they were not deceived by Patterson's writings about civil rights strife.

Patterson snapped that he did not like Walter's "gratuitous insults." Angrily he told Walter that the "murder" and "denial of civil rights" to Negroes in the South were "directed by men like yourself."

"We don't care about that," Walter retorted. "You've shed enough crocodile tears this morning."

Patterson was summoned to testify on a bill to give to the State Department more discretion in withholding passports for travel abroad. The measure was prompted by a Supreme Court ruling that the Department could not refuse to issue a passport solely because of a citizen's political associations.

Challenges Group

Patterson challenged the authority of the Committee to hold such hearings and said any legislation that resulted would violate the "constitutional right to travel."

Patterson, who has been associated with Communist organizations at least 30 years, even refused to tell the Committee whether he had ever been a Communist.

"You have no right to ask such a question," he said. Ordered to answer, he declined again, contending that the Constitution guaranteed to him the right to hold whatever political beliefs he chose.

Canada Incident

The Committee brought out that Patterson was deported from Canada in 1948 on the ground that he was seeking to overthrow the Canadian government by force and violence.

Patterson said he went to Toronto [illegible] to address a meeting. He said the Canadians deported him "under pressure from the United States State Department."

"You aren't creating the impression the State Department was fighting to bring you back here?" Walter asked.

"Very funny," Patterson replied.

Carol Sebesta 1959

PASSPORT WITNESS BALKS AT INQUIRY

Carl Sibertes

Manager of The Worker Cites High Court's Edict on Communist Links

APR 23 1953

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 22—A witness who had his passport seized by the State Department and had been deported from Canada on political behavior grounds was found today to have a new passport ready for use.

The witness, William L. Patterson of Brooklyn, challenged the authority of the House Un-American Activity Committee to ask him whether his numerous trips abroad were Communist missions.

Mr. Patterson, in effect, invoked a ruling of the Supreme Court of last summer to protect him from answering such questions. In applying for his new passport, the witness said, he had grossed out the questions concerning communism.

Court Barred Questions

On previous granting of passports to Mr. Patterson, the application blanks did not require "yyeys" or "no" answers as to Communist affiliation. Such questions were inserted in the Internal Security Act of 1950, but were nullified by the court decision of last June.

The committee is seeking to write a new law to deny passports to those whose foreign visits might be detrimental to the security of the United States.

Mr. Patterson declined to answer questions dealing with communism. He said, though, that the committee already knew about his affiliations.

Mr. Patterson is manager of what is left of The Daily Worker, the official American news organization of the Communist party. It now publishes only on Sundays.

Travels, on passports starting in 1927, took him throughout Europe and into the Soviet Union and satellite countries. News dispatches, cited by Richard Arens, committee staff director, indicated that he had called the United States "a criminal country." Mr. Patterson denied this. What he meant, he said, was to assert that some Southern states were practicing "Negro genocide" under Jim Crow laws.

Clashes With Walter

Mr. Patterson had several clashes with Representative Francis E. Walter, Pennsylvania Democrat who heads the committee. Mr. Walter, at one point, observed:

"To the everlasting credit of the Negro people and their leaders, they are not misled by this stuff." Mr. Patterson, a Negro, said he was speaking for American Negroes during his foreign trips.

"Stop speaking for the Negroes of the United States," Mr. Walter interposed. "You don't speak for anyone but yourself."

The State Department said Mr. Patterson's passport was canceled as a result of his going beyond the countries mentioned in his application to visit Communist Hungary.

Mr. Patterson's attorney, Abraham Unger of New York, was one of scores of lawyers listed by the committee in a recent pamphlet, "Communist Legal Subversion; the Role of the Communist Lawyer."

Carl Sibertes, 1959

THE WASHINGTON POST and TIMES HERALD
A10 Thursday, April 23, 1959

N. Y. Red Rows With House Unit

Civil Liberties

Associated Press Photo

William L. Patterson, at left, general manager of the Communist Party publication. "The Sunday Worker," confers with his attorney, Abraham Unger of New York, before testifying on passport legislation at the Capitol yesterday.

By Norman C. Cornish
United Press International

A Negro Communist leader told House investigators yesterday that they should be investigating the "murder of Negroes in the South" instead of prying into his politics.

The Negro, William Lorenzo Patterson of New York, general manager of the Communist Sunday Worker, clashed angrily with members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) told Patterson it was "to the everlasting credit of the colored people in the United States" that they were not "deceived" by Patterson's writings about civil rights strife.

Patterson snapped that he did not like Walter's "gratuitous insults." He angrily told Walter that the "murder" and "denial of civil rights" to Negroes in the South were "directed by men like yourself."

Patterson was summoned to testify on a bill to give the State Department more discretion in withholding passports for travel abroad. The measure was prompted by a Supreme Court ruling that the Department cannot deny a citizen a passport solely because of his political associations.

Patterson challenged the authority of the group to hold such hearings and said any legislation that might result would violate the "constitutional right to travel."

Patterson, who has been associated with Communist organizations for at least 30 years, even refused to tell the Committee whether he had ever been a Red.

"You have no right to ask such a question," he said.

Patterson's passport once was revoked because he traveled to Hungary in 1950 without State Department permission.

Committee Council Richard Arens produced a United Press dispatch quoting Patterson as telling a news conference in Prague that the United States was "a criminal Government" on the question of civil rights. He was asked if he ever made such a statement.

"The United Press has distorted and continues to distort statements by Negroes," he said. He said he did not recall making the statement.

The Committee brought out that Patterson was deported from Canada in 1948 on the ground that he was seeking to overthrow the Canadian government by force and violence.

Patterson said he went to Toronto merely to address a mass meeting. He said the Canadians deported him "under pressure" from the U. S. State Department.

"You aren't creating the impression the State Department was fighting to bring you back here?" Walter asked.

"Very funny," Patterson snorted.

Civil Liberties - 1959

The Bar's Black Cloud

The House of Representatives has passed a bill which may be an ominous portent of a fresh attack on civil liberties and the independence of the Supreme Court. The bill itself is relatively tame: it redefines the word "organize" as used in the Smith Act in a way that widens the application of that controversial measure. But the real significance of the House bill is that:

- It was introduced by Representative Francis Walter, chairman of the shabby Un-American Activities Committee.
- It was passed unanimously.
- The vote in the House was taken just a few days after the influential American Bar Association called upon Congress to set aside Supreme Court decisions in important areas of civil liberties, and praised and encouraged the Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Less than a year ago, the board of governors of the ABA denounced the omnibus Jenner-Butler bill designed to limit drastically the jurisdiction of the court over security legislation. This action was one factor in the defeat of the bill in the Senate by one vote. The Association has now reiterated its position against wholesale limitations on the authority and independence of the judiciary, but by criticizing specific court decisions, recommending legislation that would strengthen so-called "security" measures, and giving verbal aid and comfort to Congressional enemies of the court, the powerful and influential Bar Association has created a black, anti-court cloud which might well open the flood gates to intemperate piece-meal legislation that could undermine the court's defense of the Bill of Rights as effectively as a broadside attack.

The Bar Association urged Congress to 1) amend the Smith Act to make it a crime merely to advocate overthrow of the government by force; 2) to let the states enact their own sedition laws; 3) to give the Secretary of State broader powers to restrict travel; 4) to apply the federal employe security program to non-sensitive as well as sensitive positions; 5) to require a federal employe to forfeit his rights under the Fifth Amendment as a condition of employment —all actions clearly aimed at nullifying recent Court decisions. The climate in which these recommendations were approved was betrayed by the Association's praise of the House and Senate subversion committees, without even a hint that they might have exceeded their authority, engaged in persecution, or even committed a damaging or foolish act.

The Association's attack is all the more reprehensible because when American liberties were being seriously undermined by McCarthy and his followers, the leaders of the Bar Association were alternately silent and evasive. Furthermore, this attack comes at a time when the Communist Party is at its lowest ebb in three decades, with membership reduced to considerably fewer than 5,000. The Bar Association "has done the Communists a favor," commented Edward P. Morgan, "by holding up to hostility and ridicule the one branch of the U.S. government that has done most to protect the democratic structure. It is the eloquently depressing height of irony that the exalted peak of the judiciary should be thus attacked in the name of the legal profession."

Silver Lining

If there is anything resembling a silver lining in the action of the Bar Association, it comes under the heading of "it might have been worse." The American Bar Association is tightly run by a conservative hierarchy with hardly a vestige of democratic procedure. Fewer than half the practicing lawyers in the country are included in its membership. The original document from which the Association's final recommendations were drawn was a rambling, vitriolic report presented to the delegates for approval by the Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives, headed by a reactionary former member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. In its original language the report, among other things, petulantly criticized the Court's defense of the Bill of Rights as "invoking technicalities."

But a spirited fight against language that so cavalierly dismissed fundamental Constitutional civil liberties as mere "technicalities," and against many of the more extreme aspects of the report developed among the delegates, led by Albert E. Jenner, Jr., whose only apparent resemblance to the former court-busting Senator is membership in the same political party. Few of the objectionable recommendations of the committee report were actually eliminated, but the language was toned down considerably, and the report supporting the formal recommendations was never actually endorsed verbatim by the delegates.

Another hopeful note was sounded by the Association in its choice for president-elect—Whitney North Seymour of New York, a bar leader identified favorably with civil liberties who would not have had a chance to win office a few years ago.

Yet in spite of these encouraging developments, it is still true that the principal voice of the American bar has tarnished its record with an unwarranted criticism of the Supreme Court, coupled with warm commendation of the Court's most severe Congressional critics.

Civil Liberties
The Progressive

Civil Liberties 1959

Academic Freedom - A Case Study

Academic Freedom is not an "academic isue" which can be discussed at leisure and in lofty isolation from the immediate challenges to freedom of information. The proliferation of closed sessions—especially closed sessions arriving at unexplained decisions—whether in Washington or on campus threatens educational freedom whatever the intentions of those withholding information Certainly "open decisions openly arrived at" are not always desireable or even possible but the burden of proof should rest on those who would curtail the free flow of information, not on those who would further it.

The Post Office Department's new regulations concerning "foreign political propaganda" raise the issue of curtailing access to information. Few would argue that materials describing the World Festival of Youth and Students were anything other than political propaganda. One might, however, wonder whether an announcement of an international student chess festival co-sponsored by the International Chess Federation to which all national chess federations belong and the Communist-dominated International Union of Students was more political or propagandistic than French descriptions of the Algerian war or Dominican explanations of the Trujillo government's policies.

However, the basic questions relate to not what mail is branded foreign political propaganda but whether any mail should be so branded. Should the Post Office Department set itself up as a judge over what unsolicited mailings should be delivered normally and which only on request? Should the government demand that those receiving any type of mail sign their names and commit themselves to a definite interest in it, merely to receive materials addressed to them? Should mail be labeled "political propaganda" and, by implication at least, factual matter, by the Post Office Department? National Student News

The Post Office Department's case does not seem impressive. Surely 15,000,000 pieces of mail pose no grave technical problems of delivery. Satisfactory reasons for wanting the names of all individuals receiving "foreign political propaganda" have not been advanced if the collection of names is an objective rather than a deterrent to the receipt of mail.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the basic reason for the ruling is a distrust of the critical faculties of recipients. This profound distrust of the average citizen's ability to evaluate what he reads seems to us not only ill-founded but frightening. We cannot believe that insulating the citizens and especially the editors and local organizational leader of a democracy from ideas, whether expressed with scientific exactitude or in the form of "foreign political propaganda," is a sound policy. With James Madison we hold that popular government and a free society require that the individual not be deterred from securing information and opinions from may points of view.

—REGINALD H. GREEN

4/59 Civil Lib.

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RACIAL INTEGRATION AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

PART I

A STUDY BY THE ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS MEMORIAL FUND, SCHOOL OF LAW, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY*

This is the first published research of the Arthur Garfield Hays Memorial Fund, Donald H. Wollett, Director, established at the School of Law, New York University, in September of 1958.

The ambition of the Fund is to pursue what may be called "middle distance" research, that is, the examination of matters which have potential utility to persons and groups interested in advancing and protecting civil liberties without being tied to actual or pending litigation. This initial study investigates judicial procedures and affirmative remedies which are available to persons who seek to challenge the constitutionality of state legislation which restricts, in varying ways and degrees, the freedom of public employees, including school teachers, to espouse, or to belong to organizations that espouse, racial integration.

I

INTRODUCTION

Examination of the statutes of the states discloses that six of them, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia, have enacted legislation relating to public employees' advocacy of integration and membership by such persons in organizations which support that position. (See Appendix.)

Only Louisiana has directly prohibited its school teachers (and in Orleans Parish, other public employees) from advocating or in any manner performing any act towards bringing about integration of the races within the public school system or any public institution of

* The current study has been prepared by Edward Douglas Lanford, the Arthur Garfield Hays Graduate Research Fellow, and Jordan Derwin and Kenneth Martin Greenfield, the two Arthur Garfield Hays Senior Research Fellows, under the supervision of Professor Donald H. Wollett, Director, Arthur Garfield Hays Memorial Fund and Professor of Law, New York University School of Law. The bulk of the work dealing with the constitutionality of the Louisiana legislation was done by Mr. Lanford. However, the introductory remarks are the responsibility of Professor Wollett.

The sections dealing with both state and federal judicial procedures and remedies, which will be published in the May issue of the New York University Law Review, is a composite of the work of the three men. The material dealing with federal judicial procedures and remedies was written by Professor Wollett, with the assistance of Mr. Greenfield and Mr. Derwin and two students in the seminar on Constitutional limitations, Miles R. Jacobson and Lewis Stein.

New York University Law Review
Vol. 34, No. 4 - April, 1959

learning. The other state statutes restrict freedom of speech and association in less direct and more subtle ways, primarily by the device of requiring only the disclosure of organizational memberships, either by the group or by the public employee. The statutes in those states do not indicate, at least on their face, that any penalty will be visited upon the person whose particular affiliations are revealed.

Since the Louisiana statute raises the sharpest questions, and has had an identifiable impact on the school teachers of the jurisdiction,[1] this study has been conducted in the context of that legislation.[2] While it may seem inordinately restrictive to limit the analysis to one statute of one state, what has happened and will happen in Louisiana has transcendent interest in at least three ways.

First, if Louisiana can inhibit the freedom of teachers to explain the decisions in the basic integration cases and their implications, other states may be encouraged to do likewise and thereby impede their ultimate acceptance by the evolutionary process of education.[3] Second, the Louisiana statute is a useful vehicle for reexamination of the dimensions of legislative power to restrict the freedom of speech and association of public employees. It is reasonable to suppose that the restraints that were first imposed on the "privilege" of public employment as a result of concern with the dangers of subversion and are now being imposed, sectionally, in opposition to the termination of racial segregation will arise in other contexts. Finally, statutes that invade first amendment freedoms pose difficult and troublesome procedural questions that can best be explored narrowly.

One can frequently look at a given statute that on its face regulates speech and association and conclude that its mere existence operates as an incursion on the exercise of first amendment freedoms. A single-minded concern with civil liberties might lead one to urge loose standards for determining issues of standing and ripeness and to argue that members of the regulated group should be permitted to

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[1] A Louisiana college recently provided its faculty with copies of the legislation. The faculty was also advised that the legislature was planning an investigation relative to possible violations of the statute. Such knowledge prompted an inquiry to the American Civil Liberties Union to determine whether or not explanation of recent court decisions adverse to segregation and suggestion that the decision be accepted would be such a violation.

[2] Many of the important questions raised by the statutes of Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia should be settled if and when the Supreme Court of the United States decides the case of NAACP v. Patty, 159 F. Supp. 503 (E.D. Va.), prob. juris. noted sub nom. Harrison v. NAACP, 358 U.S. 807 (1958), which involves the constitutionality of several parts of the Virginia legislative package.

[3] According to N.Y. Times, Feb. 26, 1959, p. 63, col. 5, Arkansas has gone Louisiana one better and prohibited any state governmental agency from hiring a member of the NAACP.

attack such a statute without first engaging in conduct that might run afoul of its proscriptions and thereby subject them to its sanctions. The ideal procedure, from this point of view, would be to permit selected plaintiffs to bring a class action on behalf of all persons similarly situated, alleging that they have been, or are, deterred from speaking in particular ways, or from joining or remaining members of particular organizations, or from supporting particular causes, by fear of the statute's broad interdiction and of punishment under its vague standards. Such plaintiffs would insist that they have thereby been deprived, merely by the statute's enactment, of their freedom of speech, freedom of association, liberty and property without due process of law, and that they are therefore entitled to a declaratory judgment that the statute is unconstitutional on its face and an injunction restraining the defendants from enforcing it against them and all other members of the class.

There are, however, countervailing considerations that strongly militate against permitting this procedure. In the first place, the propriety of class actions to protect first amendment freedoms is subject to grave doubt on the ground that such freedoms do not accrue in a judicially enforceable way to amorphous groups. They are personal and individual, not collective, in nature. *A* may be deterred by a statute from exercising his freedom of speech, while *B* may not be, at least in any identifiable way. In addition, an action for a declaratory judgment that a statute is invalid on its face is in effect a request that the court review in broadest terms the particular work of the legislature at issue and excise it from the session laws. The dangers of determinations of such abstract issues, unilluminated by specificity of pleading and proof, are obvious. What, for example, are the res judicata and stare decisis effects of such decisions? Moreover, is not the performance of such a function by a court essentially oligarchic in nature and does it not do violence to orderly three-departmental government? What happens, for example, to the presumption of constitutionality? Finally, when a court reviews the constitutionality of legislative action outside the particularized context of a case or controversy, does it not encourage preoccupation of the body politic with the courts as the exclusive guardians of human liberty? And does not such preoccupation corrupt the legislature's sense of responsibility for the constitutionality of the action it takes and the electorate's sense of responsibility for the legislators it chooses?

The kind of balance that should be struck between these opposing considerations can be examined most intelligently and meaningfully in the context of a specific problem, *e.g.*, the Louisiana statute at issue.

This study discusses the constitutionality of the Louisiana legislation both as a matter of state and federal law. However, pursuant to the implementation of our principal objective, it focuses heavily upon the question of what judicial procedures and affirmative remedies are available, both at state and federal levels, to the person who claims that his civil liberties have been abridged by the governmental action in question.

Since there is some tendency to think of issues of constitutionality in exclusively federal terms and to look largely to the federal courts as the guardians of human freedom, it may seem strange to some that we have devoted such a large part of the study to the examination of state constitutional law and state judicial procedures and remedies. However, the importance of state constitutions in protecting civil liberties and the historic role of the state courts in safeguarding both state and federal constitutional rights should not be overlooked.[4] The assumption of responsibility by the states is enormously important to the survival of a responsively democratic society, and the notion that their courts are not to be trusted with the difficult and delicate task of distinguishing between constitutional and unconstitutional governmental action is not only ill-founded but also dangerous. Indeed, it may well be that state courts, particularly in connection with issues that are charged with emotion and which threaten entrenched social institutions and patterns of behavior, are the most effective judicial instruments for protecting human liberties without precipitating divisive interregional conflicts.[5]

II

Louisiana Legislation

At the Regular Session of 1956 the advocates of segregation obtained the adoption (without a dissenting vote) of thirteen legislative acts designed to maintain forced separation of the races in a variety

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[4] The lower federal courts did not have general jurisdiction, in private civil litigation, over cases arising under the Constitution or laws of the United States until 1875. "[T]he principle established by the first Judiciary Act was that private litigants must look to the state tribunals in the first instance for vindication of federal claims, subject to limited review by the United States Supreme Court. In the course of time, exceptions were made in the case of matters of a peculiarly federal nature or where political exigencies demanded. But it was not until the consolidation of national sentiment after the Civil War that the basic change was made whereby the national courts became the primary forum for the vindication of federal rights." Hart & Wechsler, The Federal Courts and the Federal System 727 (1953).

[5] This statement is not meant to imply that courts, whether state or federal, are the best instruments for safeguarding human freedoms against improper executive or legislative behavior. Plainly they often are not.

of contexts.[6] Seven of these acts related to education.[7] Four concerned public parks and recreational facilities,[8] waiting rooms for passengers in interstate commerce,[9] employer-furnished sanitation, eating and drinking facilities for employees,[10] dances, social functions, entertainments, and athletic events.[11] Two proposed to amend the constitution.[12]

As part of the continuing campaign against integration, the legislature, at the Regular Session of 1958, adopted twelve acts covering six areas of racial segregation.[13] Five of these statutes were calculated to avoid mixing of the races in the public schools. Act 256 provided for the closing and sale of integrated schools. Acts 257, 258, and 557 were designed to establish a system of publicly financed private education, and Act 259 was a pupil assignment law,[14] almost a verbatim copy of the Alabama statute[15] which the Supreme Court of the United States recently declared to be valid on its face.[16]

The subject of this study is Act 249 of the 1956 legislation, which amended the statutory grounds for dismissal of a permanent teacher.[17] Act 249 added, as grounds for dismissal,

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[6] For a discussion of these acts, see Reynard, Legislation Affecting Segregation, 17 La. L. Rev. 101 (1956).

[7] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:221 (Supp. 1958) [Act 28] (excepts integrated schools from compulsory attendance statute); La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 17:341-46 (Supp. 1958) [Act 319] (segregation of public schools); La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 17:341-46 (Supp. 1958) [Act 249] (restrictions upon public school teachers' taking active role in integration); La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:493 (Supp. 1958) [Act 248] (similar restrictions upon public school bus operators); La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:462 (Supp. 1958) [Act 252] (restrictions on teachers); La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:523 (Supp. 1958) [Act 250] (similar restrictions upon public employees other than teachers in Orleans Parish); La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 17:2131-35 (Supp. 1958) [Act 15] (requirement of certificate of "eligibility and good moral character," signed by high school superintendent and principal, for admission to institute of higher learning).

[8] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 33:4558.1 (Supp. 1958) [Act 14].

[9] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 45:1301-05 (Supp. 1958) [Act 27].

[10] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 23:971-75 (Supp. 1958) [Act 395].

[11] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 4:451-55 (Supp. 1958) [Act 579].

[12] Amendments proposed by Acts 606 & 613 were adopted at the November 1956 elections. La. Const. art. XII, § 1 (as amended 1958).

[13] La. Acts Reg. Sess. 1958, Nos. 187, 256-62, 482-83, 519, 557.

[14] For a discussion of these acts, see Reynard, Segregation, 19 La. L. Rev. 114 (1958).

[15] Ala. Acts 1957, No. 367.

[16] Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Educ., 358 U.S. 101 (1958) (per curiam), adopting opinion in 164 F. Supp. 372 (N.D. Ala. 1958).

[17] As amended, La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:443 (Supp. 1958) [Act 249] now reads:

Removal of teachers; procedure; right to appeal.

A permanent teacher shall not be removed from office except upon written and signed charges of willful neglect of duty, or incompetency or dishonesty, *or of being a member of or of contributing to any group, organization, movement or corporation that is by law or injunction prohibited from operating in the state of Louisiana, or of advocating or in any manner performing any act toward bringing about integration of the races within the public school system or any public institution of higher learning of the state of Louisiana,* and then only if found guilty after a hearing by the school

> being a member of or . . . contributing to any group organization, movement or corporation that is by law or injunction prohibited from operating in the state of Louisiana, or . . . advocating or in any manner performing any act toward bringing about integration of the races within the public school system or any public institution of higher learning of the state of Louisiana . . . .[18]

These same grounds for dismissal were made applicable to permanent teachers of the Orleans Parish;[19] regular or permanent employees, other than teachers, in the Orleans Parish;[20] and permanent school bus operators.[21]

A companion act was declared unconstitutional in the case of *Ludley v. Board of Supervisors of La. State Univ.*[22] That act required as a prerequisite for entrance into any publicly financed institution of higher learning, a certificate of eligibility and good moral character signed by the applicant's former principal and superintendent, addressed to the institution the applicant seeks to enter. Negro students sought a declaratory judgment and injunction testing the constitutionality of the act. It was declared unconstitutional by the federal district court on the ground that the intent of the legislature was to discriminate against Negro citizens and to circumvent the equal protection clause of the fourteenth amendment. The Fifth Circuit, af-

board of the parish or city, as the case may be, which hearing may be private or public, at the option of the teacher. At least fifteen days in advance of the date of the hearing, the school board shall furnish the teacher with a copy of the written charges. The teacher shall have the right to appear before the board with witnesses in his behalf and with counsel of his selection, all of whom shall be heard by the board at the said hearing. Nothing herein contained shall impair the right of appeal to a court of competent jurisdiction.

If a permanent teacher is found guilty by a school board, after due and legal hearing as provided herein, on charges of willful neglect of duty, or of incompetency, or dishonesty, *or of being a member of or of contributing to any group, organization, movement or corporation that is by law or injunction prohibited from operating in the state of Louisiana, or of advocating or in any manner performing any act toward bringing about integration of the races within the public school system of the state of Louisiana,* and ordered removed from office, or disciplined by the board, the teacher may, not more than one year from the date of said finding, petition a court of competent jurisdiction for a full hearing to review the action of the school board, and the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm or reverse the action of the school board in the matter. If the finding of the school board is reversed by the court and the teacher is ordered reinstated and restored to duty, the teacher shall be entitled to full pay for any loss of time or salary he or she may have sustained by reason of the action of the said school board. (Emphasis supplied to provisions added by La. Acts, Reg. Sess. 1956, No. 249.)

[18] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:443 (Supp. 1958).

[19] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:462 (Supp. 1958).

[20] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:523 (Supp. 1958).

[21] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:493 (Supp. 1958).

[22] 150 F. Supp. 900 (E.D. La. 1957). Louisiana legislation and constitutional provisions requiring segregation of the races in public elementary and high schools of the state have also been declared unconstitutional. Bush v. Orleans Parish School Bd., 138 F. Supp. 336 (E.D. La. 1956).

firming, emphasized the lack of objective standards for determining eligibility for such a certificate and the fact that the implied standard was that of the race of the applicant.[23] It was stated by the district court that Act 249, subject of this study, was designed to prevent Negro students from obtaining the certificate. "[I]t was the intention of the Legislature that any teacher who signs a certificate for a Negro student to go to a white school will sacrifice his tenure."[24]

The practical affect of Act 249 is illustrated by the circuit court's quotation of a letter from a high school principal to a Negro student seeking a certificate addressed to Louisiana State University:

> Miss Arnease Ludley
> 208 West McKinley Street
> Baton Rouge, Louisiana
>
> Dear Miss Ludley:
>
> Your request for a Certificate of Eligibility to attend Louisiana State University is hereby acknowledged. In reply I do not have a form of the Certificate of Eligibility addressed to that institution. If you should get a form and send it to me, I could not sign it, because under a state law I would lose my job for signing the certificate.
>
> I assure you that my refusal to sign the certificate is not intended to cast any unfavorable reflection against your character. I just can not take the risk of losing my job.
>
> Sincerely yours,
> (Signed) Arthur D. Smith
> Principal[25]

Although the Attorney General of Louisiana, counsel in the *Ludley* case, acknowledged that there might be some question as to the constitutionality of Act 249,[26] it has not yet been judicially tested.

III

Constitutionality as a Matter of State Law

Any attack upon the validity of Act 249 would undoubtedly be first met by the presumption of constitutionality that is given to all laws by the Supreme Court of Louisiana.[27] Although legislative "intent" to attain ends other than those revealed on the face of the statute has been used by at least one federal court to invalidate some of the

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[23] Board of Supervisors of La. State Univ. v. Ludley, 252 F.2d 372, 374 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 358 U.S. 819 (1958).

[24] 150 F. Supp. at 903.

[25] 252 F.2d at 374.

[26] 150 F. Supp. at 902.

[27] See Ward v. Leche, 189 La. 113, 119, 179 So. 52, 54 (1938) (quoting with approval City of Shreveport v. Pedro, 170 La. 351, 127 So. 865 [1930]).

recent Louisiana legislation,[28] the state courts would probably rule out this line of attack by reliance upon the state supreme court's edict that they "have no right to review the policy or wisdom of legislation because our jurisdiction is confined to determining the applicability, legality or constitutionality of laws."[29] The presumption of constitutionality and probable inadmissibility of proof purporting to establish that the legislature had ulterior motives in passing Act 249 present formidable obstacles to a successful affirmative attack on the face of the statute. However, although the constitutionality of the legislation involved was upheld, Louisiana courts have been willing to judge the validity of state legislation on its face.[30]

Restraint of Freedom of Advocacy.—The Louisiana constitution provides for the free exercise of speech: "No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press; any person may speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty."[31] The Supreme Court of Louisiana has evaluated this freedom:

> The right of freedom of speech and of the press as understood and enjoyed in this country today is one of the foundation stones upon which American liberty was built. It is the pillar without the support of which free governments fall and tyrannical dictatorships rise. Prior to the establishment of our democracy, no people on earth had ever been accorded the privilege of "speaking their mind" with that lack of restraint modern civilization's concept of freedom of expression connotes. . . . [T]he right to freely express one's sentiments through the medium of public communication is absolutely essential to the perpetuity of free government . . . .[32]

The Louisiana court has also stated, with regard to a conflict between an act of the legislature and a provision of the constitution, that all laws must yield to the constitution, as it is the paramount law.[33] The unqualified denial of "advocating . . . integration of the races within the public school system or any public institution of higher learning of the state of Louisiana"[34] appears on its face to be clearly inconsistent with the freedom of speech guaranteed by the state constitution. However, there are difficulties with this conclusion.

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[28] See Ludley v. Board of Supervisors of La. State Univ., 150 F. Supp. 900, 902-04 (E.D. La. 1957).

[29] Mouledoux v. Maestri, 197 La. 525, 535, 2 So. 2d 11, 14 (1941).

[30] E.g., City of New Orleans v. Borey, 52 So. 2d 728 (La. Ct. App. 1951); Ricks v. Department of State Civil Serv., 200 La. 341, 8 So. 2d 49 (1942).

[31] La. Const. art. I, § 3.

[32] Kennedy v. Item Co., 213 La. 347, 355, 34 So. 2d 886, 889 (1948) (dictum) (newspaper publisher found guilty of libel).

[33] Scott v. Ratcliff, 167 La. 237, 243, 119 So. 33, 35 (1928).

[34] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:443 (Supp. 1958), for text see note 17 supra.

The limitation of free speech in the context of a prohibition of political activity was one of the grounds upon which the constitutionality of the Louisiana civil service law was attacked in *Ricks v. Department of State Civil Service*.[35] A section of this law[36] forbade any employee in civil service to be a member of a committee of a political party or to make any political speech or public political statement as part of any political campaign. Violators were subject to fine and/or imprisonment, ineligibility for public employment for ten years, and loss of position if presently employed. Challenge of the law was also made on the basis of a denial of equal protection of the laws contrary to the fourteenth amendment because certain classes of persons were exempted from the operation of civil service. In declaring the civil service law constitutional against these claims, the court held that the privilege of holding public office is not guaranteed by the Constitution as an inalienable right. The privilege is conferred only upon such terms and conditions as the people, speaking through their chosen representatives, may determine.[37]

> The petitioner may have a constitutional right to talk politics, but he has no constitutional right to be a policeman. There are few employments for hire in which the servant does not agree to suspend his constitutional rights of free speech as well as idleness by the implied terms of his contract. The servant cannot complain, as he takes the employment on the terms which are offered him.[38]

It was held that the denial of free speech was within the legislative discretion to adopt such means as would effectuate the purpose of the civil service act and bring about a more perfect civil service system.[39]

It is arguable that the prohibition of advocacy of integration is calculated to bring about a more perfect functioning of the public school system. With regard to the tensions and emotions surrounding the question of integration, this denial could be viewed as a proper exercise of legislative discretion reasonably related to achieving an efficient operation of the schools. And, reasoning from the *Ricks* case, which upheld a prohibition of "political activity," perhaps advocacy of integration could today be classified as political activity of a sort.

However, although the court's holding in the *Ricks* case was clear regarding the "privilege" aspect of state employment, it recognized limitations upon that proposition. Such limitations could be utilized in holding the denial of "advocacy" to be unconstitutional. The court, in

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[35] 200 La. 342, 8 So. 2d 49 (1942).

[36] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 42:727(J) (1950).

[37] 200 La. at 363, 8 So. 2d at 56.

[38] Id. at 371, 8 So. 2d at 59, quoting McAuliffe v. New Bedford, 155 Mass. 216, 29 N.E. 517 (1892).

[39] Id. at 371, 8 So. 2d at 59.

answering the claim that certain sections of the civil service law contravened the equal protection clause of the fourteenth amendment, noted that the federal constitution prohibits those discriminations which are arbitrary and without reason.[40] Though this was with regard to the federal constitution, the court likewise recognized a state limitation of reasonableness upon the regulation of public employment. The court relied upon several federal decisions to sustain the abridgment of the free speech guaranteed by the Louisiana constitution. It recognized that the legislature could proscribe such free speech, for the purpose of effecting civil service efficiency, if the "means adopted are really calculated to attain such end."[41] Some state standard surely exists by which the power of the legislature to impose conditions upon public employment may be measured. For if not, the legislature may enact a regulation providing that no Republican, Jew or Negro shall be appointed to public office, or that no employees shall attend mass or take any active part in missionary work.[42]

The *Ricks* case recognized that in regulating public employment the legislature must be seeking an objective justifying the restriction of constitutional freedoms and that the means utilized to achieve this goal must be reasonably related to its attainment. Thus, the exact question under Louisiana law is whether prohibiting the advocacy of integration in public schools is a regulatory measure which is rationally connected with the accomplishment of ends that are within legislative power. A negative answer may quickly be given on the ground that the objective of the prohibition is to preserve segregation of the races in public educational institutions and that this is a goal no longer within state legislative power since the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*.[43] However, while this is doubtlessly correct as a matter of federal constitutional law, there are serious difficulties with the conclusion so far as state constitutional law is concerned.

Article XII, Section 1 of the Louisiana constitution requires separate schools for white and colored children. It was amended in 1954 by the addition of the following language: "This provision is made in the exercise of the state police power to promote and protect public health, morals, better education and the peace and good order in the State, and not because of race. The Legislature shall enact laws to enforce the state police power in this regard." Since Article XII, Section 1 was struck down under the fourteenth amendment in *Bush v. Orleans*

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[40] Id. at 363, 8 So. 2d at 56.
[41] Id. at 371, 8 So. 2d at 59.
[42] Cf. Wieman v. Updegraff, 344 U.S. 183, 191-92 (1952).
[43] 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Parish School Board,[44] the Louisiana court might conclude that the dimensions of the state's police power no longer include the objective of maintaining segregated schools. However, this would not end the matter because the state's police power does include promoting efficiency of the public service, protecting public safety, and preventing breaches of the peace.[45] If proof purporting to establish that the legislature had ulterior motives in passing Act 249 is inadmissible,[46] the abridgment of speech involved cannot be set aside on orthodox considerations of substantive due process unless it can be said that prohibiting advocacy of integration is not reasonably related to attainment of these objectives. Considering the emotional climate in Louisiana over the intermingling of colored and white students in public schools, such a conclusion is difficult to reach.

The force of this argument can be avoided, however, by laying emphasis on two considerations: (1) the fact that Louisiana apparently gives greater protection to freedom of speech than it does to other freedoms, *e.g.*, the use and disposition of property; and (2) the breadth of the statutory proscription.

In *Graham v. Jones*[47] the Louisiana court held that the exercise of speech may be prohibited only when there is a clear and present danger, *i.e.*, an extremely high degree of imminence, that a serious substantive evil will occur if the speech is not prohibited.[48] In so holding the court recognized that it was broadening the protection of free speech. The case is distinguishable because it involved the power to punish for contempt of court, not the power to impose conditions on public employment. Nonetheless, it is a useful analogy because of the limitations on legislative power to regulate public employment which the Louisiana court recognized in the *Ricks* case. Can it ration-

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[44] 138 F. Supp. 336 (E.D. La. 1957).

[45] City of Baton Rouge v. Rebowe, 226 La. 186, 75 So. 2d 239 (1945) (ordinance requiring establishments selling alcoholic beverages to be closed during certain hours held constitutional); Ricks v. Department of State Civil Serv., 200 La. 341, 8 So. 2d 49 (1942) (state civil service law held constitutional); Scott v. City of West Monroe, 95 So. 2d 343 (La. Ct. App. 1957) (ordinance prohibiting parking on certain streets held constitutional). But see State v. Birdsell, 235 La. 396, 104 So. 2d 148 (1958) (act making it unlawful to possess hypodermic syringe or needle without prescription of physician regardless of use for which possessed held unconstitutional); Schwegmann Bros. v. Louisiana Bd. of Alcoholic Beverage Control, 216 La. 148, 43 So. 2d 248 (1949) (sections of an act to license and control certain traffic in beverages held unconstitutional); Arkansas Louisiana Gas Co. v. Louisiana Dep't of Highways, 104 So. 2d 204 (La. Ct. App. 1958) (allowed recovery of expenditures resulting from relocation of pipeline in accordance with state highway department regulation).

[46] Mouledoux v. Maestri, 197 La. 525, 535, 2 So. 2d 11, 14 (1941).

[47] 200 La. 137, 7 So. 2d 688 (1942).

[48] Id. at 157, 7 So. 2d at 694 (quoting with approval Bridges v. California, 314 U.S. 252 [1941]).

ally be said that the mere advocacy of integration produces an extremely high degree of likelihood that any *serious* substantive evil will *imminently* occur? An inefficient public school system? Breaches of the peace? Immorality? Disease? Or even the end of enforced racial segregation itself? It is hard to see how.

Specific forms of advocacy might produce such clear and present dangers, *e.g.*, exhorting the listeners to violence. But the statutory language at issue, in the absence of a narrowing judicial construction, is probably broad enough to make it grounds for discharge for a teacher simply to explain the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*.[49] Certainly a teacher who went beyond that and stated that he believed the decision to be correct on both legal and moral grounds and expressed the hope that his listeners, after careful consideration of the matter, would reach the same conclusion could well find himself the subject of dismissal proceedings.

It is often argued, in opposition to judicial enforcement of the mixing of the races in public schools, that the problem is better settled by education rather than by law. But, if legislation which prohibits general espousal of the case for integration is valid, where and when is the education to take place? In short, the sweeping character of the statutory standard interdicts constitutionally protected as well as unprotected speech, and existing Louisiana cases afford a basis upon which the state court might strike it down. The court could do so without passing on the question of whether or not, as a matter of state constitutional law, the termination of enforced racial segregation in the public school system is the kind of serious substantive evil the occurrence of which the legislature can seek to prevent.

Restraint Upon Membership and Contributions.—The segment of Act 249 concerning dismissal for "being a member of or . . . contributing to any group, organization, movement or corporation that is by law or injunction prohibited from operating in the state" is another proscription against which state constitutional protections must be matched. A consideration of some of the ways in which corporations may be prohibited from operating in Louisiana reveals the potential operation of the act. Any organization operating in the state, exclusive of churches and national guard organizations, which fails to file an annual list of its members with the Secretary of State may be enjoined from

[49] 347 U.S. 483 (1954). See Reynard, Legislation Affecting Segregation, 17 La. L. Rev. 101, 109-10 (1956). The author notes that it is arguable that since the state is not compelled to integrate, it is free to prohibit its school employees from advocating a policy which it is under no duty to institute. However, he recognizes that even such a narrow construction would still fall upon federal constitutional grounds of free speech.

operating in Louisiana.[50] Action under this statute has been successfully instituted against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[51] However, that organization is presently active since subsequent to the issuance of the injunction, it submitted its membership lists to the state.[52] Other statutes permit the annulment or vacation of the corporate franchises of business[53] and nonprofit corporations[54] and the certificates of authority of foreign corporations,[55] thus prohibiting them from operating in the state. The justifications for such action range from the commission of acts of fraud[56] and wilful nonfeasance[57] to the wilful failure to file "reports."[58]

A survey of the cases arising under the due process clause[59] of the Louisiana constitution reveals a paucity of decisions wherein constitutional rights have been protected by the application and requirement of substantive due process. Louisiana recognizes that to deprive a person of his right to pursue his chosen calling deprives him of his liberty, and to prevent him from continuing in a lawful pursuit in which he is already engaged deprives him of his property.[60] The legislature may not, under the guise of protecting the public interest, arbitrarily impose unusual and unnecessary restrictions upon lawful occupations.[61]

The holding of a recent case could be applied by analogy to the "membership" proviso under examination. In *State v. Birdsell,*[62] the court considered an act making it unlawful for any persons, except those of specified classes, to possess a hypodermic syringe or needle without the prescription or certificate of a licensed physician. This statute was held to be unreasonable and violative of due process in that it made the possession of the syringe or needle unlawful regardless of its intended use, and created a conclusive presumption that such possession was for an illegal purpose. This case supports the contention

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[50] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 12:401-09 (1950).

[51] Louisiana ex rel. Gremillion v. NAACP, 90 So. 2d 884 (La. Ct. App. 1956); Louisiana ex rel. Le Blanc v. Lewis, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 571 (1956); McKay, The Repression Of Civil Rights As An Aftermath Of the School Segregation Cases, 4 How. L.J. 9, 19 (1958).

[52] McKay, supra note 51.

[53] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 12:65, :701 (1950).

[54] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 12:150, :701 (1950).

[55] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 12:212, :701 (1950).

[56] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 12:65, :150, :212 (1950).

[57] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 12:701 (1950).

[58] Ibid.

[59] La. Const. art. I, § 2.

[60] State v. Chisesi, 187 La. 675, 685, 175 So. 453, 457 (1937) (striking down requirement that farm produce dealers procure license in order to sell).

[61] City of Alexandria v. Hall, 171 La. 595, 602, 131 So. 722, 724 (1930) (quoting with approval State v. City of Laramie, 40 Wyo. 74, 275 Pac. 106, 107 [1929]) (ordinance requiring barber shops to close at a prescribed hour held unconstitutional).

[62] 235 La. 396, 104 So. 2d 148 (1958).

that it would be a violation of due process for membership alone to create a conclusive presumption of unfitness that would deprive a teacher of his employment. Such a presumption is arbitrary and denies the teacher a fair opportunity to rebut it, as Act 249 is explicit in that such membership, ipso facto, is ground for dismissal.[63] There is no provision in the act that indicates that the question of whether or not membership alone is a proper ground for dismissal can be raised or considered in proceedings before the school board. In addition, there is no express requirement that the teacher have knowledge of the organization's proscribed status or the fact that membership in such an organization may result in dismissal.

However, the Louisiana Supreme Court has stated that if a statute is susceptible of a construction that upholds its constitutionality the courts should so construe it.[64] Affirmative relief against the operation of the "membership" provision may depend upon whether or not a saving construction of it could be effected. Questions of due process raised by the act could probably be obviated by construing it to require, as a requisite for proper dismissal, knowledge on the part of the teacher that the organization to which he belonged was prohibited from operating in the state. Knowledge that such membership was a ground for dismissal could also be required as a matter of construction. Similarly, an opportunity could be provided to rebut the presumption of unfitness. Such constructions, however, would have to be engrafted onto the naked language of Act 249.

One can conceive of other situations in which application of the statutory proscription of freedom of association to a particular teacher might be unconstitutional, *e.g.*, where the organization's conduct was so innocuous that continued membership in it, even with knowledge, would not support rational inferences as to the member's fitness to be a school teacher. However, one can also conceive of situations in which application of the statutory restraint would seem to be constitutional. For example, suppose that the attorney general demanded that the White Citizens Council and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People file a list of their members on the ground that, armed with this information, the state might better be able to prevent and control incitement to violence. Suppose further that each organization refused to disclose the information and an injunction issued. If teachers *A* and *B* persisted in membership in the two organizations, respectively, with knowledge of these facts, and were tried by their school board and dismissed, it could hardly be said that the inference of unfitness was arbitrary and unreasonable.

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[63] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:443 (Supp. 1958), for text see note 17 supra.

[64] Tanner v. Beverly Country Club, 217 La. 1043, 1059, 47 So. 2d 905, 910 (1950).

It can be argued, of course, that since the breadth of the statutory standard sweeps within its ambit protected as well as unprotected conduct, the proscription is just as offensive to constitutional liberties as the pervasive restraint of freedom of speech discussed above. The difficulty with this argument is that while Article I, Section 5 of the Louisiana constitution guarantees the people the right peaceably to assemble,[65] there are no cases which indicate that it creates a right of association entitled to the degree of protection given to freedom of speech.

Therefore, consideration of constitutional issues raised by this part of Act 249 might well be avoided by the Louisiana courts except in the context of particular applications in particular cases. Against this likelihood must be balanced the fact that such a policy would involve much litigation before the boundaries of the "membership" provision's effectiveness as a ground for dismissal could be determined. Until these boundaries were ascertained, great uncertainty and hesitation would exist with regard to joining or remaining members of organizations. This uncertainty and its inhibiting affect might cause the courts to be lenient in allowing a test of constitutionality prior to concrete applications of Act 249. These same factors might also dispose a court to be less likely to search for saving constructions than would otherwise be the case.

The commonplace fact that people are judged by their associations must be recognized. Probably the state could justify an interest in knowing, prior to employment, the character of the associations in which its teachers are engaged. A denial of employment, based upon the teacher's associates, would be more difficult to attack than dismissals under Act 249.

If the discharge feature of Act 249 is improper because of the "membership" proviso, it follows that dismissal for "contributing" to such organizations would also be a violation of due process.

Vagueness.—Louisiana courts have not struck down a nonpenal statute for vagueness, the cases examined having dealt with the application of this test to penal statutes.[66] Certain sections of Act 249 could well be deemed unconstitutionally vague. This is particularly true of the provision relating to an "act toward integration." This

[65] La. Const. art. I, § 5: "The people have the right peaceably to assemble and apply to those vested with the powers of government for a redress of grievances by petition or remonstrance."

[66] E.g., State v. Truby, 211 La. 178, 29 So. 2d 758 (1947); State v. Mitchiner, 204 La. 415, 15 So. 2d 809 (1943); City of Shreveport v. Moran, 174 La. 271, 140 So. 475 (1932); State v. Gardner, 151 La. 874, 92 So. 368 (1922). La. Const. art. I, § 10: "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation against him . . . ."

phrase has been interpreted by one school principal to prohibit the signing of a certificate addressed to a school with a Caucasian student body stating that a Negro student has good character and is eligible to attend the institution.[67] A recent federal case applied the void-for-vagueness doctrine to a nonpenal statute finding it nonetheless valid.[68] The statute in question authorized deportation of aliens who had been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude. The court applied the test because of the "grave nature of deportation."[69] Considering the emotional climate in Louisiana today, dismissal from a job as a result of performing an "act toward integration" seems rather grave when viewed with regard to future employment opportunities, social acceptance, and physical well-being. If the rationale in the federal case were applied to Act 249 by analogy, it appears that the considered portion would be held to be defective for vagueness. Louisiana cases considering penal statutes agree that acts so broadly drawn as to be vague and indefinite are unconstitutional.[70] Act 249 provides no standards enabling a reasonable man to determine what are "acts toward integration."

IV

Constitutionality as a Matter of Federal Law

As in the case of Louisiana law, a presumption of constitutionality generally operates under federal law.[71] However, first amendment freedoms perhaps still enjoy a preferred position in our constitutional order.[72] Therefore, the presumption of constitutionality would probably not have as great an operative force with regard to the first amendment guarantees restrained by Act 249, viz., freedoms of speech and association, as it would have in situations involving other interests. That freedom of association is protected by the first amendment has been most recently recognized in the case of *NAACP v. Alabama*.[73]

A federal case recently affirmed by the Supreme Court, *Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education*,[74] indicates that the motive

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[67] See text accompanying note 25 supra.

[68] Tseung Chu v. Cornell, 247 F.2d 929 (9th Cir. 1957) (dictum).

[69] Id. at 939.

[70] E.g., State v. Truby, 211 La. 178, 203-04, 29 So. 2d 758, 766 (1947); City of Shreveport v. Moran, 174 La. 271, 272-73, 140 So. 475, 476 (1932).

[71] Powell v. Pennsylvania, 127 U.S. 678, 684-85 (1888); cf. Grand River Dam Authority v. Jarvis, 124 F.2d 914, 917 (10th Cir. 1942).

[72] Cf. Joseph Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson, 343 U.S. 495, 504 (1952) (by implication); Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516, 529-30 (1945). But see Beauharnais v. Illinois, 343 U.S. 250 (1952); Kovacs v. Cooper, 336 U.S. 77, 89 (1949) (concurring opinion, Frankfurter, J.).

[73] 357 U.S. 449, 460 (1958).

[74] 162 F. Supp. 372 (N.D. Ala. 1958).

of the Louisiana legislature will have little, if any, relevance in determining whether or not it had the power to pass Act 249:

> In testing constitutionality "we cannot undertake a search for motive." . . . "If the State has the power to do an act, its intention or the reason by which it is influenced in doing it cannot be inquired into." . . . As there is no one corporate mind of the legislature, there is in reality no single motive. Motives vary from one individual member of the legislature to another.[75]

The language of Supreme Court cases indicates that attack upon the face of legislation is possible.[76] However, as these cases dealt with first amendment freedoms, it is probable that successful attack upon the face of legislation could be attempted only if these freedoms were in jeopardy.[77] If this is true, the provisions of Act 249 relating to an act toward integration and contributions to organizations prohibited or enjoined from operating in the state may be unassailable, as a matter of federal law, except as applied in particular cases.

Restraint of Freedom of Advocacy.—Freedom of speech is among the fundamental personal liberties which are protected by the fourteenth amendment from invasion by state action.[78] The "advocacy" feature of Act 249 must be viewed in this light. All ideas having even the slightest redeeming social importance—unorthodox ideas, controversial ideas, even ideas hateful to the prevailing climate of opinion—have the protection of the guarantee of free speech, unless they encroach upon the limited area of more important interests. The protection given speech was fashioned to assure unfettered interchange of ideas for the bringing about of political and social changes.[79] A function of free speech under our system of government is to invite dispute. It may best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger. Speech is often provocative and challenging, and may strike at prejudice and preconceptions and have profoundly unsettling effects as it presses for acceptance of an idea. Freedom of speech, though not absolute, is nevertheless protected, unless it is

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[75] Id. at 381.

[76] See Saia v. New York, 334 U.S. 558, 559-60 (1948) (ordinance forbidding the use of sound amplification devices without permission of police chief and prescribing no standards for the exercise of his discretion); Thornhill v. Alabama, 310 U.S. 88, 96-98 (1940) (statute forbidding picketing); Lovell v. City of Griffin, 303 U.S. 444, 451-52 (1938) (ordinance forbidding distribution of literature without permission of city manager).

[77] See Yick Wo v. Hopkins, 118 U.S. 356, 373 (1886).

[78] Lovell v. City of Griffin, 303 U.S. 444 (1938); De Jonge v. Oregon, 299 U.S. 353, 364 (1937); Grosjean v. American Press Co., 297 U.S. 233, 244 (1936); Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S. 697, 707 (1931); Stromberg v. California, 283 U.S. 359, 368 (1931).

[79] Roth v. United States, 354 U.S. 476, 484 (1957).

shown likely to produce a clear and present danger of a serious substantive evil that rises far above public inconvenience, annoyance, or unrest.[80] Were such unpopular, annoying views not protected, there would be forged "a ready instrument for the suppression of the faith which any minority cherishes but which does not happen to be in favor. That would be a complete repudiation of the philosophy of the Bill of Rights."[81]

To get to the crux of the matter at hand—the "right" to advocate integration does exist. *NAACP v. Alabama*[82] involved an attempt to secure the membership lists of an organization advocating integration. With regard to this attempt the Supreme Court stated:

> we think it apparent that compelled disclosure of petitioner's . . . membership is likely to affect adversely the ability of petitioner and its members to pursue their collective effort to foster beliefs *which they admittedly have the right to advocate* . . . . (Emphasis added.)[83]

Plainly this includes the right to "general" advocacy; that is, to urge upon the listener the moral and legal soundness of integration.[84] A more difficult question is whether it includes "specific" advocacy, that is, urging the listener to act in such a way that integration is facilitated and furthered. It would seem that advocacy of such action would be included in this right. In *Yates v. United States*[85] the Supreme Court stated that advocacy of overthrow of the government by force and violence is permissible, at least so far as the Smith Act is concerned, as long as it is advocated as an abstract principle. Such advocacy, however, can not be of the character to incite immediate action to the end of effecting overthrow of the government by force and violence.[86] It would seem an unusual extension of this rule to say that advocacy of integration could not be in terms of inciting action to that end, assuming "action" not to mean violence. Therefore, it appears that there is a constitutionally protected right to advocate immediate peaceful action to effectuate integration of the public schools.

In each case in which an exercise of legislative power comes into conflict with the freedoms protected by the first amendment, the validity of the legislation in the last analysis will depend upon a balance of the several factors affecting the public interest.[87] The state

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80 Terminiello v. Chicago, 337 U.S. 1 (1949).

81 Murdock v. Pennsylvania, 319 U.S. 105, 116 (1943).

82 357 U.S. 449 (1958).

83 Id. at 462-63. See also NAACP v. Patty, 159 F. Supp. 503, 525-26 (E.D. Va. 1958).

84 See Yates v. United States, 354 U.S. 298, 318 (1957).

85 354 U.S. 298 (1957).

86 Id. at 318.

87 United States v. Painters Local 481, 79 F. Supp. 516, 522 (D. Conn. 1948), rev'd on other grounds, 172 F.2d 854 (2d Cir. 1949).

must have an overriding interest in order to impinge upon constitutional freedoms,[88] and any attempt to restrict first amendment liberties must be tested against the standards of the clear and present danger doctrine.[89] "[T]he substantive evil must be extremely serious and the degree of imminence extremely high before utterances can be punished."[90]

It is arguable that since restraints of speech have been sustained where directed toward improving the efficiency of public servants,[91] or protecting the school system,[92] such interests could justify the proscription of advocacy of integration by teachers. However, the means adopted to prevent the evil would have to be reasonable.[93]

> When particular conduct is regulated in the interest of public order, and the regulation results in an indirect, conditional, partial abridgment of speech, the duty of the courts is to determine which of these two conflicting interests demands the greater protection under the particular circumstances presented. The high place in which the right to speak, think, and assemble as you will was held by the Framers of the Bill of Rights and is held today by those who value liberty both as a means and an end indicates the solicitude with which we must view any assertion of personal freedoms.[94]

Perhaps the efficiency of a teacher or a school may be impaired as a result of advocating integration. However, if the state could not indiscriminately prohibit or punish advocacy of even questionable social or moral doctrines in order to maintain efficiency, prohibiting espousal of the wisdom of establishing a constitutional condition in public school education (*i.e.*, integration) would not seem to be reasonable. More conclusive as to the unconstitutionality of this aspect of Act 249 is the fact that advocacy of integration seems unlikely to create the extremely high degree of imminence of an inefficient school system necessary to properly warrant its denial.

As has been previously discussed,[95] the "advocacy" section of the

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88 Breard v. Alexandria, 341 U.S. 622 (1951); Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516, 530 (1945); NAACP v. Patty, 159 F. Supp. 503, 533 (E.D. Va. 1958).

89 Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516, 530 (1945). Cf. Roth v. United States, 354 U.S. 476, 486 (1957); in which a statute punishing publication of obscene material was held not violative of due process because of vagueness. The Court held that punishment for obscenity is not dependent upon a showing that the obscene material creates a clear and present danger of anti-social conduct.

90 Bridges v. California, 314 U.S. 252, 263 (1941).

91 See United Pub. Workers v. Mitchell, 330 U.S. 75, 99 (1947) "[E]fficiency may best be obtained by prohibiting active participation by classified employees in politics as party officers or workers."

92 See Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485, 497 (1952).

93 See Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60, 74 (1917).

94 American Communications Ass'n v. Douds, 339 U.S. 382, 399 (1950).

95 See text accompanying note 49 supra.

act is apparently broad enough to encompass mere expressed agreement with the Supreme Court's decision declaring state enforced segregation to be unlawful. Thus this part of Act 249 could well fall precisely within a pronouncement of the Supreme Court:

> It is settled that a statute so vague and indefinite, in form and as interpreted, as to permit within the scope of its language the punishment of incidents fairly within the protection of the guarantee of free speech *is void, on its face,* as contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment. . . . A failure of a statute limiting freedom of expression to give fair notice of what acts will be punished and such a statute's inclusion of prohibition's against expressions, protected by the principles of the First Amendment, violates an accused's rights under procedural due process and freedom of speech or press.[96] (Emphasis added.)

It may be argued that the restraint of "advocacy" is constitutional because the teacher has no right to work for the state except on the terms it prescribes. Such employment is a privilege, and if he does not choose to work on such terms as the state prescribes, he may go elsewhere.[97] However, the Supreme Court has stated, in response to a contention that no *right* to work for the state exists, and that such employment is a privilege, that:

> To draw . . . the facile generalization that there is no constitutionally protected right to public employment is to obscure the issue . . . . We need not pause to consider whether an abstract right to public employment exists. It is sufficient to say that Constitutional protection does extend to the public servant whose exclusion pursuant to a statute is patently arbitrary or discriminatory.[98]

In *Slochower v. Board of Education,*[99] a teacher tested the constitutionality of a statute which authorized his summary dismissal as a result of his claim of the fifth amendment protection in a proceeding before a federal committee. In view of the summary dismissal aspect of the statute, it was held to be a denial of due process and thus unconstitutional. The Court recognized that although no constitutional right to government employment existed, a governmental employee need only

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[96] Winters v. New York, 333 U.S. 507, 509-10 (1948) (law prohibiting distribution of magazines comprised of stories of lust crimes held unconstitutional). The statute involved was criminal, thus the rationale of the case is not strictly applicable to Act 249 unless applied as suggested in text accompanying note 66 supra.

[97] See Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485, 492 (1952). The case involved the Feinberg Law of New York which authorized a board to establish a list of subversive organizations and provide rules for denial of, and dismissal from, employment, with regard to teachers who were members of proscribed organizations. Its constitutionality was upheld.

[98] Wieman v. Updegraff, 344 U.S. 183, 191-92 (1952). But see Schware v. Board of Bar Examiners, 353 U.S. 232, 239 n.5 (1957).

[99] 350 U.S. 551 (1956). But see Beilan v. Board of Pub. Educ., 357 U.S. 399 (1958).

comply with reasonable, lawful, and nondiscriminatory terms laid down by proper authorities.[100] To condition the right to continued governmental employment upon the acceptance of a restraint upon the advocacy of establishing a constitutional condition in public school education seems arbitrary and discriminatory and thus unconstitutional.

Denial of Membership or Contribution.—Act 249 provides that a teacher may be dismissed for being a member of or contributing to any group, organization, or corporation that is by law or injunction prohibited from operating in the state. In *Wieman v. Updegraff* the Court struck down a state statute because it excluded persons from state employment solely on the basis of membership in an organization, regardless of whether or not the individual had any knowledge concerning the activities and purposes of such organization.[101] Apparently Act 249, like the oath tested in the *Wieman* case, would deprive the individual of state employment on the basis of membership alone. It would not require the individual to have any knowledge of the character, functions, or purpose of the organization. In the *Wieman* case the denial of employment was based on past organizational membership. Act 249 concerns present membership. However, this distinction does not seem to be a valid reason for not applying to the act the rule of *Wieman. Lack of knowledge* was the determining factor in *Wieman,* not the time of membership or the reasons for the employee having no knowledge concerning the potential effect of such membership.

The lack of consistent adherence to organizational beliefs that is typical of American "joining" is good reason for not assuming, as the framers of the Louisiana act apparently did, that membership alone is proof of the fact that the member possesses the traits that caused the organization to be prohibited or enjoined. Though a teacher's associates may be properly considered in determining his fitness,[102] "indiscriminate classification of innocent with knowing activity must fall as an assertion of arbitrary power."[103]

A recent Supreme Court decision emphasized the importance of knowledge with regard to liability flowing from a lack thereof.[104] The Court reversed a conviction for failure to comply with an ordinance requiring persons convicted of felonies to register.

But we deal here with conduct that is wholly passive—mere failure to

[100] 350 U.S. at 555.
[101] 344 U.S. 183 (1952).
[102] Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485, 493 (1952).
[103] Wieman v. Updegraff, 344 U.S. 183, 191 (1952).
[104] Lambert v. California, 355 U.S. 225, 228-29 (1957).

> register. It is unlike the commission of acts, or the failure to act under circumstances that should alert the doer to the consequences of his deed . . . . Engrained in our concept of due process is the requirement of notice . . . . Notice is required in a myriad of situations where a penalty or forfeiture might be suffered for mere failure to act . . . . We believe that actual knowledge of the duty to register or proof of the probability of such knowledge and subsequent failure to comply are necessary before a conviction under the ordinance can stand.[105]

By analogy a teacher may not be discharged for membership in an organization unless he had notice or knowledge of the fact that such association was prohibited from operating in Louisiana and that he must sever his membership relation in order to maintain his employment. However, these defects of lack of knowledge can be cured by a process of construction by the school boards or courts, thus defeating an attack on Act 249 based upon such infirmities.

This leaves aside the question of whether or not the act itself provides sufficient notice to those affected as to what organizations are prohibited or enjoined. Also fit matter for consideration is the reasonableness of the standards by which a teacher's fitness is determined. Query: Is membership, per se, even knowingly, in an organization prohibited or enjoined from operating in the state adequate ground for inferring that the teacher is unfit? There is apparently no opportunity for a teacher to contest the presumption that he is incompetent for his position simply because of membership in such an association. A construction of Act 249 to the effect that such opportunity exists seems strained. The act is explicit in that "membership" is adequate ground for discharge. There is no provision that "membership" raises only a prima facie cause for dismissal, as was provided, for example, in the statute involved in the *Adler v. Board of Education* case.[106]

With regard to the power of the state to place particular organizations off-limits for school teachers, a saving construction might be achieved, as an inquiry into the legislative judgment is limited to the question of whether any state of facts either known or which could reasonably be assumed affords support for that judgment.[107] It might appear that *American Communications Ass'n v. Douds*[108] and *Adler v. Board of Education*[109] would form the basis for an interpretation of the "membership" section of Act 249 that would preserve it. In the *Douds* case, labor unions whose officers did not file non-Communist affidavits

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105 Ibid.
106 342 U.S. 485, 489 (1952).
107 United States v. Carolene Prods. Co., 304 U.S. 144, 154 (1938).
108 339 U.S. 382, 393 (1950).
109 342 U.S. 485 (1952).

with the National Labor Relations Board were denied its services. In the *Adler* case, school employees could be removed from their positions if they were found to be members of organizations that advocated overthrow of the government by force or violence.

It is arguable that since it may be an organization of an undesirable nature that is enjoined from operating in Louisiana, dismissal of one of its members is justifiable. A saving construction of this character has been discussed previously.[110] However, reliance upon the *Douds* and *Adler* cases for such an interpretation points directly to the substance of the argument against the "membership" proviso being saved by a reasonable construction. In each of these cases there was a legislative finding concerning the nature, character, and purpose of the specific organizations deemed to be undesirable.[111] The terms of Act 249 do not reflect any legislative concern with putting beyond the pale only organizations whose usual characteristics and functions are such that they raise problems of special concern to the effective exercise of the police power. Had the legislative interest been with respect to the type or character of organizations deemed undesirable, to the extent of justifying dismissal for mere membership therein, the act could have easily been drawn in such a fashion. This is substantiated by the fact that membership in specific organizations of certain characteristics and of consistent purposes has already been declared by the Louisiana legislature to be just cause for dismissal from state employment.[112] If indeed there was a legislative concern with the *nature* of the organizations, it was directed towards groups assisting efforts to achieve integration.[113] Therefore, a saving construction would seemingly have to be that at least one of the reasons which justifies a banning of an organization from operation within the state is also sufficient reason for conclusively presuming that a teacher-member of such banned group is undesirable as an instructor. Considering the character and number of grounds for such proscriptions, such a construction would be unrealistic.[114]

Cases have referred to the "right" or "freedom" of association,[115]

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110 See text accompanying note 65 supra.

111 See Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485, 489 (1952); American Communications Ass'n v. Douds, 339 U.S. 382, 388-89, 391, 412 (1950).

112 La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 14:378 (Supp. 1958).

113 See text accompanying note 51 supra.

114 See text accompanying notes 53-58 supra, for some of the reasons for which an organization may be prohibited by law from operating within Louisiana.

115 See, e.g., Sweezy v. New Hampshire, 354 U.S. 234, 250-51 (1957) (dictum); Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485, 492 (1952) (dictum). See also Robison, Protection of Associations From Compulsory Disclosure of Membership, 58 Colum. L. Rev. 614, 620, 622 (1958); Abernathy, The Right of Association, 6 S.C.L.Q. 32 (1953).

and municipal ordinances prohibiting and penalizing association with persons of ill repute have been held unconstitutional as infringements upon personal liberty and freedom.[116] The recent case of *NAACP v. Alabama* recognizes the protection of the Constitution with regard to infringements upon such freedom.[117] Alabama attempted to acquire from the NAACP its membership lists, contending that such lists were necessary to the determination of whether or not the organization was subject to the provisions of a statute requiring foreign corporations to file certain papers in order to do business within the state. Although the state had taken no direct action to abridge the freedom of association of the members of the NAACP, the court recognized the restraining affect of compelled disclosure of the organization's membership lists upon such freedom. The Court denied the right of the state to restrain this freedom, in the absence of a sufficient reason for so doing.[118] Under some circumstances, indirect discouragements undoubtedly have the same coercive effect upon the exercise of rights guaranteed by the first amendment as imprisonment, fines, injunctions or taxes.[119] State action which has the effect of curtailing the freedom to associate will be scrutinized closely. The deterrent affect of this type of action on others wishing to exercise this freedom has been noted by the Supreme Court.[120]

> Such unwarranted inhibition upon the free spirit of teachers affects not only those who . . . are immediately before the court. It has an unmistakeable tendency to chill that free play of the spirit which all teachers ought especially to cultivate and practice, it makes for caution and timidity in their associations by potential teachers.[121]

And, the "membership" aspect of Act 249, to transplant the words of Mr. Justice Frankfurter, is bound to operate as a real deterrent to people contemplating even innocent associations. How can anyone be certain that an organization with which he affiliates will not at some time in the future be prohibited by law or injunction from operating in the state? All but the heartiest may well hesitate to join organizations if they know that by such a proscription they may be disqualified from employment.[122] It seems reasonable to assume that the deterring

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116 See 5 McQuillin, Municipal Corporations § 19.27 (3d ed. 1949) (citing cases).

117 357 U.S. 449 (1958).

118 Id. at 461, 462.

119 American Communications Ass'n v. Douds, 339 U.S. 382, 402 (1950) (dictum).

120 See, e.g., Wieman v. Updegraff, 344 U.S. 183, 195 (1952) (concurring opinion, Frankfurter, J.) (dictum); Garner v. Board of Pub. Works, 341 U.S. 716, 727-28 (1951) (concurring opinion, Frankfurter, J.) (dictum); American Communications Ass'n v. Douds, 339 U.S. 382, 393 (1950) (dictum).

121 Wieman v. Updegraff, 344 U.S. 183, 195 (1952) (concurring opinion, Frankfurter, J.) (dictum).

122 Garner v. Board of Pub. Works, 341 U.S. 716, 727-28 (1951) (opinion of Frankfurter, J., concurring in part, dissenting in part) (dictum).

and impinging effect of the "membership" segment of the act upon freedom of association, the insufficient interest of the state, in this broad, pervasive context, and the intent of the act would combine to render it unconstitutional.

If the "membership" segment is invalid for any of the previously noted defects, it follows that "contributions" to proscribed organizations is an improper reason for a dismissal of teachers.

Vagueness.—If, as suggested in the discussion of state law,[123] the rationale of *Tseung Chu v. Cornell*[124] were applied to Act 249, sections of it might fall as a result of the "void for vagueness" doctrine. Federal law is to the effect that a penal statute which requires or forbids the doing of an act in terms so vague that men of common intelligence must necessarily guess at its meaning and differ as to its application, violates the first essential of due process of law.[125] Arguing from the analogy of the *Tseung Chu* case, the "act toward integration" section, viewed, though a civil statute, as almost penal in its application, might fall as a result of its obvious vagueness.

V
Conclusion

Act 249 raises substantial questions of constitutionality both as to state and federal law. It is clear that its purpose is to cast the pall of fear over those public school teachers who are unsympathetic with the objectives of the majority as manifested by the legislative action. It is also clear that, at least as to some teachers, the statute has achieved its purpose of abridging their freedom to speak, even on matters within their curricular responsibilities, as well as their freedom to maintain organizational affiliations. Viewed abstractly, there is little doubt that the legislation offends federal constitutional guarantees. Moreover, adequate grounds for reaching the same result exist under Louisiana constitutional law.

The challenging question is: What can be done about it? And who can do it—a taxpayer, a teacher, a student, or a parent? What remedy should he seek, and when should he seek it—before or after attempted enforcement?

The hoary but salutary principle of *Fletcher v. Peck*[126] makes the ulterior motives of the legislature in passing the statute immaterial. The vague (indeed, almost unintelligible) nature of the statutory

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[123] See text accompanying note 66 supra.

[124] 247 F.2d 929 (9th Cir.), cert. denied, 355 U.S. 892 (1957).

[125] Lanzetta v. New Jersey, 306 U.S. 451, 453 (1939) (dictum) (quoting with approval Connally v. General Constr. Co., 269 U.S. 385, 391 [1926]).

[126] 10 U.S. (6 Cranch.) 87 (1810).

standards perhaps makes the act vulnerable to attack on its face. But it is this same consideration that possibly makes the statute savable by a narrowing construction, particularly in connection with the as yet nebulous contours of the freedom of public employees to associate.

In addition to the question of whether the statute can be attacked on its face or only as interpreted and applied, problems of standing, ripeness, and exhaustion of remedies stand in the way of a school teacher's obtaining a judicial determination on the merits except by engaging in proscribed speech or conduct and setting up arguments of unconstitutionality as a defense to dismissal proceedings. Furthermore, so far as the federal courts are concerned, considerations of comity, *i.e.*, the doctrine of equitable abstention, may operate as a bar to relief in the absence of an authoritative construction of the statute by the state courts.

These and other procedural and remedial questions will be discussed in the second and concluding part of this article.

APPENDIX

State	*Date of Enactment*	*Persons or Things Regulated*	*Nature of Regulation*	*Penalty for Non-Compliance*
Arkansas[1]	1958	Superintendents, principals and teachers in public educational institutions	Required *to disclose* by affidavit *identity of organizations* to which they belong or contribute or have belonged or contributed in the past five years	Ineligible for employment Filing of false affidavit punishable as perjury
	1958	Organizations engaged in activities designed to hinder, harass, and interfere with power of state to control and operate public schools	Upon request of county judge required *to file lists of members* and other organizational data	Misdemeanor
	1957	Persons or corporations that solicit or receive contributions for organizations that use such funds for the "promotion of integration"	Required to keep accounts, required to file accounts and register with State Sovereignty Commission	Misdemeanor
Louisiana[2]	1956	Teachers and school bus operators	Prohibited from belonging or contributing to organizations that cannot legally operate in the state	Loss of employment
			Prohibited from advocating or doing any act toward bringing about racial integration in public educational institutions	Loss of employment

[1] Ark. Acts 2 Extra Sess. 1958, Nos. 10, 12; Ark. Acts 1957, No. 85.

[2] La. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 17:443, :462, :493 (Supp. 1958).

APPENDIX (*Continued*)

State	*Date of Enactment*	*Persons or Things Regulated*	*Nature of Regulation*	*Penalty for Non-Compliance*
Mississippi[3]	1958	Organizations with an officer who at any time was an officer of an organization listed as subversive by the U.S. Attorney General or a Congressional Committee	Required *to disclose identity of officers and members* to Secretary of State	Misdemeanor Meetings and attendance at meetings prohibited
	1956	Superintendents, principals, and teachers in public educational institutions	Required *to disclose* by affidavit *identity of organizations* to which they have belonged or contributed in the past five years	Ineligible for employment Filing of false affidavit punishable as perjury and teaching license revoked
South Carolina[4]	1957	All public employees, including those employed by school districts	Required *to disclose all organizational memberships* and affiliations	Ineligible for employment
Texas[5]	1958	Organizations engaged in activities designed to interfere with power of state to control and operate its public schools	Required *to file,* upon request of county judge, *list of members* and other organizational data	Misdemeanor
Virginia[6]	1956	Persons, partnerships, and associations that promote or oppose passage of state legislation in behalf of any race or color, advocate racial segregation or integration, act to cause racial conflicts or violence, or raise or expend funds for employment of counsel or payment of costs in racial litigation	Required *to register and file list of members* and other organizational data	Misdemeanor

[3] Miss. Laws 1958, ch. 484; Miss. Code Ann. §§ 6282-41 to -44 (Supp. 1956).
[4] S.C. Code § 1-39.1 (Supp. 1958).
[5] Tex. Rev. Civ. Stat. art. 2906-3 (Supp. 1958).
[6] Va. Code Ann. §§ 18-349.18 to -349.2 (Supp. 1958).

VIRGINIAN UPHELD IN CONTEMPT CASE

Civil Liberties

High Court Affirms Silence in Racial Inquiry, Applying Watkins Rule to States

MAY 5 1959

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 4—A Quaker who refused to answer questions by a Virginia legislative committee about race relations won his freedom from a contempt conviction today in the Supreme Court.

The court held unanimously that the committee had not made clear how its questions were pertinent to the official subject of inquiry. Without that explanation of pertinence, it said, a witness could not constitutionally be forced to answer.

Thus the court applied to state investigations the rule of pertinence it laid down for Federal inquiries in 1957, in the case of John T. Watkins. Mr. Watkins, a labor official, had refused to answer questions by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The witness in today's case was David H. Scull, a printer in near-by Annandale, Va. Shortly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision holding public school segregation unconstitutional, he began publicly advocating compliance with the ruling.

In 1957, Mr. Scull was subpoenaed by the Virginia Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities, set up by the Legislature under the chairmanship of Delegate James M. Thomson, Democrat of Alexandria.

Silent To 31

At the hearing Mr. Scull was asked whether he belonged to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had paid lawyers' fees in segregation cases or was associated with the American Civil Liberties Union or B'nai B'rith.

Mr. Scull refused to answer thirty-one questions. He refused again when a Virginia judge ordered him to reply, and was sentenced to ten days in jail and fined $50. The conviction was upheld by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals.

Today's opinion was by Justice Hugo L. Black. Because Justice Black was in Houston, attending a judicial conference, it was read in court by Justice John Marshall Harlan.

The opinion noted that Chairman Thomson had told Mr. Scull that three general subjects were under inquiry. They were the tax status of racial organizations, school integration and the unauthorized practice of the law.

Purposes 'Unclear'

The court found today that the chairman had never explained how any of the questions to Mr. Scull were related to those subjects. Some of the questions, it said, were clearly

Civil Liberties - 1959

refused to answer questions by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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Purposes 'Unclear'

The court found today that the chairman had never explained how any of the questions to Mr. Scull were related to those subjects. Some of the questions, it said, were clearly not so related.

"The purposes of the inquiry were so unclear," Justice Black wrote, "in fact conflicting, that Scull did not have an opportunity of understanding the basis for the questions.

"To sustain his conviction for contempt under these circumstances would be to send him to jail for a crime he could not with reasonable certainty know he was committing. The information given to Scull was far too wavering, confused and cloudy to sustain his conviction."

The court did not reach a broader contention by Mr. Scull. This was that the questions, whether pertinent or not, had violated his Constitutional freedom of speech and association.

Justice Black did say that the Virginia inquiry had "touched an area of speech, press and association of vital public importance." And he went on:

"Certainty [in committee questions] is all the more essential when vagueness might induce individuals to forego their rights of speech, press and association for fear of violating an unclear law."

The case was argued for Mr. Scull by Joseph L. Rauh Jr. of Washington and for the committee by Leslie Hall of Alexandria.

Two other contempt cases argued along with the Scull case in the Supreme Court last November remained undecided. They concern the power of the House Un-American Activties Committee to investigate education and of New Hampshire's attorney general to investigate subversion

Civil Liberties - 1959

WASHINGTON POST MAY 9 1959

Inquisition's End

Civil Liberties

The comment of Virginia Del. James M. Thomson about the Supreme Court decision upsetting the contempt conviction of David H. Scull tells a lot about Mr. Thomson and the kind of inquisition he tried to conduct. Mr. Scull, the vice president of the Fairfax County Council on Human Relations, had been convicted for declining to answer, on constitutional grounds, 31 questions asked him by the Thomson Committee investigating racial activities in Virginia. Said Mr. Thomson: "With the complexion of the Court the way it is—protecting subversives and people interested in integration—what other result could you expect?"

The simple and obvious purpose of the Virginia Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities as set up by the General Assembly in 1956 was the harassment of persons and organizations working for school desegregation. Mr. Thomson ran the Committee as an inquisition, with questions which in Mr. Scull's case ranged far afield to cover association with parent-teacher groups and private individuals. The Court reversed the conviction on the point that despite repeated requests Mr. Thomson did not tell Mr. Scull the relevance of the questions to the purpose of the investigation.

It is regrettable, we think, that the Court did not also meet the free speech and assembly issues raised by Mr. Scull, although four justices noted that they could not conceive of any state issue which would warrant infringement of those rights. In any event, Mr. Scull's courage and the Court's forthrightness have disposed of what was an altogether obscene episode, and one which it may be hoped Virginia is resolved not to repeat.

Civil Liberties

Report No. L-3
May 11, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOW COULD SHUT SCHOOLS AFFECT STATE ECONOMY ?

In November 1958, Atlanta Constitution Business Editor James Montgomery conducted a state-wide survey to determine what economic effects would result from closing any public schools in Georgia. 129 questionnaires were completed by administrative, engineering, and research personnel in 13 major industrial plants and the state's four largest universities. Results of the survey were published in a series of three articles, November 30 - December 2; three subsequent articles offered some conclusions and observations. Some excerpts follow:

"Three out of four people in administrative, research and engineering work in the universities and industries in Georgia would be willing to send their children to public schools integrated to some extent... 17.1 per cent of those in key industrial and university positions say they plan to leave Georgia if their children's public schools are closed. Moving away was listed as the second alternative by 21 additional parents, who said they would have to leave Georgia if their children's public schools were not reopened within three months to a year."
(November 30)

- 0 -

"The industrial and university officials...expressed unanimous agreement that closing of public schools would impair both the present economic strength and future economic development of the state.

* * *

"Several examples indicated that the existing possibility of school closings is now hampering the recruitment of qualified engineering, research and management personnel - the sort needed to assure economic progress... In addition to the fact that such people now living elsewhere are growing less inclined to move here with their children as long as continued public school operation remains uncertain, a significant proportion of those already employed in Georgia are growing restless."
(December 3)

"If Georgia could legally substitute a private school plan for the present public school system, would it prevent whatever economic losses would result from the closing of public schools? Not very noticeably, considering comments on a significant proportion of the questionnaires ..."
(December 4)

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"'Georgia has been dropped from a list of potential plant sites by a major electronics manufacturer,' says a business research

Insert:

"The Five Heroes of Little Rock" by Alistair Cooke. from the Manchester Guardian Weekly. 2/19/59. To be found under Educ. L.R. 1959 (Feb).

Civil Liberties 1959

Civil Liberties
The New Republic
5/11/59

The Right To Read

TO MOST PEOPLE in this country, censorship is only a wartime memory. Yet within recent weeks, two protests lodged against current censorship of incoming printed matter as foreign propaganda—one in the form of a resolution by the Associated Church Press and one in the form of a court case filed by the American Civil Liberties Union—have provided a rude reminder that it remains a contemporary practice.

Here is how today's censorship works: On arrival, publications are opened for inspection by the Restricted Merchandise Division of the Bureau of Customs, acting on authority of Section L (J) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, supplemented by an opinion of the Attorney General of 1940, which gives the Bureau the right to destroy material whose publisher is not in compliance with the Act. A publisher is non-compliant as an unregistered foreign agent, the agent of a foreign principal, not an American citizen, not in the jurisdiction of the US.

If, upon inspection, the Customs officials regard the contents of the mail as possibly subject to this Act, they turn it over to the Division of Mail Restriction of the Post Office Department. If they judge it to contain propaganda, POD Form 2154-X then goes out to the addressee, announcing the arrival, addressed to him, of "certain publications which contain foreign propaganda as defined in the Foreign Agents Registration Act." He is further informed that "such matter ordinarily would be treated as non-mailable," but a postcard (Form 2153-X) is enclosed, to be returned by the addressee, on which a printed list enables him to declare that the material is "not for dissemination" and that he (a) has ordered, (b) has subscribed to or (c) desires to receive this material. When thus signed for by the addressee, the documents are forwarded, bearing a rubber stamp of one of the three offices—New York, Chicago, San Francisco—where these activities are centralized.

Most, but not all, of the mail held up under this procedure originates in Communist-bloc countries. Two kinds of organizations are frequent addressees: universities and church groups with affiliated memberships on a world-wide basis. According to customs officials, all universities receive publications addressed to them at once; individuals and other organizations are checked to see whether they may be disseminators of political propaganda not registered as foreign agents.

Church sources have recently made two moves to challenge the system. In March, the executive of a prominent interdenominational organization whose members had repeatedly received postcards regarding mailings from church groups abroad, requested an interview with Postmaster General Summerfield to discuss the situation. To date, no interview has materialized; but the holding up of publications abruptly ceased two days after the request was registered.

Then the first week in April, the 40th annual meeting of the Associated Church Press—a group representing some 160 Protestant publications—adopted a resolution expressing "concern and protest over the tendency of

Civil Lib 159

New York University Law Review
5/1959 Volume 34 - No. 5

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RACIAL INTEGRATION AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

PART II

A STUDY BY THE ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS MEMORIAL FUND,
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW

Part I of this article, published in the April issue, discussed the constitutionality of Louisiana legislation that aims at restricting the freedom of school teachers to speak about integration and to associate with groups that seek to speed that process. Part II looks to the question of what judicial procedures and affirmative remedies are available, both at state and federal levels, for the protection of these liberties. Attention is focused on the ability of affected or interested parties to attack the governmental restraints offensively by seeking declaratory judgments and equitable relief.

I

IN THE STATE COURTS

A. Amenability of the State to Suit

SINCE strong constitutional bases exist upon which to challenge the validity of the removal provisions of Act 249, it is necessary to determine whether appropriate proceedings can be commenced in the Louisiana courts to prevent their enforcement. We will be concerned with actions against those responsible for effectuation of the removal provisions—the school boards and their members.[1]

Louisiana strongly adheres to the principle of the sovereign im-

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[1] As amended, La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17:443 (Supp. 1958) now reads:

"A permanent teacher shall not be removed from office except upon written and signed charges of willful neglect of duty, or incompetency or dishonesty, *or of being a member of or of contributing to any group, organization, movement or corporation that is by law or injunction prohibited from operating in the state of Louisiana, or of advocating or in any manner performing any act toward bringing about integration of the races within the public school system or any public institution of higher learning of the state of Louisiana,* and then only if found guilty after a hearing by the school board of the parish or city, as the case may be, which hearing may be private or public, at the option of the teacher. At least fifteen days in advance of the date of the hearing, the school shall furnish the teacher with a copy of the written charges. The teacher shall have the right to appear before the board with witnesses in his behalf and with counsel of his selection, all of whom shall be heard by the board at the said hearing. Nothing herein contained shall impair the right of appeal to a court of competent jurisdiction.

"If a permanent teacher is found guilty by a school board, after due and legal hearing as provided herein, on charges of willful neglect of duty, or of competence, or dishonesty, *or of being a member of or of contributing to any group, organization, movement or corporation that is by law or injunction prohibited from operating in the state of Louisiana, or of advocating or in any manner performing any act toward bringing about integration of the races within the public school system of the state of Louisiana,* and ordered removed from office, or disciplined by the board, the teacher may, not more than one year from the date of said finding, petition a court of competent jurisdiction for a full hearing to review the action of the school board, and the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm or reverse the action of the school board in the matter. If the finding of the school board is reversed by the court and the teacher is ordered reinstated and restored to duty, the teacher shall be entitled to full pay for

munity of the state from suit.[2] As the Louisiana Supreme Court has said, "there are no exceptions to the immunity of the State from suit without its consent."[3]

School boards in Louisiana are classified as state agencies[4] and the legislature has granted them the power to sue and be sued.[5] In addition, a 1950 Louisiana statute provides that the "right of appeal" of a teacher disciplined or dismissed upon a determination of guilt after a hearing by the school board, is not impaired.[6] This "appeal," or right to petition a court of competent jurisdiction for review and reinstatement, has been construed as an ordinary suit against the school board.[7]

But on November 6, 1956, the people of the State of Louisiana adopted an amendment adding section 26 to article 19 of the state constitution.[8] This section withdraws the state's consent to "suits or legal proceedings" brought against specified state agencies, including school boards and boards of education. Expressly excepted from the operation of the amendment are "suits for the enforcement of contracts . . . or for the recovery of damages for the breach thereof." The amendment reserves to the legislature the power "in individual cases" to grant the right to sue these boards.[9]

The first question presented is whether the "appeal" provision of Act 249 constitutes the necessary consent to suit or whether it was abrogated by this amendment to the constitution, and thereby rendered ineffectual in the absence of legislative consent subsequent to the effective date of the constitutional provision. The case of *Stephens v. Natchitoches Parish School Bd.*,[10] decided by a Louisiana court of appeal in 1957, is the only Louisiana case in which section 26 of article 19 has been discussed. By analogy, it could be applicable to the present problem.

The plaintiff, relying upon a resolution adopted by the legislature at the 1956 session granting the consent of the state to the suit, commenced a wrongful death action against the school board. The trial

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any loss of time or salary he or she may have sustained by reason of the action of said school board."

(Emphasis added to provisions inserted by La. Acts Reg. Sess. 1956, No. 249.)

[2] Cobb v. Louisiana Bd. of Institutions, 229 La. 1, 85 So. 2d 10 (1955); La. Const. art. 3, § 35.

[3] Cobb v. Louisiana Bd. of Institutions, 229 La. at 5, 85 So. 2d at 11.

[4] La. Rev. Stat. § 17:51 (1950). See Stephens v. Natchitoches Parish School Bd., 96 So. 2d 396, 398 (La. App. 1957).

[5] La. Rev. Stat. § 17:51 (1950).

[6] La. Rev. Stat. § 17:443 (Supp. 1958).

[7] Houeye v. St. Helena Parish School Bd., 220 La. 252, 257, 56 So. 2d 413, 415 (1951).

[8] La. Acts Reg. Sess. 1956, No. 613.

[9] La. Const. art. 19, § 26 (Supp. 1958).

[10] 96 So. 2d 396 (La. App. 1957).

court sustained a defense of no cause of action based upon the constitutional immunity provision, and dismissed the suit. The court of appeal reversed, holding that the constitutional amendment did not withdraw the consent of the state to this suit. The court said that:

> Irrespective of the broad and apparently all-inclusive language of . . . [the amendment] in withdrawing the consent of the State theretofore given, it does not appear that it was intended to nullify bills which were then being currently considered and adopted in the same session of the Legislature. We cannot attribute to the Legislature the intention of doing a vain and useless thing. We cannot conclude it was the intention of . . . [the amendment] to withdraw the consent of the State in an action ex delicto, which consent had heretofore been given by a special act of the Legislature.[11]

The holding would seem to indicate that legislation permitting suit against the state, enacted at the 1956 regular session prior to proposal of the amendment, was not superseded by section 26 of article 19. By analogy it could be contended that Act 249, which reenacted and amended the removal and appeal provisions of section 17:443, was not affected by the later amendment to the constitution, since both were passed by the legislature during that same session. The statutory "right of appeal" would then still exist and might be utilized as a means of attacking the constitutionality of Act 249.

The difficulty with this argument is that the reasoning in the *Stephens* case depends upon a strained interpretation of section 26. The clear words of the amendment appear to leave no room for the construction resorted to in that case. "When a law is clear and free from all ambiguity, the letter of it is not to be disregarded, under the pretext of pursuing its spirit."[12] The pertinent phrases of section 26 are:

> The consent of the State of Louisiana to suits or legal proceedings against any of the . . . agencies, (however heretofore given) is hereby expressly withdrawn and no such suit or proceeding shall be permitted except as provided in this section. This withdrawal of consent to suits . . . shall apply not only to . . . [those] filed in the future but also to any pending suits or legal proceedings . . . . [T]he Legislature . . . may, in individual cases, by appropriate act grant to any party . . . the right to sue any of these special agencies . . . . This Section shall be self-operative and shall supersede any other portion of this Constitution or any statutes or regulations in conflict herewith.[13]

It seems apparent that on the effective date of the constitutional provision,[14] all prior consent to suits against the named agencies, in-

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11 96 So. 2d at 399-400.

12 La. Civ. Code Ann. art. 13 (Dart 1947).

13 La. Const. art. 19, § 26 (Supp. 1958).

14 December 11, 1956. See La. Acts, Reg. Sess. 1956, Const. Amdts. 1956.

cluding the school boards, other than in contract actions, was abrogated.[15] Besides, the legislature did not enact the constitutional amendment, but merely proposed it. It was adopted by vote of the people of the state. Both the act involved in the *Stephens* case and Act 249 were passed by the legislature and became effective prior to the date on which the legislature passed the joint resolution proposing the constitutional amendment.[16] The court of appeal, in deciding the *Stephens* case, admitted that "the provisions relative to the withdrawal of consent is [*sic*] concededly very broad,"[17] but found that legislative intent modified the broad expression included in the amendment. Yet, as the Louisiana Supreme Court has said, "in construing the language of the Constitution every expression is deemed—more surely than are the expressions in the acts of the Legislature—to have been chosen carefully and used advisedly."[18]

Regardless of the intent ascribed to the legislature, the unambiguous words of the constitution should govern, particularly since a constitutional amendment is authoritatively adopted by the electorate, not by the legislature. In addition, nowithstanding its possible intent in reference to wrongful death actions, there is evidence that the legislature *did* intend the constitutional amendment to abrogate any right to proceed against the school boards, where the action concerns any of the aspects of segregation.[19]

At the time the constitutional amendment was proposed, suits to annul or prohibit action taken to enforce segregation had been commenced against various administrative boards in Louisiana. A list of the boards involved in these actions is similar to the list of boards named as agencies of the state by the constitutional amendment.[20] In addition, prior to the passage of the constitutional amendment, a school board had been unsuccessful in a federal court in defending a suit in-

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[15] La. Civ. Code Ann. arts. 22, 23 (Dart 1942) provides that laws may be repealed wholly or partly by other laws and that this repeal may be either express or implied.

[16] La. Const. art. 19, § 26 (Supp. 1958) (adopted November 6, 1956, effective date December 11, 1956); La. Acts Reg. Sess. 1956, No. 249 (approved July 8, 1956, effective date August 1, 1956). See Stephens v. Natchitoches Parish School Bd., 96 So. 2d 396 (La. App. 1957).

[17] 96 So. 2d at 399.

[18] State ex rel. Milling v. Louisiana Pub. Serv. Comm'n, 154 La. 752, 760-61, 98 So. 175, 178 (1923).

[19] See Ludley v. Board of Supervisors, 150 F. Supp. 900, 902 (E.D. La. 1957), aff'd, 252 F.2d 373 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 358 U.S. 819 (1958).

[20] See La. Attorney General, [1956-1957] Biennial Report, Schedule D—"Law Suits Prosecuted and Defended and Other Legal Proceedings Affecting the State's Policy of Segregation of the Races in All its Aspects . . . ," which lists seventeen such actions against school boards and other administrative agencies. Cf. La. Const. art. 19, § 26 (Supp. 1958).

volving segregation where it contended that as an agency of the state, it was within the principle of the immunity of the state to suit.[21]

It follows from this analysis that the reasoning of the *Stephens* case is inapplicable to the problem at hand and that statutory review under Act 249 may be denied to the teacher who has been disciplined or dismissed by a school board in proceedings under that act.

However, it is not advisable to give a categorical answer to whether or not an appeal is available. The courts, in appeals under Act 249 occurring subsequent to the passage of the constitutional amendment, have neither mentioned nor applied it.[22] It is significant that these cases did not involve matters concerning the problems of maintaining segregation.

The question remains as to whether or not a teacher may have an action for breach of contract against the school board, since such actions are exempted from the operation of the constitutional amendment. Written contracts for "regular and permanent teachers," though not mandatory,[23] may be required by the board.[24] Moreover, oral employment contracts may exist, and are enforceable.[25] Additionally, it might be possible to imply a contract of employment from the fact of appointment of a teacher to his position, performance of duties, and acceptance of such performance by the school board.[26] If a dismissed school teacher brought an action against a school board for breach of an express or implied term contract of employment and the board set up as a defense the violation of those parts of Act 249 under con-

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21 Bush v. Orleans Parish School Bd., 138 F. Supp. 336 (1956), aff'd, 242 F.2d 156 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 354 U.S. 921 (1957). In Ludley v. Board of Supervisors, 150 F. Supp. 900 (E.D. La. 1957), aff'd, 252 F.2d 373 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 358 U.S. 819 (1958), the defendant board raised the defense of state immunity, relying specifically on section 26. The federal district court rejected this contention as a matter of federal law.

22 Fields v. Rapides Parish School Bd., 231 La. 914, 93 So. 2d 214 (1957); Verret v. Calcasieu Parish School Bd., 103 So. 2d 560 (La. App. 1958), an action for reinstatement claiming violation of La. Rev. Stat. § 17:443 (1950). See also Steer v. Orleans Parish School Bd., 92 So. 2d 128 (La. App. 1957), where a tort action authorized by La. Acts Reg. Sess. 1954, No. 594, was dismissed on other grounds. This latter action was clearly barred by La. Const. art. 19, § 26, and was not within the Stephens rule since the legislative authorization was enacted in a prior session of the legislature.

23 La. Rev. Stat. § 17:413 (1950). Prior to 1948, written contracts of employment were required of all teachers. La. Acts Reg. Sess. 1922, No. 100, § 49, amended by La. Acts Reg. Sess. 1948, No. 353, § 1.

24 State ex rel. Cody v. Caldwell Parish School Bd., 215 La. 645, 41 So. 2d 461 (1949). See La. Rev. Stat. § 17:83 (1950), § 17:81 (Supp. 1958).

25 La. Civ. Code Ann. arts. 1761-62, 1764, 2277 (West 1952); La. Code Prac. Ann. arts. 14, 26, 29, 33-39 (Dart 1942). La. Civ. Code Ann. art. 2277 (West 1952) requires that oral contracts for the payment of money in excess of $500 be proved by at least one credible witness and other corroborating circumstances.

26 Cf. Burk v. Livingston Parish School Bd., 190 La. 504, 182 So. 656 (1938). See La. Civ. Code Ann. arts. 1761, 1811, 1816, 1926-27 (West 1952). See generally Annot., 127 A.L.R. 1298, 1334 (1940).

sideration, the question of their unenforceability on constitutional grounds would be a litigable and material issue in the action.

Recovery, however, in an action for breach of contract would be limited to damages.[27] Moreover, the provision for reinstatement provided in Act 249, even if assumed to be incorporated into the contract, could not be effectuated in an action for breach of an employment contract. Such relief would be in the nature of specific performance of a contract for personal services, and is not obtainable in Louisiana.[28] If the statutory action for reinstatement and back pay is prohibited by the constitutional amendment, reinstatement may be secured, if at all, only in a mandamus proceeding.[29]

With the exception of the effect which the possible availability of a breach of contract action might have on the availability of other remedies, such action is of little significance to this study, as the primary concern is the availability of affirmative remedies, and not compensatory relief after enforcement of Act 249. Determination of the availability of affirmative relief, or relief obtained prior to the imposition of sanctions under Act 249, involves consideration of actions for injunctions and declaratory judgments and for the writs of mandamus. The availability of these remedies also depends, in part, upon the effect of the constitutional amendment.

The general rule is that the state's immunity from suit does not extend to the protection of public officers from suits to enjoin them from the threatened enforcement of invalid laws.[30] Louisiana law is in accord with this principle. *Carso v. Board of Liquidation of State Debt*[31] was a taxpayers' suit to enjoin the board from transferring money under authority of a statute alleged to be unconstitutional. The board contended that this was a suit against the state and thus barred. The Louisiana Supreme Court affirmed the granting of an injunction. In disposing of the defense of sovereign immunity to suit, the court said that "such a suit is not a suit against the state . . . if the

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[27] Cf. La. Civ. Code Ann. arts. 1926-27, 2749 (West 1952).

[28] Ibid. See generally Simpson, Contracts § 153 (1954).

[29] Cf. State ex rel. Fields v. Rapides Parish School Bd., 227 La. 290, 79 So. 2d 312 (1955); State ex rel. Nobles v. Bienville Parish School Bd., 198 La. 688, 4 So. 2d 649 (1941). Contra, State ex rel. Eberle v. Orleans Parish School Bd., 221 La. 243, 59 So. 2d 177 (1952); Houeye v. St. Helena Parish School Bd., 213 La. 807, 35 So. 2d 739 (1948). These latter cases are no longer applicable if the statutory review of La. Rev. Stat. § 17:443 (1950) is not now available.

[30] Ex Parte Young, 209 U.S. 123 (1908); Orleans Parish School Bd. v. Bush, 242 F.2d 156, 161 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 354 U.S. 921 (1957); Abelson's Inc. v. New Jersey State Bd. of Optometrists, 5 N.J. 412, 75 A.2d 867 (1950). Cf. State ex rel. McEnery v. Nicholls, 42 La. Ann. 209, 7 So. 738 (1890); Omes v. Department of Conservation, 187 So. 342 (La. App. 1939).

[31] 205 La. 368, 17 So. 2d 358 (1944).

defendant, state official or state agency, is proceeding in violation of law . . . ."[32]

It follows that, so far as sovereign immunity is concerned, a suit could be maintained to enjoin action by school board members on the ground that they are about to exercise their authority in an unconstitutional manner.[33] The suit is in reality one against the members of the board in their individual capacities, since they are threatening unconstitutional action and therefore are about to act beyond the scope of their authority. The action of the board members is thus stripped of its official character and the suit to enjoin this action is not a suit against the state.

An action for a declaratory judgment to declare that the board cannot constitutionally enforce the statute would similarly not be an action against the state.[34] The suit would be one to determine the validity of action under Act 249 as compared to the permitted exercise of lawful authority under the state and federal constitutions.

This brings us finally to a consideration of whether a petition for mandamus can be considered an action against the state. Since the purpose of such a proceeding is to compel a state official to perform a ministerial duty which does not call for an exercise of discretion, such action would not appear to be a suit against the state. The official is regarded as acting in his individual capacity in failing to act according to law.[35] In other words, a suit to compel an officer to do that which the law requires him to do is not a suit against the state.[36]

However, in *State ex rel. McEnery v. Lanier* a mandamus proceeding to compel a state official to act directly contrary to a duty imposed by an allegedly unconstitutional statute was held to be an action against the state over which the courts have no jurisdiction unless the state consents.[37] The decision appears to be incorrect since it is based

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[32] Id. at 372, 17 So. 2d at 360.

[33] See Ewell v. Board of Supervisors, 234 La. 419, 100 So. 2d 221 (1958). This was an action to enjoin the issuance of bonds, attacking the constitutionality of a resolution of the board. La. Const. art. 19, § 26(6), listing this board as an agency of the state and withdrawing consent to suit, was not mentioned. Cf. Park Place Ass'n v. New Orleans City Park Improvement Ass'n, 102 So. 2d 521 (La. App. 1958).

[34] Cf. Ludley v. Board of Supervisors, 150 F. Supp. 900 (E.D. La. 1957), aff'd, 252 F.2d 373 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 358 U.S. 819 (1958).

[35] State ex rel. Brenner v. Noe, 186 La. 102, 171 So. 708 (1936); State ex rel. Nunez v. Baynard, 15 So. 2d 649 (La. App. 1943).

[36] Cf. Civil Serv. Comm'n v. Audubon Park Comm'n, 99 So. 2d 920 (La. App. 1958), where a mandamus action brought after the effective date of the amendment against an agency included within La. Const. art. 19, § 26 was allowed. The court here held that the defendant commission was not an agency of the state for purposes of the Civil Service Law. No mention was made of either La. Const. art. 19, § 26, or consent to suit.

[37] 47 La. Ann. 110, 16 So. 647 (1895).

on a misapplication of the case of *Louisiana v. Jumel*.[38] In the *Jumel* case, a holder of Louisiana bonds brought a mandamus action in federal court to force the state treasurer to pay interest on the bonds from a fund created under a provision of an early state constitution which had been abolished by a later constitution. The United States Supreme Court held this to be a suit against the state over which it had no jurisdiction, since the relief requested would require the officials to disobey the express orders of the supreme political power of the state.[39]

Clearly, the courts of Louisiana are controlled by the state constitution, as that is the source of all their power, and they cannot require action in violation of its provisions. But the courts are not so controlled by an act of the legislature. Therefore, mandamus to compel an official to act contrary to an allegedly unconstitutional statute would not be requiring him to act with court approval in violation of the constitution, but rather in conformity with it, and hence should not be classified as an action against the state. In fact, one of the principal functions of the judiciary is to determine whether an enactment is constitutional and valid or unconstitutional and void. Nevertheless, the *Lanier* case is still good law, and results in the elimination of mandamus as a method of challenging unlawful legislation in the Louisiana courts.[40]

After a judicial determination either that action under Act 249 is unconstitutional or that the act is invalid on its face, negating action taken thereunder, a mandamus proceeding compelling reinstatement could be permitted,[41] even under the *Lanier* rule. The writ would not be utilized to challenge the constitutionality of the act, but merely to compel the school board and its members to fulfill the duties required by it, as construed in the prior judicial proceeding.[42] Used in this manner, the mandamus proceeding should not be considered an action against the state.

Prior to 1944 reinstatement could be effected by mandamus.[43] In 1944 an amendment to the statute setting forth the procedure for removal of teachers spelled out in more detail the relief available following dismissal.[44] As a result mandamus could be used to reinstate a

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38 107 U.S. 711 (1883).

39 Id. at 721.

40 See Sachse, Justice—the Duty of the State to Submit to Legal Process, 18 La. L. Rev. 437, 442 (1958).

41 Cf. State ex rel. Fields v. Rapides Parish School Bd., 227 La. 290, 79 So. 2d 312 (1955).

42 Constitutionality of Act 249 may be determined in actions for breach of contract, declaratory judgments and injunctions.

43 Gassen v. St. Charles Parish School Bd., 199 La. 954, 7 So. 2d 217 (1942); State ex rel. Penny v. Rapides Parish School Bd., 1 So. 2d 334 (La. App. 1941).

44 La. Acts Reg. Sess. 1944, No. 250, as amended, La. Acts Reg. Sess. 1946, No. 297.

dismissed teacher only if the procedures of dismissal—written charges, etc.—had not been followed.[45] Reinstatement upon other grounds had to be by court review, since the statutory remedy was available.[46]

If the appeal and reinstatement provisions have been invalidated by Section 26 of Article 19 of the Louisiana Constitution, it seems reasonable to assume that mandamus may again be used for reinstatement purposes following procedural and substantive errors in dismissal proceedings.

In summary, the adoption in 1956 of the constitutional amendment withdrawing the state's consent to suits against its school boards has had several results. The statutory remedy, previously available to teachers who had been disciplined or dismissed, has been abrogated, unless the doubtful reasoning of the *Stephens* case[47] is applied or the amendment overlooked, as it has been in other cases brought against school boards.[48] Since actions for breach of contract were excluded from the operation of section 26 of article 19, teachers under contract with the school boards may still sue for a breach thereof. As injuctions and declaratory judgment proceedings against public officers threatening enforcement of invalid laws are not considered actions against the state, these proceedings may still be brought. Thus, the constitutionality of Act 249 may be litigated in contract, injunction, and declaratory judgment actions.

Although a petition for mandamus—in its previously indicated limited use—is not considered an action against the state, this proceeding may not be utilized to challenge the constitutionality of statutes. Such an action would not be available in the present situation until the invalidity of Act 249 had been tested and/or established.

B. Declaratory Judgment and Injunctive Relief

It is common practice in Louisiana to seek injunctive relief coupled with declaratory judgment proceedings.[49] Therefore, these remedies will be considered concurrently.

Prior to 1948 in Louisiana the courts were without judicial power to render declaratory judgments or advisory opinions.[50] In 1948 the

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45 State ex rel. Fields v. Rapides Parish School Bd., 227 La. 290, 79 So. 2d 312 (1955).

46 See Houeye v. St. Helena Parish School Bd., 213 La. 807, 35 So. 2d 739 (1948).

47 Stephens v. Natchitoches Parish School Bd., 96 So. 2d 396 (La. App. 1957).

48 See note 22 supra.

49 See, e.g., City of New Orleans v. Board of Supervisors, 216 La. 116, 43 So. 2d 237 (1949); City of New Orleans v. Borey, 52 So. 2d 728 (La. App. 1951). See also La. Rev. Stat. § 13:4238 (1950): "Further relief based on a declaratory judgment or decree may be granted whenever necessary or proper." Cf. Borchard, Declaratory Judgments 433 (2d ed. 1941).

50 City of Alexandria v. Wilks, 18 So. 2d 341, 344 (La. App. 1944).

legislature enacted the Uniform Declaratory Judgments Act whose purpose is to provide a speedy remedy, in cases of actual controversy, for determining issues and adjudicating the legal rights, duties or status of the respective parties, before controversies with regard thereto lead to the repudiation of obligations, the invasion of rights, and the commission of wrongs.[51] Since the act has not been utilized in many decisions, resort must be made to cases of other jurisdictions. This is quite proper in view of the statute, which states that the act "shall be interpreted and construed so as to effectuate its general purpose to make uniform the law of those states which enact it, and to harmonize, as far as possible, with federal laws and regulations on the subject of declaratory judgments and decrees."[52] The obligation to harmonize declaratory judgment decisions has been recognized by the Louisiana Supreme Court.[53]

An injunction is defined by the Louisiana Code of Practice as being "a mandate obtained from a court, by plaintiff, prohibiting one from doing an act which he contends may be injurious to him or impair a right which he claims."[54] The basic requisite for the issuance of an injunction is the need to preserve the status quo in order to prevent irreparable injury.[55] An adequate and specific remedy at law must be unavailable.[56] The issuance of an injunction is normally within the discretion of the trial judge.[57]

1. *Standing*

The Louisiana courts, in deciding whether a person has a right to bring a proceeding to enjoin action under an unconstitutional statute, have indicated that the litigant must be within the provisions of the statute under attack so as to be affected by it, and that there must be an actual personal right to be vindicated or a wrong to be redressed under its provisions.[58]

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[51] La. Rev. Stat. §§ 13:4231-46 (1950). Cf. Gary v. Marquette Cas. Co., 72 So. 2d 619 (La. App. 1954).

[52] La. Rev. Stat. § 13:4245 (1950).

[53] See Tugwell v. Members of the Bd. of Highways, 228 La. 662, 679-80, 83 So. 2d 893, 899 (1955).

[54] La. Code Prac. Ann. art. 296 (Dart 1942). See also La. Code Prac. Ann. arts. 209, 209.1 (Dart 1942).

[55] Rapides Dairy Dealers' Co-op. Ass'n v. Mathews, 158 So. 247 (La. App. 1935). "An irreparable injury is one for which the party injured cannot be compensated adequately in damages, or for which the damages cannot be measured by a pecuniary standard," City of Lake Charles v. Lake Charles Ry., 144 La. 217, 221, 80 So. 260, 261 (1918).

[56] La. Code Prac. Ann. art. 303 (Dart 1942). See also Leidenheimer v. Schutten, 194 La. 598, 194 So. 32 (1940).

[57] Cf. Drew v. Town of Zwolle, 185 La. 867, 171 So. 59 (1936); Palama v. Livaudais, 179 La. 201, 153 So. 691 (1934); Brooks v. Chinn, 52 So. 2d 523 (La. App. 1951). (All cases involving preliminary injunctions.)

[58] State ex rel. Kemp v. City of Baton Rouge, 215 La. 315, 40 So. 2d 477 (1949); Vander Sluys v. Frinfrock, 158 La. 175, 103 So. 730 (1929).

For a person properly to seek a declaratory judgment, there must be a dispute or controversy over some matter or right in which the opposing parties have an interest. This is a jurisdictional requirement.[59] Although "controversy" is a broad term,[60] a grant or refusal of declaratory relief is purely a matter of judicial discretion.[61] The danger sought to be avoided must not be too remote, and it must flow from some tangible act or threat calculated, in the view of the court, to arouse justifiable apprehension, fear, and danger of legal injury.[62] Therefore, in order to determine whether these actions may be maintained to challenge the validity of the statute under consideration, it is necessary to consider, in relation to each of the affected persons or classes of persons, whether they are within the provisions of the statute, what is the nature of the injury involved, and whether other adequate remedies are available.

The statute is directed against the teacher. His rights obviously could be considered as injuriously affected by the mere existence of the law, since it has the effect of restraining him from exercising his rights of freedom of speech and association.

Since the effectuation of the allegedly unconstitutional grounds for removal would involve administrative action and attendant expenditure of public funds, it is also possible that the expenditures involved would confer standing upon a taxpayer to seek these remedies. The taxpayer has standing to enjoin the expenditure of public funds under an allegedly unconstitutional statute, since the Louisiana Supreme Court in *Graham v. Jones*[63] has said that the taxpayer has a direct interest in seeing that taxes paid are devoted to the ends provided by law. The fact that the taxpayer's interest may be small does not deprive him of the right to sue for an injunction, since "the action is regarded as having a public character, and as being a proceeding in which the public complains."[64] Although the taxpayer must show that his tax burden will be increased as a result of the legislation in question, the Louisiana Supreme Court has also held that:

> He is not required to set forth with mathematical certainty his injury. It is sufficient for him to allege a state of facts necessary leading to the conclusion that the unlawful act of which he complains will injuriously affect him or his property.[65]

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59 State v. Board of Supervisors, 228 La. 951, 958, 84 So. 2d 597, 600 (1955).
60 In re Cooper, 57 So. 2d 775, 776 (La. App. 1952).
61 See State v. Board of Supervisors, 228 La. 951, 958, 84 So. 2d 597, 600 (1955).
62 Borchard, Declaratory Judgments 54 (2d ed. 1941).
63 198 La. 507, 531, 3 So. 2d 761, 769 (1941).
64 Id. at 530, 3 So. 2d at 768.
65 Donaldson v. Police Jury, 161 La. 471, 480, 109 So. 34, 37-38 (1926).

Borden v. Louisiana State Board of Education[66] was a suit by citizens and taxpayers to enjoin the Board of Education from providing free school books out of tax money, alleging that such action was unconstitutional. The supreme court held that the taxpayers had a sufficient interest and right of action, although it refused to grant an injunction. While the taxpayer may not claim the rights of a third person in order to maintain a right of action,[67] he may show the effect of the statute on others since the taxpayer's injury arises from the unauthorized expenditure and not from the effects of the statute. In *Stewart v. Stanley*,[68] a situation analogous to that here postulated, Louisiana taxpayers were held to have the right to maintain an action to enjoin the State Legislative Crime Committee from expending public funds to hold an investigation, alleging that the statute authorizing the expenditure was unconstitutional. The court took care to point out that the plaintiffs were "interested only as taxpayers seeking to restrain the illegal expenditure of public funds."[69]

The cases considered have dealt only with injunctive relief afforded taxpayers. However, the lack of cases under the Louisiana Declaratory Judgments Act dealing with the standing of taxpayers to seek declaratory judgments does not rule out the applicability of the principles governing standing of taxpayers seeking injunctions. A taxpayer would have a right of action for a declaratory judgment and injunctive relief with regard to Act 249, providing he could show that, in fact, expenditure of public funds was intended and threatened in order to effectuate the allegedly unconstitutional provisions of the act. He would have no other adequate remedy at law, and his irreparable injury as a taxpayer through the illegal expenditure of public funds should be sufficient to give him standing to seek these remedies at the proper time.

The lack of an infringement upon any constitutional right of a student or parent of a student would deny them the standing necessary to seek a declaratory judgment and injunction. Deprivation of the constitutional rights of others is not a sufficient ground for standing.[70] A student, however, doubtless suffers some injury if his teachers are

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[66] 168 La. 1005, 123 So. 655 (1929).

[67] Whitney Nat'l Bank v. Little Creek Oil Co., 212 La. 949, 33 So. 2d 693 (1947). Cf. State v. Standard Oil Co., 188 La. 978, 1010, 178 So. 601, 611 (1937): "It is not sufficient that the statute is unconstitutional as to other persons or classes of persons; it must affirmatively appear that the person attacking the statute comes within the class of persons affected by it." See also Rawlee v. Jefferson & Plaquemenes Drainage Dist., 187 La. 891, 175 So. 610 (1937); Morris v. Municipal Gas Co., 121 La. 1016, 46 So. 1001 (1908).

[68] 199 La. 146, 5 So. 2d 531 (1941).

[69] Id. at 177, 5 So. 2d at 541.

[70] Ricks v. Department of State Civil Serv., 200 La. 341, 376, 8 So. 2d 49, 60 (1942).

restrained by a statute from discharging their curricular responsibilities fully and freely. New ideas, thoughts, reflections—considerations that are to activate and stimulate the student's intelligence, curiosity and critical awareness—are part of the service the teacher is to deliver to the student. In this sense, the injury to teachers might effect injury to students. Moreover, the parents of the students would have standing to assert their children's rights. Relief upon such grounds has been obtained in Louisiana. In *Herold v. Parish Board of School Directors,*[71] parents obtained injunctive relief prohibiting the reading of the Bible at the beginning of the school day, on the grounds of an infringement upon the children's religious rights as guaranteed by the Louisiana constitution.

It is difficult, however, to find any constitutional right of the student or parent of a student that has been curtailed by Act 249. It can be argued that the validity of the legislation may be attacked on the ground that it conflicts with the state constitutional provisions relating to the establishment of a public school system.[72] However, impairment of the "right" of education, or the effectiveness thereof, as a result of a denial of the constitutional rights of teachers, seems too tenuous to justify standing. Such a contention would be highly abstract, and claims of such a character are not fit subjects for declaratory judgment determinations in Louisiana.[73]

2. *Ripeness*

Louisiana cases give no definite answer to the question of the possibility of successful institution of proceedings prior to any action on the part of the school board for removal of a teacher under Act 249. One case has stated that in order to raise a constitutional question an attempt to enforce the contested provision must be in process.[74] Yet injunctive relief has been afforded litigants where only intended action was involved. In *Carso v. Board of Liquidation of State Debt,* admission by the board members of an intention to make contested appropriations or transfer of money was sufficient to permit litigation of the question whether or not the legislation under which the board proposed to act was unconstitutional.[75] The *Carso* case is distinguishable

[71] 136 La. 1034, 68 So. 116 (1915).

[72] La. Const. art. 12, §§ 1-24 (1955).

[73] Tugwell v. Members of the Bd. of Highways, 228 La. 662, 679, 83 So. 2d 893, 899 (1955).

[74] Ricks v. Department of State Civil Serv., 200 La. 341, 8 So. 2d 49 (1942) (injunction sought testing constitutionality of state civil service law).

[75] 205 La. 368, 17 So. 2d 358 (1944) (injunction issued to restrain board from intended transfer of state money to state agencies). Accord, Herold v. Parish Bd. of School Directors, 136 La. 1034, 68 So. 116 (1915) (injunction issued to restrain intended reading of Bible at commencement of school day).

from the present situation in that there the intended action of the board was of a more certain nature than would be the action of the board in threatening to "enforce" the removal provisions of Act 249, as the school board can hardly be said to intend to enforce the removal provisions of Act 249 unless someone allegedly violates them.

City of New Orleans v. Borey[76] is also relevant in probing the question of when a challenge to an allegedly unconstitutional act becomes "ripe." Action was instituted to declare unconstitutional state legislation giving legislators parole powers. It was alleged that such powers violated rights of the municipality and were in contravention of constitutional provisions. It was further alleged that the legislators had exercised these parole powers, and that police officers had honored such exercise due to the heavy penalties involved for failure to do so. The court stated that the only apparent remedy of the city was to seek to enjoin the enforcement and test the constitutionality of the act, "otherwise, the city would have to *await a violation of the statute* by one of its officers before the issue could be raised . . . ." (Emphasis added.)[77] The crucial factor in the holding that the issue of unconstitutionality was ripe for review prior to any actual exercise of the statute was that the city could not violate the statute and would have to suffer the inconveniences it alleged until such time as one of its police officers violated the statute. This precedent is not applicable to the case of a teacher challenging Act 249, for the teacher may by an actual violation raise at any time the issue of constitutionality. Absent such violation, the Louisiana courts may decline to consider the question as "ripe."

The precedents of both the *Carso* and *Borey* cases are more applicable to the situation of a *taxpayer* seeking to challenge Act 249 than that of a *teacher*. Like the city in the *Borey* case, a taxpayer would have no way to test the validity of the act until an actual violation by a teacher, unless declaratory relief is available prior to such a violation. However, a distinction remains in that the taxpayer's injury is only the "threat" of the expenditure of state funds to enforce an unconstitutional statute if it were violated. In the *Borey* case the city alleged that the statute presently interfered with the proper administration of its affairs and enforcement of local ordinances. Thus the "injury" to the city would be of a more certain nature than the "injury" to the taxpayer in the present situation, prior to attempted enforcement of the removal provisions.

An examination of other state and federal cases does not con-

[76] 52 So. 2d 728 (La. App. 1951).
[77] Id. at 732.

clusively resolve the question of "ripeness." In the case of *United Public Workers v. Mitchell*,[78] the United States Supreme Court dealt with a situation analogous to the one at hand. The Hatch Act makes it unlawful for federal employees with the exception of the President, Vice-President and certain policy performing officers to "take any active part in political management or in political campaigns," although it provides that they "shall retain the right . . . to express their opinions on all political subjects and candidates."[79] A number of government employees brought suit to enjoin the Civil Service Commission from enforcing the provisions of the act and for a declaratory judgment that the act was invalid. The Court upheld the act, but granted "standing" only to an employee who had already violated it. Even though the other employees had stated that they desired to engage in political activities, the Court held that they had no justiciable interest: "A hypothetical threat is not enough."[80] The dissent of Mr. Justice Douglas seems as appropriate to the situation of the teacher challenging Act 249 as it was with respect to the public official challenging the Hatch Act.

> [T]o require these employees first to suffer the hardship of a discharge is not only to make them incur a penalty; it makes inadequate, if not wholly illusory, any legal remedy which they may have. Men who must sacrifice their means of livelihood in order to test their rights to their jobs must either pursue prolonged and expensive litigation as unemployed persons or . . . seek employment in other fields. . . . [For many] the burden of taking that course is irreparable injury.[81]

The case of *Adler v. Board of Education*,[82] is also analogous to the situation presented. In that case the New York Civil Service Law[83] authorized disqualification for, and removal from, state jobs for advocacy of forceful overthrow of the government. The Feinberg Law of 1949[84] directed the Board of Regents to adopt regulations for the enforcement of these provisions and to list organizations, membership in which would be held prima facie evidence for the disqualification. Prior to the commencement of any action by the Board of Regents, a proceeding for an injunction and declaratory judgment was commenced in the New York courts by parents, teachers and taxpayers alleging the unconstitutionality of the law. The trial court, on the pleadings, held that the Feinberg Law provisions were unconstitutional.[85]

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78 330 U.S. 75 (1947).
79 53 Stat. 1147, § 9 (1939), 5 U.S.C. § 118i(a) (1950).
80 United Public Workers v. Mitchell, 330 U. S. 75, 90 (1947).
81 Id. at 117-18 (dissent).
82 342 U.S. 485 (1952).
83 N.Y. Civ. Serv. Law § 12-a (1946).
84 N.Y. Sess. Laws 1949, ch. 360.
85 Lederman v. Board of Educ., 196 Misc. 873, 95 N.Y.S.2d 114 (Sup. Ct. 1949),

On the question of standing, the court held that only the taxpayers had a litigable interest. By statute,[86] taxpayers in New York are authorized to maintain an action to prevent waste of the city's money.[87] Since effectuation of the Feinberg Law would require expenditure of public funds, the taxpayers could maintain an action to prevent the expenditure of the funds for unconstitutional purposes. Although it indicated its inclination to recognize a justiciable interest in the teachers, the trial court found itself bound by the rule in *United Public Workers v. Mitchell*[88] and held that there was no justiciable controversy as to them until the law had been violated.

Subsequent appellate decisions in New York[89] were silent on the issue of standing, as was the majority opinion of the Supreme Court.[90] However, in a dissenting opinion, Mr. Justice Frankfurter said that standing should have been denied to the petitioners alleging interests as taxpayers, as parents, and as teachers.[91] By implication, this dissent seems to infer that the Supreme Court granted standing to the other classes. But standing was *not* granted to either the parents or the teachers as litigants, and was accorded only to those petitioners alleging interest as taxpayers. Not only were the taxpayers alone able to proceed in the New York courts, but only the taxpayers prosecuted the appeal before the Supreme Court.[92]

Thus, consideration of the rights of the teachers was only incidental to the Supreme Court's determination of the validity of the act and the soundness of the taxpayers' contention that public funds would be appropriated and utilized for an unconstitutional purpose.

Other state courts have given varying interpretations as to when an issue is "ripe" for determination. At one extreme is *De Cano v. State*.[93] Here a corporation composed of native Filipinos, which owned no land and had no option to purchase land, was held by the Washington Supreme Court not entitled to challenge the constitutionality of an

rev'd, 276 App. Div. 527, 96 N.Y.S.2d 466 (2d Dep't), aff'd sub nom. Thompson v. Wallin, 301 N.Y. 476, 95 N.E.2d 806 (1950), aff'd sub nom. Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485 (1952).

86 N.Y. Munic. Law § 51 (1954).

87 Lewis v. Board of Educ., 258 N.Y. 117, 120, 179 N.E. 315, 316 (1932).

88 330 U.S. 75 (1947).

89 Lederman v. Board of Educ., 276 App. Div. 527, 96 N.Y.S.2d 466 (2d Dep't), aff'd sub nom. Thompson v. Wallin, 301 N.Y. 476, 95 N.E.2d 806 (1950).

90 Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485 (1952). See also Note, The Supreme Court and Standing to Sue, 34 N.Y.U.L. Rev. 141, 145-47 (1959).

91 Id. at 501-04 (dissent).

92 See Briefs and Record on Appeal, Statement as to Jurisdiction, p. 9, Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485 (1952). See also Brief for Appellant, pp. 2, 3; Brief for Appellee, p. 2.

93 7 Wash. 2d 613, 110 P.2d 627 (1941).

anti-alien land law, notwithstanding the fact that one of its purposes was to acquire land for a clubhouse. Other states have, however, permitted an attack upon the constitutionality of a statute and construction of legislation without requiring an act in violation thereof. In *Maguire v. Monaghan*[94] the suit was instituted by attorneys who wished to determine by construction of a statute whether they might render certain legal services without bringing into operation the automatic forfeiture of public office as provided for by the statute. The New York trial court stated that "it would appear reasonable and appropriate to invoke the remedy of a declaratory judgment before the happening of an event that would imperil the [attorney's] office."[95] In *Hyde Park Dairies, Inc. v. City of Newton*[96] the petitioner was denied a license to deliver milk within the city. In permitting the attack upon the validity of the statute under which the license was denied, the Kansas court held that:

> It has long been settled courts also have jurisdiction, under the declaratory judgment act, to determine the validity of statutes or ordinances before a party undertakes to act in apparent violation thereof. That is the purpose and intent of the remedial relief contemplated by the act.[97]

Other cases have even allowed challenge of the constitutionality of statutes not in effect at the time of the commencement of proceedings. Thus, in *Department of Financial Institutions v. General Finance Corp.*,[98] the statute, not in effect at the time of suit, was one regulating the sale and assignment of retail installment contracts. In declaring the act unconstitutional, the Indiana court recognized the prospective injury to the plaintiff, who was engaged in purchasing and selling these contracts. In *Acme Finance Co. v. Huse*[99] the statute at issue regulated the business of making small loans. The plaintiff was in such business, and alleged that the regulatory act was unconstitutional and would unlawfully infringe upon his property rights. The Washington court held the statute invalid. Recognizing the predicament of the plaintiff and interveners, it allowed them to initiate proceedings for declaratory relief.

> If, on the one hand, they complied with the act . . . , and the act was, in fact, unconstitutional, they would do so to their damage. If, on the other hand, they refused to comply with the law, and they were wrong in thinking it unconstitutional, they would suffer the criminal penalties

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94 206 Misc. 550, 134 N.Y.S.2d 320 (Sup. Ct. 1954).
95 Id. at 554, 134 N.Y.S.2d at 325.
96 167 Kan. 730, 208 P.2d 221 (1949).
97 Id. at 731, 208 P.2d at 224.
98 227 Ind. 373, 86 N.E.2d 444 (1949).
99 192 Wash. 96, 73 P.2d 341 (1937).

> provided in the act. Either course was fraught with danger. To afford relief to parties in such a situation is the very purpose of the declaratory judgment act.[100]

The Louisiana teacher is in a similar predicament.

The principles enunciated in the *Maguire, Hyde Park, Huse,* and *Financial Institutions* cases would all lend some support to a conclusion that declaratory and injunctive relief may be commenced prior to a breach of the removal provisions of Act 249. Yet each of these cases may be distinguished, in one degree or another, from the situation of the teacher prior to an "advocacy of integration" or some action falling within the proscriptions of the allegedly unconstitutional grounds for dismissal. The *Maguire* case involved the construction of a statute as opposed to a test of the legislature's power to pass it. A consideration of the facts of the *Hyde Park, Huse,* and *Financial Institutions* cases justifies some distinction as to the preciseness, certainty, and impact of the application of the contested legislation in these cases, as opposed to the situation obtaining under Act 249.

Perhaps the case closest to the situation of those affected by Act 249 is *Huntamer v. Coe.*[101] Plaintiffs alleged their desire to become candidates for public office. The contested Washington statute provided that no person could become a candidate for election unless he had filed an affidavit that he was not a subversive person as defined in the act. It was recognized that the Secretary of State would require the execution of these affidavits in connection with the filing of declarations of candidacy. The plaintiffs stated that they would be prevented from becoming candidates for the respective offices because they could not or would not execute the oath or affidavit proposed by the Secretary of State as they interpreted and understood it and its affect. There had been no breach of the statute involved and no action thereunder. There is no meaningful distinction between this case and the one of a teacher prior to enforcement of Act 249. The act at issue in the *Huntamer* case denies the acquisition of a certain status unless an act is performed. Act 249 denies the retention of a certain status unless certain acts are avoided. This is not a persuasive distinction. It is true that the action required in the *Huntamer* case is of a more certain nature than the actions denied under Act 249. This is but a difference in degree, and of no determinative significance with regard to the "denial of advocacy," "act toward integration," and "contributions to organizations prohibited or enjoined from operating within the state." In *Huntamer* the Washington Supreme Court approved the assumption

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100 Id. at 108, 73 P.2d at 346.

101 40 Wash. 2d 767, 246 P.2d 489 (1952).

of jurisdiction by the trial court "because of the particular circumstances in this case, involving as they do some questions of considerable public interest and importance."[102] In addition, the court quoted with approval the following statement:

> A petition for a declaratory judgment is particularly appropriate to determine the constitutionality of a statute, when the parties desire . . . a speedy determination of the public interest involved therein.[103]

The *Huntamer* case is adequate support for allowing the institution of proceedings prior to a supposed breach of Act 249.

A codraftsman of the Uniform Declaratory Judgments Act has suggested that the nature of the statute largely determines when its constitutionality may be tested. If it is mandatory and requires little, if any, fact finding prior to its enforcement, and its incidence upon the plaintiff is apparent, enacting suffices to create ripeness for decision. If, on the other hand, the scope and effect of the statute are left to administrative regulations or discretion, it may be necessary to await the regulation or exercise of discretion before the effect upon the plaintiff is known.[104] Act 249 presently impinges upon constitutional freedoms of the teacher, and little discretion lies with the board in implementing the dismissal features provided. If the declaratory judgment is for the purpose of providing a speedy remedy for determining issues before controversies with regard thereto lead to the commission of wrongs, the Louisiana teacher seems fully qualified to presently institute such an action.

In view of the status of the case law on the subject, and the lack of a Louisiana case squarely supporting such an inference, there is some doubt that a teacher or a taxpayer could successfully commence a proceeding to obtain declaratory and injunctive relief prior to the service of written charges by the school board. Balancing judicial temperament and the strength of a constitutional attack upon the face of certain sections of Act 249 against the environment in which the Louisiana courts sit, the odds are only slightly in favor of a successful commencement in such a case.

3. *Availability and Adequacy of Other Judicial Remedies as Bars to Relief*

In *Burton v. Lester* the Supreme Court of Louisiana held that courts should refuse applications for declaratory relief when there is an action presently pending in another forum considering the determina-

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102 Id. at 770, 246 P.2d at 491.
103 Id. at 771, 246 P.2d at 492.
104 Borchard, Declaratory Judgments 63 (2d ed. 1941).

tion of the question sought by the declaratory judgment.[105] The court's dictum expressed that the declaratory judgment should not be employed "as a substitute for the well-defined actions provided for in our Code of Practice or those which have been established by jurisprudence unless, by reason of the special circumstances of the case, the codal procedure does not furnish an adequate remedy."[106]

This opinion might preclude a petitioner from instituting declaratory proceedings when another remedy existed, and would deny such proceedings when the same matter was under litigation in another forum. Regarding the former, the dictum in *Burton v. Lester* has been criticized.[107] In has been stated that this rule is unsound and upon analysis of applicable cases, contrary to the weight of authority.[108] This position of the Louisiana Supreme Court has apparently been subject to different interpretations by the courts of appeal of the same state, adding to the uncertainty of the status of the law in this regard. In *Gary v. Marquette Casualty Co.*, the court disallowed a declaratory proceeding regarding compensation, interpreting the Workmen's Compensation Act to deny such an action.[109] Yet the court stated, "if the remedy sought were not expressly forbidden by the said Act, we believe that petitioner could have proceeded under the Declaratory Judgments Act *even though an additional remedy were provided by the compensation act.*"[110] (Emphasis added.) Five months later, in *Hastings v. McDowell,* the court disallowed declaratory proceedings involving the determination of an interest in property, on the ground that the status of the property could be determined after a seizure under final process, and such remedy was not supplemented by the declaratory judgment statute.[111] In addition, the court stated that relief would not be granted under a declaratory judgment unless "there is no other adequate remedy."[112] This apparent contradiction may be explained by the nature of the subject matter of the latter case. An interest in real property was involved, and the court apparently intended to announce that real actions were the only proper ones to decide interests in property.

Perhaps this narrow view of the availability of declaratory proceedings when another remedy is available would be confined to actions

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105 227 La. 347, 79 So. 2d 333 (1955) See also Theodos v. Bossier City, 232 La. 1059, 95 So. 2d 825 (1957).

106 Burton v. Lester, supra note 105, at 353, 79 So. 2d at 335.

107 See McMahon, Civil Procedure, 17 La. L. Rev. 379, 382-85 (1956).

108 Ibid. See also Note, 14 La. L. Rev. 281 (1953).

109 72 So. 2d 619, 620 (La. App. 1945).

110 Id. at 622 (dictum).

111 75 So. 2d 383 (La. App. 1945).

112 Id. at 385.

involving real property. Even if this rule were not so interpreted, it would not be of any significance in the present situation. If relief is sought prior to service of written charges upon the teacher, there is no other remedy of any sort available, since the school board is empowered only to hear the charges and effect the action it chooses.[113] If proceeding are commenced subsequent to receipt of charges, the problem then is whether the administrative remedy has been exhausted and not whether another legal remedy is available. These considerations are also applicable to the question of the adequacy of legal remedies insofar as the availability of injunctive relief is concerned.

4. *Administrative Remedy as a Bar to Relief*

Oftentimes judicial relief will be denied when an administrative remedy is available or has been commenced. If relief may be sought prior to the institution of school board proceedings, this problem may be avoided altogether. Act 249 does not provide any administrative proceeding for testing its validity.[114] In addition, there is support for the proposition that deciding the constitutionality of the act under which it operates is beyond the scope of the school board's authority.[115] If the teacher has been served with written charges, as required under the act, the exhaustion of administrative remedies poses a more difficult problem. There would then, however, be no doubt that the issue of the constitutionality of the considered grounds for removal of Act 249 would be "ripe" for determination. The taxpayer could then successfully institute proceedings, since no administrative remedy is available to him. But what of the teacher?

Must the teacher resort to the school board proceedings? It has been argued that "if the question is one of law or of the jurisdiction of the commission, it may be judicial economy and wisdom to decide the issue by declaration before the administrative channel has been invoked or exhausted."[116] But "the doctrine of exhausting the administrative remedy before relief can be sought from the courts is well recognized in . . . [Louisiana]."[117] It is generally accepted that resort to administrative procedures is necessary when the agency is to determine complex and technical matters of fact. Act 249 leaves fact finding of a sort to the school board, but not of very complex or technical matters.

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113 See La. Rev. Stat. § 17:443 (Supp. 1958).

114 Ibid.

115 See Dore v. Tugwell, 228 La. 807, 84 So. 2d 199 (1955); State v. Heard, 47 La. Ann. 1679, 18 So. 746 (1895). See also Datio v. Ford Motor Co., 314 Mich. 152, 159, 22 N.W.2d 252, 255 (1946).

116 Borchard, Declaratory Judgments 342-44 (2d ed. 1941).

117 O'Meara v. Union Oil Co., 212 La. 745, 755, 33 So. 2d 506, 509 (1947). Accord, Shreveport Laundries, Inc. v. Southern Cities Distrib. Co., 176 La. 994, 147 So. 56 (1933); Feinblum v. Louisiana State Bd. of Optometry Examiners, 97 So. 2d 657 (La. App. 1957).

Such fact finding does not require any technical competence of ability. If the charges are sustained, the board is seemingly compelled either to discipline or dismiss the teacher. In some Louisiana cases, the courts have recognized that the exhaustion doctrine is not absolute. Judicial action may be invoked in extreme cases where irreparable injury would result,[118] or where the commission, by its action, ignores some fundamental right or invades some constitutional guarantee.[119] In addition, it has been tacitly recognized that exhaustion of the administrative remedy is not necessary where it would be inadequate, or when the agency's action is unconstitutional.[120]

The dismissal of a teacher under the provisions of Act 249 would seem to be unconstitutional.[121] The teacher cannot effectively raise constitutional questions before the school board. If disciplined or dismissed, the teacher, under the most probable situation, has no right of appeal, whereby he might challenge the validity of the act. If dismissed because of the "advocacy" or "act toward integration" features of Act 249, such would indeed be a burden to bear. In this light, the administrative remedy is inadequate. "Irreparable injury" may be incurred if dismissed for the previously mentioned "integration" segments of the act. It seems reasonable to assume that, in addition to other adverse results, employment would be difficult to obtain if the seeker were an "advocate of integration."

The United States Supreme Court has declared statutes unconstitutional without requiring the plaintiff to exhaust his administrative remedy, reasoning that the issue was a constitutional one which the administrative agency could hardly be expected to entertain.[122] There are, however, Supreme Court decisions to the contrary.[123] One authority on this subject recognizes the confusion surrounding it, but believes that future challenges of the constitutionality of statutes will be less likely to be forced through the "exhaustion" doctrine where the chances are slight that administrative action will dispose of the case.[124] State courts have held a declaratory judgment to be appropriate for the determination of a question of law before the administrative procedure has been invoked or completed.[125]

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118 O'Meara v. Union Oil Co., supra note 117, at 756, 33 So. 2d at 510 (dictum).

119 Porter v. O'Neal, 205 La. 445, 450-51, 17 So. 2d 622, 623 (1944) (dictum).

120 See Feinblum v. Louisiana State Bd. of Optometry Examiners, 97 So. 2d 657, 662-63 (La. App. 1957).

121 See Racial Integration and Academic Freedom, 34 N.Y.U.L. Rev. 725, 749 (1959).

122 Public Utils. Comm'n v. United States, 355 U.S. 534 (1958). Accord, Township of Hillsborough v. Cromwell, 326 U.S. 620 (1946).

123 Allen v. Grand Central Aircraft Co., 347 U.S. 535 (1954); Aircraft & Diesel Equip. Corp. v. Hirsch, 331 U.S. 752.

124 3 Davis, Administrative Law § 20.04 (1958).

125 Union Pac. R.R. v. Bean, 167 Ore. 535, 119 P.2d 575 (1941). Accord, Opdyke v.

As this doctrine of "exhaustion" is one of self-restraint imposed by the court, it is within its discretion to allow the commencement of judicial relief. In view of the Louisiana courts' recognition of the qualifications on the exhaustion of administrative remedies, the existence of liberal decisions concerning this principle with regard to its application where questions of law are concerned, and the apparent lack of a statutory appeal, such doctrine should not bar relief insofar as a test of Act 249 is concerned.

If a declaratory and injunctive action is not obtained prior to a dismissal by school board action, declaratory relief still has a purpose to serve. Assuming, as seems likely, that the statutory appeal no longer remains, there would be no reason not to permit the commencement of an action seeking a declaratory judgment. If successful, the judgment could be used as the basis for reinstatement by mandamus, as previously discussed.

C. Conclusion

Any unequivocal statement would be doubtful as to the points of time at which a teacher or taxpayer may successfully institute an action for affirmative judicial relief in the state courts in order to strike down the allegedly unconstitutional provisions of Act 249. No Louisiana cases are directly in point.

The greatest lack of state legal authority is with regard to the likelihood of successful institution of proceedings prior to an alleged breach of the act. All factors considered, the odds are in favor of the achievement of such an undertaking. Enunciated principles with regard to "ripeness" and the purposes of declaratory relief and the public importance of the question lend support to this position. There is no significant difference between the positions of the teacher and taxpayer in this respect. The teacher is restrained in the exercise of his constitutional rights of freedom of speech and association. The taxpayer suffers the threat that state funds will be spent to effectuate the allegedly unconstitutional provisions of Act 249. This threat is quite real since it can quite properly be assumed that the school board is going to carry out the demands of the act upon it. The taxpayer has no way of violating the statute in order to "ripen" the case, and if action by the school board is awaited, some state money will have been expended before relief is sought.

Following the service of written charges by the school board, the case is quite strong, if not conclusive, that the parties may initiate

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Security Sav. & Loan Co., 59 Ohio L. Abs. 212, 97 N.E.2d 435 (C.P. 1950), aff'd, 59 Ohio L. Abs. 257, 99 N.E.2d 84 (Ct. App. 1951), aff'd, 157 Ohio St. 121, 105 N.E.2d 9 (1952).

proceedings. This is supported by federal and other state authority and by principles stated by the Louisiana judiciary regarding the inapplicability of the exhaustion of administrative remedies doctrine in certain situations. At best guess, there is no statutory appeal from the board's action. Therefore, if the actions do not lie at this point, there is no opportunity for the teacher to test the constitutionality of the questioned grounds for dismissal—the crux of his case—until the termination of the hearings, and then only by declaratory proceedings. It would thus be pointless to deny to the teacher the right to seek the relief that may be obtained following the hearings. Plainly, if the teacher's complaint is framed in terms of an attack upon the face of Act 249 or upon the written charges of the school board, the "exhaustion" doctrine should not come into play at all. If any section of Act 249 is void on its face, there would be no valid action of any sort that the board could effectuate under its terms. Therefore, no need exists for permitting the board to continue its proceedings. The same conclusion follows if the issue framed by the complaint is that the charges of the board cannot constitutionally be grounds for dismissal. The case is even stronger for the taxpayer, who has no relief at all following the board proceedings. By that time the state funds will have been used for their supposedly unconstitutional purpose.

II

In the Federal Courts

A. Amenability of the State to Suit—The Eleventh Amendment

The eleventh amendment,[126] while seemingly only a bar to the jurisdiction of the federal courts in certain cases, in effect establishes the sovereign immunity of states to suits commenced or prosecuted against them without their consent in federal courts by a citizen of another state. It is also clear that the eleventh amendment bars federal jurisdiction in a suit against a state by one of its own citizens,[127] by a corporation chartered by the federal government,[128] and by a foreign government.[129]

In the federal courts there has been a great amount of inconsistency in determining whether or not a suit against an official acting unlawfully will be barred by the eleventh amendment. Deviation from

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[126] "The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State."

[127] Hans v. Louisiana, 134 U.S. 1 (1890).

[128] Smith v. Reeves, 178 U.S. 436 (1900).

[129] Monaco v. Mississippi, 292 U.S. 313, 329 (1934).

the doctrine of sovereign immunity, as Justice Frankfurter succinctly phrased it, results

> from an unexpressed feeling that government immunity runs counter to the prevailing notions of reason and justice. Legal concepts are then found available to give effect to this feeling, and one of its results is the multitude of decisions in which this court has refused to permit an agent of the government to claim that he is pro tanto the government and therefore sheltered by its immunity.[130]

It was not very long after the passage of the eleventh amendment that the question arose as to whether a suit against a government official is a suit against the state. In *Osborn v. The President, Directors & Co. of the Bank of the United States,*[131] Ohio had passed an extremely heavy tax on the United States bank, which obtained an injunction in federal court to restrain the enforcement of the statute on grounds of its unconstitutionality. In violation of the injunction, a state official entered the branch office of the bank and seized a sum of money which was turned over to the state treasurer in payment of the tax. A supplemental bill was then filed against the state auditor and state treasurer to compel them to restore the wrongfully appropriated funds to the bank. The Court held that this was not an action against the state, since the jurisdictional bar of the eleventh amendment applies only where the state is a party to the record.

This artificial conceptualization, which had the effect of virtually nullifying sovereign immunity, quickly disappeared into limbo. The final push was applied in the 1887 case of *In re Ayers,*[132] which propounded the current doctrine that the court will look behind the nominal parties on the record to ascertain who are the real parties to the suit. But the *Osborn* dictum which established the doctrine that an unconstitutional act is a nullity that can afford no protection to the officers who execute it, has had continued vitality. The *Ayers* case, which at first blush seemed to eliminate the escape hatch provided by *Osborn,* did not have this effect. After Virginia statutes attempting to repudiate state debts were held unconstitutional, the state enacted legislation requiring officials to bring summary proceedings against taxpayers who attempted to pay taxes with coupons issued for that purpose by the State. The statute allowed the taxpayer to recover only after meeting an extremely heavy burden of proof as to the genuineness of the coupons. The United States Supreme Court held that an injunction against the state attorney general to prevent the commence-

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130 Larson v. Domestic & Foreign Commerce Corp., 337 U.S. 682, 709 (1949) (dissent).

131 22 U.S. (9 Wheat) 738 (1824).

132 123 U.S. 443 (1887).

ment of suits under the allegedly unconstitutional statute would indirectly compel specific performance of the state's contracts, so that the suit was one against the state and barred by the eleventh amendment. But in reconciling this case with *Osborn* and other earlier decisions,[133] it made clear that sovereign immunity would not be a bar where, in acting under an unconstitutional statute, an official had wrongfully taken or withheld property. This requirement of tortious action on the part of an official was gradually abandoned by a number of decisions involving unreasonable regulation of utilities.[134]

In 1908, in the leading case of *Ex parte Young*,[135] a federal court, at the suit of railroad stockholders, had issued a preliminary injunction against Young, the Attorney General of Minnesota, to prevent him from enforcing a Minnesota rate statute which was alleged to be unconstitutional. On the day following the issuance of the injunction, Young brought mandamus to compel the railroads to file their rates as required by the statute. He was thereupon adjudged in contempt. Young's principal contention in the Supreme Court was that this was a suit against the state and thus prohibited by the eleventh amendment. After holding that the statute was unconstitutional, the Court proceeded to consider the issue of whether its jurisdiction was barred. It held that an officer in attempting to enforce an invalid enactment which *threatens* to deprive the individual of his property rights in violation of the Constitution is doing an illegal act for which his official character affords no protection. In effect, "he is stripped of his official or representative character and is subjected in his person to the consequences of his individual conduct." In other words, the suit is brought to enjoin the individual wrong and is not a suit against the state within the meaning of the eleventh amendment. It is certain that the Court was fully aware that the state was actually the real party defendant in the case because the point was discussed forcefully by Mr. Justice Harlan in dissent.[136] *Ex parte Young* has had continued vitality in a long series of cases, most of which have involved suits to protect property rights against allegedly unconstitutional statutes.[137]

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133 Poindexter v. Greenhow, 114 U.S. 270 (1884); United States v. Lee, 106 U.S. 196 (1882). The Lee case contains a thorough exposition of the preexisting law on the subject.

134 See Fitts v. McGhee, 172 U.S. 516 (1899) (a suit to restrain prosecutions by state officials is a suit against the state, thus returning to the Ayers doctrine); Smyth v. Ames, 169 U.S. 466 (1898) (similar dictum); and Reagan v. Farmers Loan & Trust Co., 154 U.S. 362 (1894) (dictum would allow suit against state officer enforcing unreasonable rates).

135 209 U.S. 123 (1908).

136 Id. at 174 (dissent).

137 The most recent reaffirmations of the Ex parte Young doctrine by the Supreme

But the doctrine has had many recent applications in cases involving threatened invasions of personal liberties.

A decision by the Fourth Circuit in 1956[138] involved an action in behalf of Negro school children to enjoin school boards and division superintendents of schools from enforcing school segregation in violation of rights of the petitioners under the fourteenth amendment. One of the principal contentions raised by the defendants on appeal was that this was a suit against the state prohibited by the eleventh amendment. The school boards argued that the doctrine of *Ex parte Young* was applicable only to individuals and could not be applied to corporate agencies of the state which cannot operate in other than an official capacity.[139] The court disposed of this attempt to distinguish *Ex parte Young* and concluded that "a state can act only through agents; and whether the agent be an individual officer or a corporate agency, it ceases to represent the state when it attempts to use state power in violation of the Constitution," and thus may be enjoined from so doing.[140] The court had no express authority for this extension of the *Ex parte Young* doctrine, but relied on what it considered to be a necessary implication from the cases decided by the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education.*[141] The reasoning of the majority was that the Supreme Court (in *Brown*) would not have enjoined school boards acting as state agencies if the eleventh amendment precluded such action. This, of course, does not necessarily follow since the eleventh amendment issue was not raised in *Brown.* However, the Fourth Circuit apparently felt it undesirable that the *Ex parte Young* doctrine be rendered a practical nullity by such a restrictive application.

Two recent cases in which the constitutionality of Louisiana legislation was being adjudicated saw the defense of the eleventh amendment raised by state officials. In *Orleans Parish School Bd. v. Bush,*[142] Negro pupils brought suit against the parish school board and others for a declaration that state constitutional provisions and statutes designed to maintain school segregation were invalid, and for an injunction ending segregation. The board argued, in apparent (although tacit) reliance on the case of *Louisiana v. Jumel,*[143] that a suit to compel official noncompliance with a state constitutional provision was

Court were in Georgia R.R. & Banking Co. v. Redwine, 342 U.S. 299 (1952) and Alabama Pub. Serv. Comm'n v. Southern Ry., 341 U.S. 341 (1951).

138 School Bd. of the City of Charlottesville v. Allen, 240 F.2d 59 (4th Cir. 1956), cert. denied, 353 U.S. 910 (1957).

139 La. Rev. Stat. § 17:51 (1951) requires that school boards be incorporated.

140 240 F.2d at 63.

141 349 U.S. 294 (1955); 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

142 242 F.2d 156 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 354 U.S. 921 (1957).

143 107 U.S. 711, 721 (1883).

an action against the state.[144] But in *Jumel*, the action would have resulted in funds being withdrawn from the state treasury,[145] while in the *Bush* case, as the court pointed out, no action would be required on the part of the state. The decrees did not tell the school board officials how they should perform duties or exercise discretion vested in them by law, but simply prohibited them from discriminating against the plaintiffs or other Negro school children similarly situated in violation of rights protected by the Constitution of the United States.

The following year in *Board of Supervisors v. Ludley*,[146] the Fifth Circuit was faced with an appeal from a temporary injunction forbidding Louisiana State University to deny admission to qualified applicants because of their failure to obtain a certificate of eligibility. The certificate apparently could not be issued to Negroes without the violation of state law, and it was alleged that the statute requiring the certificate was unconstitutional on its face. Once again the school board raised the eleventh amendment argument, this time relying on the fact that school boards had been made special agencies of the state by the amendment to the Louisiana constitution which had been adopted in 1956, and that such a suit would have been precluded in the Louisiana courts absent the state's consent. However, the court disposed of this argument in a cursory fashion and held that the determination as to whether a suit in a federal court against a state agency is a suit against the state and prohibited by the eleventh amendment is exclusively a federal question.

Another application of the *Ex parte Young* case which would be determinative of the availability of injunctive relief in federal courts against official action under an unconstitutional statute is exemplified by *Ex parte La Prade*.[147] A temporary injunction had been issued against the Attorney General of Arizona by a three judge district court, on the petition of certain railroad companies, to enjoin him from enforcing an allegedly unconstitutional statute regulating the maximum length of trains. In the interim, the term of the Attorney General expired, and La Prade took over the office. The petitioner succeeded in having La Prade substituted as defendant for his predecessor in office. Thereupon La Prade applied to the Supreme Court for mandamus to compel the district court to dismiss the suit. In granting mandamus to dismiss the proceeding, the Court carried *Ex parte Young* to its logical

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144 It has been argued that mandamus and injunction are virtually correlative in cases where the official commits or neglects to do an act contrary to law. See Board of Liquidation v. McComb, 92 U.S. 531, 541 (1876).

145 This was also the rationale of In re Ayers, 123 U.S. 443 (1887).

146 252 F.2d 372 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 358 U.S. 819 (1958).

147 289 U.S. 444 (1933).

conclusion. The purpose of the suit was to prevent a wrong about to be committed by a state official who, in enforcing an unconstitutional statute, was stripped of his official character. Since it was not alleged that the present Attorney General threatened or intended to do anything to enforce the statute, and since Arizona did not have any provision for the substitution of officials, an injunction would not lie. However, the Court expressly left unanswered the question as to what kind of threatened act toward enforcement would be required by a successor in office in order that he might be substituted in a pending suit. A recent Alabama case further extended *La Prade* by holding that although *La Prade* dealt with the substitution of parties, "the application of the principle discussed therein should apply, *a fortiori,* to cases of newly instituted suits."[148]

The *La Prade* doctrine could seemingly provide an excellent dilatory tactic in that, by the substitution of an official, a pending suit could be blocked. Further, it could be argued that, when board personnel were changed, the earlier decision would not be *res judicata* as to the new members. However, if the school board as a corporation were enjoined, the answer would be that it was a continuing entity in spite of personnel changes, and that no new threat need be made as a condition precedent to injunctive relief.

Ex parte Young has also been rigidly applied by the Supreme Court in dismissing an action in which the petitioner failed sufficiently to specify in his pleadings that an action to enjoin unconstitutional action was against a state officer personally and not officially. *Great Northern Ins. Co. v Read,*[149] involved an Oklahoma tax statute which provided that an action could be brought against a state official where illegality of the tax was alleged. In compliance with the statutory mechanism, the insurance company had paid the tax under protest of unconstitutionality and brought suit against the officer in federal court to obtain a refund. The Court held that by the terms of the statute, even though it said nothing at all about either federal or state courts, Oklahoma had only consented to suit in its own courts. Thus, because the pleadings did not specify that the suit was against the officer individually, federal jurisdiction was barred by the eleventh amendment.

This decision is subject to criticism on two counts. In the first place, it reaches an "all time maximum of harmful formalism."[150] If a plaintiff brings suit under the state procedural mechanism this will be

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148 American Fed'n of State Employees v. Dawkins, 104 So. 2d 827, 832 (Ala. 1958).

149 322 U.S. 47 (1944).

150 Davis, Sovereign Immunity in Suits Against Officers for Relief Other Than Damages, 40 Cornell L.Q. 3, 17 (1954). See also the dissent of Justice Frankfurter in Great Northern Ins. Co. v. Read, 322 U.S. 47, 60 (1944).

deemed to be a suit against the state. But if the statute is ignored and an action is brought against the official in his individual capacity for the same injunctive and declaratory relief, the plaintiff will achieve success under the *Ex parte Young* rationale. Secondly, although on the surface providing a guide for future plaintiffs in spelling out the significant difference between individual and official action, the Court in *Read* did not provide the verbal formula to prevent the bar of the eleventh amendment from being successfully raised. In two subsequent cases the point has not been clarified.[151]

B. The Cause of Action and Other Jurisdictional Considerations

Since the operative law creating the federal equitable cause of action in *Ex parte Young* was the fourteenth amendment itself, the reasoning in that case leads to a logical contradiction.[152] The fourteenth amendment states that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." If an officer acting under an unconstitutional statute is stripped of his official authority, the alleged act cannot be a violation of the fourteenth amendment since it is not state action. Conversely, if deemed to be an act of the state, then the eleventh amendment is a bar. This troublesome dilemma, which was sidestepped by the Court,[153] could have been settled in *Ex parte Young* by construing the fourteenth amendment as having superseded the eleventh amendment insofar as was necessary for a decision in the case. The dilemma is sharpened if the plaintiff asserts that the statute or action taken thereunder violates state, as well as federal, law.[154]

However, the United States Code provides a statutory basis for the federal cause of action. It reads:

> Every person who, *under color* of, any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceedings for redress. (Emphasis added.)[155]

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151 Kennecott Copper Corp. v. State Tax Comm'n, 327 U.S. 573 (1946); Ford Motor Co. v. Department of Treasury, 323 U.S. 459 (1945).

152 See Note, 50 Harv. L. Rev. 956, 960-61 (1937).

153 Ex parte Young, 209 U.S. 123, 150 (1908). See also Home Tel. & Tel. Co. v. City of Los Angeles, 227 U.S. 278 (1913).

154 Barney v. City of New York, 193 U.S. 430 (1904). Cf. Mosher v. City of Phoenix, 287 U.S. 29 (1932); Siler v. Louisville & N. R.R., 213 U.S. 175 (1909).

155 42 U.S.C. § 1983 (1952) (derived from the Civil Rights Act of 1871).

Section 1983 of title 42 creates the cause of action, and section 1343(3) of title 28 gives the federal district courts original jurisdiction to entertain it and to redress the deprivation.[156]

While a mere violation of state law does not violate the fourteenth amendment,[157] such rights of personal liberty as speech and association (and perhaps all personal rights that are inherently incapable of pecuniary evaluation) are within its ambit and are protected by sections 1983 and 1343(3) against the actions of state officials taken under color of state authority,[158] even though such actions are contrary to state law.[159] It follows that, in the case of all natural persons with standing to attack the Louisiana legislation, federal jurisdiction lies, without the necessity of showing that the monetary minimum of section 1331 of title 28, which gives the district courts general jurisdiction over civil actions arising under the Constitution or laws of the United States, is involved.

This is not true, apparently, of corporations that might have standing to attack the legislation. Although the matter is not free from doubt, the prevailing view is that the personal rights of speech and association accrue only to natural persons.[160] Thus, corporations could not invoke federal jurisdiction under section 1343(3) of title 28. They would have to rely on section 1331 and make the requisite showing of monetary involvement.

If it appears from the complaint or the proofs "as a legal certainty that the claim is for less than the jurisdictional amount (more than $10,000), federal jurisdiction under Section 1331 will not lie."[161] However, in an action for a declaratory judgment and an injunction the question is determined by the value of the object to be gained.[162] Failure to prove that the requisite amount of damage has already been

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156 28 U.S.C. § 1343. "*Civil Rights.* The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of any civil action authorized by law to be commenced by any person: . . . (3) To redress the deprivation, under color of any State law, statute, ordinance, regulation, custom or usage, of any right, privilege or immunity secured by the Constitution of the United States or by any Act of Congress providing for equal rights of citizens or of all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States."

157 Snowden v. Hughes, 321 U.S. 1 (1944).

158 Hague v. CIO, 307 U.S. 496, 518 (1939) (concurring opinion of Stone, J.). See Douglas v. City of Jeannette, 319 U.S. 157 (1943). See also Hart & Wechsler, The Federal Courts and the Federal System 840-42 (1953).

159 Screws v. United States, 325 U.S. 91 (1945).

160 Hague v. CIO, 307 U.S. 496, 527 (1939) (concurring opinion of Stone, J.). But see Grosjean v. American Press Co., 297 U.S. 233 (1936); NAACP v. Patty, 159 F. Supp. 503 (E.D. Va.), prob. juris. noted sub nom. Harrison v. NAACP, 358 U.S. 807 (1958). For a criticism of this doctrine, see McKay, Repression of Civil Rights as an Aftermath of the School Segregation Cases, 4 How. L.J. 9, 21 (1958).

161 Ball v. Preferred Life Assur. Soc'y, 320 U.S. 238 (1943).

162 NAACP v. Patty, 159 F. Supp. 503 (E.D. Va.), prob. juris. noted sub nom. Harrison v. NAACP, 358 U.S. 807 (1958). Cf. Mississippi & M. R.R. v. Ward, 67 U.S. (2 Black) 485 (1863).

sustained will not defeat jurisdiction if the injury is recurrent or continuous, since the advantage to be gained from removal of the restraint is the matter at issue. Thus, if the corporation could show that some loss of revenue had occurred and would continue to occur if the burden of the statute remained, it could invoke federal jurisdiction if the aggregate exceeded 10,000 dollars.

Similarly, a teacher might bring his action under section 1331, if dismissal had been threatened and would, if effectuated, involve a cumulative loss of earnings in excess of 10,000 dollars.[163]

C. *Adversary Requirements: Standing and Ripeness*

The requirement that there be an actual case or controversy is compelled not only by the language of Article III of the Constitution of the United States but also by policy considerations. First, since precedent has a prospective effect which presumably helps to shape the behavior of the body politic, it can be thought of as essentially legislative in nature. If a court produces such effects gratuitously, *i.e.*, outside the context of adjudication, it offends notions of separation of powers. Second, the rights of future litigants are apt to be prejudiced by the real or supposed precedential effects of abstract determinations. What, for instance, is the stare decisis effect of a decision that a statute is constitutional on its face? Or, more to the point, what assumptions about its effect will members of the community make? Third, the risk that the precedent made by a decision will be ill-considered is increased if an adequate presentation of law and fact is not required. The danger is presented in an acute form in an action for a declaratory judgment brought after the enactment of a statute but before its attempted enforcement because many, if not all, of the facts necessary to a determination of the issue will not have arisen at the time the action is commenced.[164]

These considerations have particular force in cases involving the constitutionality of statutes or their construction where the disposition of the issues will have a significance reaching beyond the adjudication of the rights and duties of the immediate parties. Therefore, the plaintiff, in order to establish the existence of a case or controversy, must allege and be prepared to show exactly what constitutional rights which he

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[163] Freedman v. International Ass'n of Machinists, 220 F.2d 808 (D.C. Cir. 1955) (suit to enjoin dismissal from union membership; amount in controversy calculated on basis of potential loss of earnings, based on reasonable expectations, from loss of union membership). Cf. Marshall v. Grotty, 185 F.2d 622 (1st Cir. 1950).

[164] See Pugh, The Federal Declaratory Remedy: Justiciability, Jurisdiction, and Related Problems, 6 Vand. L. Rev. 79, 88-96 (1952). See also the concurring opinion of Justice Frankfurter in Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Comm. v. McGrath, 341 U.S. 123, 149 (1951).

has standing to assert are threatened by the statute and in what way and to what extent incursions have been made or are about to be made into those rights.

In the problem at hand, it would seem that the teacher, since he is the person upon whom the statute operates directly, has standing to complain that it abridges his freedom of speech and association and that it is an arbitrary restraint upon public employment. It would be necessary, however, for him to allege and be prepared to prove that, absent the statute, he would engage in speech, maintain organizational affiliations, or do acts which might reasonably be thought to fall under the statutory interdiction. Even then he would run into difficulties. Despite the Supreme Court's silence on the point in *Adler v. Board of Education*,[165] the case of *United Public Workers v. Mitchell*[166] still presents formidable obstacles to the plaintiff who wants to satisfy the requirement of ripeness without engaging in the proscribed speech or conduct and provoking at least a threat of enforcement. The complaint and affidavits in the latter case set forth with considerable specificity the conduct in which the plaintiffs intended to engage. Nonetheless, the Court dismissed the action on the ground of lack of case or controversy, since no threat to the plaintiffs existed beyond that implied by the existence of the statute and implementing civil service regulations.

There are two ways in which the teacher might attempt to circumvent the force of the *Mitchell* precedent. First, he might set forth that the existence of the act has deterred him from saying certain things about integration or joining or remaining a member of particular organizations or supporting particular causes for fear of the statute's broad interdict and punishment under its vague standards, and that he has thereby been deprived of his freedom of speech, freedom of association, and liberty without due process of law. The issue would be: is the act invalid on its face, *i.e.*, not susceptible of constitutional interpretation and application?

The ambiguous language of Act 249 is not only capable of, but virtually demands, the gloss of construction and narrowing application. Indeed, the Attorney General of Louisiana has undertaken this task with respect to that part of the statute that operates on freedom of association.[167]

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165 342 U.S. 485 (1952).

166 330 U.S. 75 (1947).

167 He has ruled that a permanent teacher must personally perform some *act* which would manifest an intent to bring about integration. Mere membership in an organization, even if it had failed to file membership lists so that its members were prohibited from holding, assisting in holding, or attending any meeting, would not constitute an act which

However, proof of abuse of power by administering officials is not a requisite for attack on the constitutionality of a statute which licenses the dissemination of ideas.[168]

> It is not merely the sporadic abuse of power by the censor but the pervasive threat inherent in its very existence that constitutes the danger to freedom of discussion. . . . A like threat is inherent in a penal statute, like that in question here, which does not aim specifically at evils within the allowable area of state control but, on the contrary, sweeps within its ambit other activities that in ordinary circumstances constitute an exercise of freedom of speech or of the press. The existence of such a statute . . . results in a continuous and pervasive restraint on all freedom of discussion that might reasonably be regarded within its purview.

Such was the language of the Court in *Thornhill v. Alabama,* where the defendant, after arrest and conviction under such a statute, was permitted to attack the legislation on its face.[169]

The teacher might argue that since, if he were the defendant in dismissal proceedings for engaging in certain speech or conduct which allegedly constituted "advocating integration," he could raise the constitutionality of the statute as written as a defense, he should be able to raise the issue offensively in an action for a declaratory judgment and an injunction. There are two serious difficulties with this procedure. First, there was no case or controversy problem in the *Thornhill* case. The statute had actually been enforced against the defendant. Second, considerations of comity did not operate. The highest court of the state had had an opportunity, which it had eschewed, to give the statute a narrow construction.

A more promising tactic would be for the teacher to set forth with particularity the conduct in which he proposed to engage and ask the school board for a ruling as to its legality under Act 249. An adverse ruling or a failure to rule after a reasonable period of time might sufficiently "ripen" the matter to meet the case or controversy requirement. The teacher might then ask for a declaration that the statute could not be constitutionally *applied,* thus causing him to lose his job for engaging in such conduct. Such particularity of pleading would, of

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would support such an inference as to intent. However, if the teacher did more than maintain membership in such an organization, e.g., assisted in holding a meeting or attended a meeting at which the case for integration was made, these additional facts might support the inference. La. Attorney General Report and Opinions, May 1956-April 1958, p. 767.

168 Staub v. City of Baxley, 355 U.S. 313 (1958); Cantwell v. Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296 (1940); Lovell v. City of Griffin, 303 U.S. 444 (1938).

169 310 U.S. 88, 97-98 (1940) (defendant allowed to attack statute on its face). Cf. Winters v. New York, 333 U.S. 507 (1948). But see Cox v. New Hampshire, 312 U.S. 569 (1941).

course, reduce both the res judicata and stare decisis effect of a favorable decision. This could be avoided only by permitting the plaintiff, who had thus "ripened" the controversy as to the narrow issue, to utilize the *Thornhill* technique and raise the broader issue. It is doubtful that this stratagem would be successful. In *Thornhill* the issue had been joined in broad terms by the defendant's demurrer to a complaint which charged him in substantially the very words of the statute.[170]

Turning to the question of the ability of a taxpayer to get a determination on the merits, it is unlikely that he would be successful. *Adler v. Board of Education*[171] points to the opposite conclusion, but it should be noted that in *Adler* the school board had taken some concrete steps to indicate that it intended to carry out the statutory mandate. This is not true—at least not yet—in the Louisiana situation. Furthermore, *Adler* was an action originally brought in a state court in which the state accorded the taxpayers standing and treated the matter as ripe for adjudication. It does not necessarily follow that a taxpayer would have had standing to bring an original action in the federal courts.[172] Similarly, the ability of the parents of a student presently in school to meet case or controversy requirements is doubtful. The parents in *Zorach v. Clauson*[173] were held to have satisfied the requirement, but in *Zorach* the conduct complained of had occurred by the time that the litigation was commenced.

Furthermore, neither the taxpayer nor the parent or student would have standing to assert the constitutional rights of the teacher. The orthodox doctrine is that only the person whose constitutional rights are "directly" affected has standing to assert them.[174] Exceptions have been made in the unique situation where effective vindication of the rights of the absent party is possible only if the party to the litigation is permitted to assert them.[175] The exception is not applicable to the situation under examination unless teachers have some constitutional right not to reveal their attitudes on the desegregation decisions by bringing litigation in their own behalf. That such a right exists is doubtful, if not fanciful.

The decision in *NAACP v. Alabama ex rel. Patterson*[176] does make

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170 Cf. cases collected and discussed in Hart & Wechsler, The Federal Courts and the Federal System 177-80, 189-92 (1953).

171 342 U.S. 485 (1952). Compare the Adler case with Doremus v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 429 (1952). See also Wieman v. Updegraff, 344 U.S. 183 (1952).

172 See Coleman v. Miller, 307 U.S. 433, 460 (1939) (concurring opinio furter, J.).

173 343 U.S. 306 (1952).

174 Tileston v. Ullman, 318 U.S. 44 (1943).

175 Barrows v. Jackson, 346 U.S. 249 (1953).

176 357 U.S. 449 (1958).

it clear that persons have some sort of limited right to be secretive about particular organizational affiliations and that the organization has standing to assert that right on behalf of its members. Suppose that an organization to which school teachers belong fails to file membership lists as required by the Louisiana statutes.[177] The Attorney General of Louisiana is directed by law to proceed by injunction to dissolve the organization. Assuming that the organization could invoke federal jurisdiction under Title 28, Section 1331 of the United States Code by alleging a sufficient loss of revenue from dues and contributions, and assuming that the statutory mandate requiring the initiation of dissolution proceedings is sufficiently final to work immediate harm on the group by deterring teachers from becoming or remaining members,[178] the organization might, on the authority of *NAACP v. Alabama ex rel. Patterson*,[179] have standing to seek a declaration that Act 249, because it prohibits school teachers from belonging to groups that do not disclose their membership lists, is an unconstitutional incursion into the teachers' right of anonymous association. The teachers cannot effectively vindicate this right because they will necessarily vitiate it by bringing action on their own behalf.

The argument is unsound if Act 249 is vulnerable to attack by a teacher without the necessity of his revealing particular organizational affiliations. Furthermore, it is doubtful, in light of such cases as *Adler v. Board of Education*,[180] that a teacher's right to belong to an organization without giving up his job is an interest of such significance that it includes the right of anonymous membership.

While freedom of association, even in nonpolitical and nonreligious groups, is protected by the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment,[181] whether the right has been unconstitutionally invaded depends upon whether the state has established, in the particular case, an interest which justifies the intrusion.[182] This being the test, the validity of a restraint of freedom on association will not be determined abstractly but will depend upon the particularities of a concrete case.

The conclusion has particular force where the legislation merely requires a public employee to choose between membership in a par-

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177 La. Rev. Stat. §§ 12:401-09 (1950).

178 See Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Comm. v. McGrath, 341 U.S. 123 (1951) and Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510 (1925).

179 357 U.S. 449 (1958).

180 342 U.S. 485 (1952).

181 Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516 (1945).

182 NAACP v. Alabama ex rel. Patterson, 357 U.S. 449 (1958). See also Bryant v. Zimmerman, 278 U.S. 63 (1928). But see NAACP v. Patty, 159 F. Supp. 503 (E.D. Va.), prob. juris. noted sub nom. Harrison v. NAACP, 358 U.S. 807 (1958).

ticular organization and keeping his job. Since a state may properly inquire into the company that members of a school system keep and may consider those associations in determining fitness for public employment,[183] whether the inferences drawn raise questions of constitutional dimensions depends upon the complex of facts in the particular case. It follows that the matter is not susceptible of abstract adjudication by declaratory judgment.

D. Discretionary Considerations

1. *Irreparability of Harm and Adequacy of Other Remedies*

Under Rule 57 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, "the existence of another adequate remedy does not preclude a judgment for declaratory relief in cases where it is appropriate."[184] However, the existence of such a remedy may influence the court's exercise of discretion. Established equitable principles will determine whether a declaratory judgment should issue.[185] It has been suggested that a declaratory judgment should not issue in the absence of a showing of irreparable injury.[186] On the other hand, it has been argued that the discretionary question should be resolved by balancing the convenience to the parties, the public interest in settlement, and the availability and relative ease of other remedies.[187]

Assuming that the plaintiff, whether a teacher or a taxpayer, can satisfy case or controversy requirements, and does not run afoul of other obstacles, he should be entitled to relief under either standard. The restraint, assuming that the controversy has "ripened," is a continuing one as to the teacher. The availability of state remedies at law is clouded with uncertainty and, their adequacy is doubtful, since they would not protect against the damage to reputation and reemployability which dismissal for "advocating integration" would produce. There are no other adequate remedies available to the taxpayer.

The teacher might have an action for damages under the Federal Civil Rights Act,[188] but the remedy hardly seems adequate to redress the harm which would be done to him by dismissal.[189] The measure

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183 Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485 (1952).

184 Doehler Metal Furniture Co. v. Warren, 129 F.2d 43 (D.C. Cir. 1942). Cf. Chicago Metallic Mfg. Co. v. Edward Katzinger Co., 123 F.2d 518 (7th Cir. 1941); Aetna Life Ins. Co. v. Martin, 108 F.2d 824, 828 (8th Cir. 1940); Whitmyer v. Lincoln Parish School Bd., 75 F. Supp. 686 (W.D. La. 1948). See Borchard, Declaratory Judgments 316 (2d ed. 1941).

185 Great Lakes Dredge & Dock Co. v. Hoffman, 319 U.S. 293 (1943).

186 Colegrove v. Green, 328 U.S. 549, 552 (1946).

187 See Borchard, Declaratory Judgments 293-314 (2d ed. 1941).

188 42 U.S.C. § 1983 (1952).

189 But see Albert v. School Dist., 181 F.2d 690 (3d Cir. 1950); Reinicke v. Loper, 77 F. Supp. 333 (D. Hawaii 1948).

of damages is that of a tort action, although punitive damages may also be awarded.[190] But the loss of first amendment freedoms is not susceptible to pecuniary evaluation, nor is it likely that damages would adequately compensate the teacher for the private sanctions which would probably be visited upon him. Such a remedy could hardly be said to be plain, adequate, and complete.[191]

The "ripeness" requirement, however, would be a major obstacle in this context. Even where the pleadings might suffice to get a declaratory judgment, equitable relief will not be forthcoming in the absence of a threat of enforcement.[192] Indeed, a declaratory judgment itself may be refused where the state statute that allegedly constitutes an unconstitutional restraint of speech and assembly has not yet been applied or threatened to be applied to the plaintiff in the manner anticipated.[193]

2. *Comity in a Federal System*

Respect for the state courts as the primary arbiters of questions of state law and the desirability of avoiding gratuitous decisions of issues of federal constitutional law have caused the Supreme Court in a number of cases either to decline to exercise federal equitable jurisdiction[194] or to postpone its exercise.[195] The relinquishment technique is utilized where the questions of state law are complicated and peculiarly local in nature. The technique of postponement, while holding on to the case, has been used where the local courts have not had an opportunity to deal with the question of state law and there are adequate state procedures available for its disposition.

Act 249, to put the matter paradoxically, would seem to involve a local law matter of national significance. Accordingly, postponement, rather than relinquishment, would be the predictable technique, if the doctrine of equitable abstention is invoked at all.

A federal court does not lose jurisdiction simply because the state courts have not had an opportunity to interpret the statute at issue,[196] but postponement of the exercise of jurisdiction is indicated if an authoritative interpretation of state law may avoid the necessity for deciding a federal constitutional question. The federal court may proceed

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190 Hague v. CIO, 101 F.2d 774 (3d Cir. 1939).

191 Mathews v. Rodgers, 284 U.S. 521 (1932).

192 Cf. Meredith v. Winter Haven, 320 U.S. 228 (1943).

193 Alabama State Fed'n of Labor v. McAdory, 325 U.S. 450, 460 (1945).

194 Alabama State Fed'n of Labor v. McAdory, supra note 193; Burford v. Sun Oil Co., 319 U.S. 315 (1943).

195 City of Meridian v. Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co., 79 S. Ct. 455 (1959). Spector Motor Serv., Inc. v. McLaughlin, 323 U.S. 101 (1944).

196 Doud v. Hodge, 350 U.S. 485 (1956).

to the merits if the state statute is not susceptible of an interpretation which would avoid the federal constitutional question.[197]

On this analysis, since Act 249 is characterized by ambiguity and fairly cries out for an interpretation by the Louisiana courts, exercise of federal equitable jurisdiction should be postponed unless either (1) there are no adequate state procedures available or (2) it is not reasonably possible for the statute to be given an interpretation which will make it constitutional. Since the best guess is that both teachers and taxpayers may seek a declaratory judgment and an injunction in the Louisiana courts, equitable abstention should be invoked unless the statute cannot be given a constitutional interpretation. Perhaps Act 249 contains such an unintelligible and sweeping interdiction that it is not savable by judicial construction. But, in the vexed and emotion-charged context of the integration controversy, is it not a wise exercise of discretion to give the Louisiana courts exclusive primary jurisdiction? "[W]hen the state court's interpretation of the statute or evaluation of its validity under the state constitution may obviate any need to consider its validity under the Federal Constitution, the federal court should hold its hand, lest it render a constitutional decision unnecessarily."[198]

E. Conclusion

The case for attempting to utilize state, rather than federal, procedures in order to test the constitutionality of Act 249 by means of an action for a declaratory judgment and injunction seems overwhelming.

The problems of standing and ripeness do not appear to be as formidable in the state courts as they are in the federal courts. Moreover, in the absence of at least a threat of enforcement which would make the controversy lie between the plaintiff and the school board, the eleventh amendment would almost surely preclude federal court jurisdiction. The doctrine of *Ex Parte Young* opens the federal forum to actions against state officials and perhaps municipal corporations but it does not permit the federal courts to lay hold of disputes with legislatures or statute books.

Finally, as a matter of wisdom as well as precedent, it is doubtful that a federal court would or should decide federal constitutional questions in the absence of an authoritative state court construction of the statute. If the federal court held the cause while the parties repaired to a state tribunal for a declaration of state law, the choice of a federal

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[197] NAACP v. Patty, 159 F. Supp. 503, 521-22 (E.D. Va.), prob. juris. noted sub nom. Harrison v. NAACP, 358 U.S. 807 (1958). Cf. Browder v. Gayle, 142 F. Supp. 707 (N.D. Ala.), aff'd per curiam, 352 U.S. 903 (1956).

[198] City of Meridian v. Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co., 79 S. Ct. 455, 457 (1959).

court as the original forum might cause inordinate and unnecessary delay.[199] Thus, the plaintiff would be well advised to initiate his action in the state court, setting forth both state and federal objections to the constitutionality of Act 249.

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[199] See Spector Motor Serv., Inc. v. McLaughlin, 323 U.S. 101 (1944); Spector Motor Serv., Inc. v. Walsh, 135 Conn. 37, 61 A.2d 89 (1948); Spector Motor Serv. v. O'Connor, 340 U.S. 602 (1951). See also Government & Civic Employees Organizing Comm. v. Windsor, 116 F. Supp. 354 (D. Ala. 1953), aff'd per curiam, 347 U.S. 901 (1954), 262 Ala. 285, 78 So. 2d 646 (1955), 146 F. Supp. 214 (D. Ala. 1956), judgment vacated and case remanded, 353 U.S. 364 (1957).

Legal File
6/2/59

HE NEW YORK TIMES

HIGH COURT VOIDS OUSTER OF 'RISK'

Rules Interior Department Subjected Teacher to a Wide 'Inquisition'

By ANTHONY LEWIS
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 1—The Supreme Court upset the dismissal of an Interior Department employe today on the ground that the department had violated its own rules designed to assure him "a meaningful, fair, decent and dignified hearing."

Instead of getting that kind of hearing, Justice John Marshall Harlan said, the employe was subjected to "a wide-ranging inquisition into [his] educational, social and political beliefs."

All nine justices agreed that a 1954 dismissal was invalid for that reason. By a vote of 5 to 4, the court held that another action by the Interior Department, in 1956, had also been in- and hence that he was now en- effective to dismiss the employe titled to reinstatement and back pay.

The employe, William Vincent Vitarelli, worked for the department as a teacher on the island of Koror in the Pacific. His salary was $6,140 a year.

Now in Pennsylvania

Mr. Vitarelli now teaches woodwork and other manual arts at a high school in Langhorne, Pa. The back pay he is entitled to will be figured by subtracting what he has been able to earn in the last five years from the $30,000 he would have drawn in the Government. His attorney said today that he would try to get his Government job back.

Mr. Vitarelli had a position in the Interior Department outside the civil service and could have been dismissed for no reason at all. But the department removed him under the security program, charging that he had had Communist associations.

The charges were all denied by Mr. Vitarelli. He had a hearing, but the Government, as in most cases, produced no witnesses. He was held to be a security risk and dismissed.

In 1956 the Supreme Court held that the Government security program covered only sensitive jobs. Since he had had a non-sensitive position, Mr. Vitarelli sued for reinstatement.

At that point the Interior Department expunged the security findings against him. It issued a new discharge paper, dated back to 1954, giving no reason for the ouster.

The Government argued that his rights under departmental security procedures. The lower courts accepted this argument.

The Supreme Court disagreed. Once having invoked its security regulations against Mr. Vitarelli, the court said, the Interior Department was bound to obey those regulations. Justice Harlan said this was especially necessary in security cases, where wiping out the security proceedings against him also wiped out normal procedural safeguards may be lacking.

Justice Felix Frankfurter, who wrote the dissent on the subsidiary issue, "unreservedly" joined in what he termed this "main conclusions" of the majority. He wrote:

"He that takes the procedural sword shall perish with that sword."

The question then was whether the hearing given Mr. Vitarelli was up to Interior Department standards. Justice Harlan found three respects in which it was not.

First, he said, the regulations required the charges to be as specific as security considerations permitted.

But when Mr. Vitarelli got to the hearing, the justice said, he was questioned "in great detail concerning his association with and knowledge of various persons and organizations nowhere mentioned in the statement of charges."

Second, Justice Harlan said, the regulations require that hearings be "orderly" and that "reasonable restrictions be imposed as to relevancy, competency and materiality of matters considered."

These "indispensable" conditions were ignored, the opinion said. It gave numerous examples of questions asked Mr. Vitarelli by J. Reuel Armstrong, a security office who later became solicitor of the Interior Department.

Among them were these:

¶Did Mr. Vitarelli think "maybe Negroes and Jews are denied some of their Constitutional rights?"

¶Had he voted for Norman Thomas and Henry A. Wallace?

¶Was he "quite hepped up over the One World idea?"

Witnesses in Mr. Vitarelli's behalf were asked whether he was "careless with his language around the students or careful," whether he was a "religious man" and whether he was "an extremist on equality of races."

Third, Justice Harlan said the Interior Department regulations contemplated that informants "not properly classifiable as 'confidentail' should be subject to cross-examination.

One informant was named at the hearing, Justice Harlan said, and so was clearly not confidential, but he was not produced.

Even though the opinion was confined to the specific regulations, it has reverberations for all security programs. Many security regulations can be interpreted to require the same standards of fairness laid down for Mr. Vitarelli, but in fact many security hearings are said to have had the same faults found in his case.

The disagreement on the court today was over the significance of the 1956 rephrasing of Mr. Vitarelli's discharge.

Justice Harlan said this was simply an effort to clean up the 1954 ouster, not a new dismissal. Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices Hugo L. Black, William O. Douglas and William J. Brennan Jr. joined in his opinion.

Justice Frankfurter thought the 1956 action constituted a new and legal summary dismissal as of that date. He said Mr. Vitarelli was therefore entitled only to back pay from 1954 to 1956. With him were Justices Tom C. Clark, Charles E. Whittaker and Potter Stewart.

Clifford J. Hynning argued the case for Mr. Vitarelli and John G. Laughlin for the Government.

Two broad tests of the Government's security program for defense plant workers still await decision by the high court. They raise the question of the constitutionality of the use of confidential informants, a question explicitly avoided by the court today.

6/2/59

Congress Backed on Red Probe

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
JUN 9 1959

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court held Monday a congressional committee has far-reaching authority to investigate Communist activity, including the field of education.

Dividing 5-4, the court said the House Committee on Un-American Activities was acting within the scope of its authority when it questioned a former educator concerning past or present membership in the Communist party.

The majority rejected a wide variety of contentions raised by Lloyd Barenblatt, a former teacher at Vassar College and the University of Michigan. He claimed, among other things, that the resolution setting up the committee was too vague and that under the First Amendment it had no right to investigate his activities or associations.

CONTENTIONS UPSET

Speaking for the majority, Justice John M. Harlan brushed aside all Barenblatt's contentions.

In another major decision Monday, the court ruled 5-4 that its 1956 Smith Act decision in the Steve Nelson case did not bar prosecution under state sedition laws.

The majority said the Nelson decision, widely criticized in Congress and by state attorneys general, merely barred prosecutions in state courts on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States.

This ruling upheld the contempt conviction of Dr. Willard Uphaus of New Haven, Conn., for refusing to give New Hampshire's attorney general information about the New Hampshire World Federation Center.

CLARK EXPLAINS DECISION

In this case Justice Tom C. Clark spoke for the majority. Justice William J. Brennan wrote a dissenting opinion in which Justice Earl Warren, Hugo L. Black and William O. Douglas joined.

Justice Clark said the Nelson

Continued on Page 9, Column 4

Rights of Red Probers Upheld

Continued From Page 1

decision didn't strip the state of the right to protect themselves.

"All the opinion proscribed was a race between federal and state prosecutors at the courthouse door," Clark wrote. "The opinion made clear that a state could proceed with prosecutions for sedition against the state itself."

In his dissenting opinion Justice Brennan said the Uphaus case involved inquiries into the areas of free speech and assemblage for the purpose of compulsory disclosure.

'Here we must demand some initial showing by the state sufficient to counterbalance the interest in policy as it relates to freedom of speech and assembly," Justice Brennan wrote.

"On any basis that has practical meaning, New Hampshire has not made such a showing here."

New Hampshire Atty. Gen. Louis Wyman demanded a list of guests at the New Hampshire World Fellowship Center. He acted under a legislative resolution empowering him to investigate subversive activities.

Uphaus, director of the center, near Albany, N.H., refused to give the information. He was ordered jailed until he supplied it. However, he was released under bond pending the outcome of his appeal."

In the Barenblatt case, Harlan wrote:

"We conclude that the balance between individual and government interests here at stake must be struck in favor of the latter, and therefore the provisions of the First Amendment have not been offended.'

The four dissenters, for whom Justice Black was the chief spokesman, took the position that the record in the case revealed no purpose for investigating Barenblatt, "except exposure purely for the sake of exposure."

Barenblatt did not invoke the Fifth Amendment privilege aainst possible self-incrimination, relying chiefly on the First Amendment, whose uarantees include freedom of speech and press.

Harlan said the First Amendment protection, unlike a proper claim of the privilee against self-incrimination, "do not afford a witness the riht to refuse inquiry under all circumstances."

With Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas concurrin, Justice Black said that in his judgment Monday's holding "marks another major step in progressively increasin retreat from the safeguards of the First Amendment."

Justice Brennan was the fourth dissenter.

Barenblatt, 31, at the time he was hailed before the committee in 1954, was convicted of contempt of Conress in U.S. District Court here. He received a sentence of six months in jail and a $250 fine.

U.S. Court Upholds Denial of Passports

JUN 10 1959

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Civil Liberties

WASHINGTON (AP)—The State department's authority to deny passports for Americans to travel to areas it regards as potential trouble spots, such as Red China, was upheld Tuesday by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

"In foreign affairs, especially in the intimate posture of today's world of jets, radio and atomic power, an individual's uninhibited yen to go and to inquire may be circumscribed," said an opinion by Chief Judge E. Barrett Prettyman.

"A blustering inquisitor avowing his own freedom to go and do as he pleases can throw the world international neighborhood into turmoil."

The unanimous decision of the three-man court rejected an attempt by William Worthy Jr. of Baltimore, Md., to get his passport renewed. It upheld a decision by the U.S. District Court made last Oct. 2.

The case is expected to be appealed to the Supreme Court.

As a reporter for the Columbia Broadcasting System, the New York Post and the Baltimore Afro-American, Worthy visited Red China for 41 days in 1956 and on his way home spent two days in Hungary in 1957. His passport was stamped "not valid" for travel to either country.

2 U.S. REDS SCORE SUBVERSION CURB

Civil Lib.

A Willing and a Reluctant Witness Join in Balking Some Senatorial Queries

MAY 16 1959

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 15—Two Communist party officials appeared before a Senate investigating subcommittee today. One appeared willingly, the other unwillingly, but they gave similar testimony.

Arnold Johnson, a volunteer witness, told the Senate Internal Security subcommittee that he wwas the national legislative director of the party. James E. Jackson, who has signed documents as the party's director for Negro and Southern affairs, would not admit that he was a Communist. His business address in New York City was the same as given by Mr. Johnson.

At times, both provoked heated exchanges during the session.

Mr. Johnson came to oppose pending anti-subversion legislation. He said he had frequently disagreed with decisions of the Supreme Court, but had found one involving the Smith Act "superb."

Mr. Johnson has served a three-year prison term for violation of this statute, which makes it a crime to conspire to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. The court ruling to which he referred held that the act applied only to advocacy of action to overthrow, not to abstract teaching.

Mr. Jackson was subpoenaed because of a recent trip he made to the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. The panel wanted to find out what instructions to the American party he might have brought back. The witness invoked the Fifth Amendment's protection against self-incrimination steadily. At times he turned a ques-

Civil Lib # 59

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Silent About Travels

He refused to discuss his travels, his speeches as reported by the Soviet press, the industries he visited, or other phases of his journey. He expressed resentment at being viewed, as he said, as "a courier, a messenger or something like that," for the American party.

He would not say that he had made reports to American Communists, despite reports made to that effect by the communist press in this country.

Mr. Johnson refused to say whether he would bear arms for the United States in the event of a war with the Soviet Union. Mr. Jackson said he would defend the United States in the event of "aggression" by any country. He said that Russia would never be "an aggressor."

Both of the witnesses contended that no Communist could be convicted again under the Smith Act. Communists, they held, do not believe in the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. They said that American Communists were loyal citizens, and that subversion was the instrument of "Dixiecrats and others" who would deny civil rights to citizens.

Both Democrat Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, chairman of the panel, who was not present. Mr. Jackson said the senator was from Poplarville, Miss., the scene of a recent lynching. Mr. Eastland's home is at Doddsville.

Mr. Johnson contended that Senator Eastland was calling for legislation against Communists "as a springboard to reverse Supreme Court decisions against segregation."

Mr. Jackson said that Senator Eastland "was contributing to the Dixiecrat hysteria."

Mr. Johnson said that the Senator was trying to "keep Negroes in bondage," the anti-subversive bills, are "for the birds" and subcommittee members are "just playing to the birds," he asserted.

59

Red Activity In City, State To Be Probed

Civil Liberties JUL 30 1959

Un-American Group Will Conduct Hearing Here

Rec. Sep. Mise

The Houston Post

By JIM MATHIS, Chief of The Post Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The House Un-American Activities Committee will probe Communist propaganda infiltration into Houston in a September executive session there, The Houston Post has learned.

Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter, D-Pa, confirmed Wednesday that staff investigators have been in and out of the city and into other Texas cities for some time.

WALTER SAID the preliminary investigation was complete.

"On the basis of what we found, I will recommend that we go ahead with a hearing," Walter said.

"One of the things that we will be very much interested in is the flow of propaganda across the Mexican border through Houston," the congressman added.

Walter's recommendation is a formality. The committee had already approved the inquiry before investigators were sent into Texas.

THE INITIAL inquiry was handled by Bill Wheeler, a staff investigator. Investigator Ray Collins assisted in later phases.

No definite date has been set for the hearing. Committee staff members said that it would be no earlier than Aug 15, and would probably not come off until after Sept 15.

No one would reveal the number to be subpoenaed as witnesses for the closed hearings.

Indications were, however, that the initial committee inquiry would cover other areas of Texas as well as Houston. This could mean several witnesses will be heard.

ONE WITNESS is expected to be Irving Fishman, the U. S. Customs expert on Communist propaganda.

Fishman is assigned on a country-wide basis to the control of the importation of Communist propaganda into the United States. He works closely with the Post Office Department.

In a New Orleans hearing earlier this year before the Senate internal security subcommittee, Fishman testified at length on the movement of Communist literature from Mexico City, both from local Communist units and the Russian Embassy there, through the United States.

Fishman also testified that literally tons of Communist propaganda are received in New York and distributed through the nation.

FISHMAN SAID that the customs service needed more authority with which to combat the distribution of unmarked propa-

See PROBE on Page 13

PROBE

Continued From Page 1

ganda. He also suggested amending the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

He pointed out numerous instances where the Communists had utilized the International Postal Convention to get their propaganda into the United States and other countries.

Mexico has 5,000 Communists in its open party in Mexico, and another 75,000 are in Lombardo Toledano's pro-Communist Partido Popular, the Senate subcommittee reported at that time.

In 1958, hearings were held in Atlanta. Fishman, who testified at that time also, said Communist propaganda was pouring into every colelge and university in the state.

Civil Liberties

Rec. Sep. Mise 1959

Shuttlesworth Hits Un-American Committee Tactics

MAY 27 1959

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

Civil Lib.

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — The House Un - American Activities Committee and others who accuse integrationists of subversion were assailed by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham at a rally for civil rights and civil liberties.

The responsive interracial audience of about 800 voted to protest to the U. S. Senate and House against Congressional proposals to revive state sedition laws or otherwise curb the U. S. Supreme Court.

Dr. M. M. D. Perdue, chairman of the meeting, appointed five prominent citizens to a committee to draft communications to representatives and senators. Those appointed were the Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Church; Frank L. Stanley, Sr., publisher of the Louisville Defender; the Rev. C. N. King, editor of the American Baptist; James A. Crumlin, president of the NAACP state conference, and the Rev. J. V. Bottoms, chairman of the board of Simmons University.

RALLY SPONSORS

All of these men were members of the Citizens Committee for Shuttlesworth, which sponsored the rally. The meeting was coordinated by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, of which Mr. Shuttlesworth is a board member. He is also president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Mr. Shuttlesworth, leader of the civil rights struggles in Birmingham, made a special plea for support of white persons who stand up for integration. He came to Louisville with the avowed purpose of protesting against the treatment of two white integrationists, Carl and Anne Braden.

The Bradens were jailed on sedition charges in 1954 after they acted as agents for a Negro family in the purchase of a house in a previously all - white neighborhood. After these charges were dismissed, Braden was given a year in prison for refusing to answer questions of the Un - American Activities Committee.

WASHINGTON POST JUN 14 1959

Courtroom Travelogue

Civil Liberties

The Secretary of State may have a constitutional right to tell Americans where they can travel abroad, as the Court of Appeals has ruled in the *Worthy* case, but we still believe that travel ought not to be restricted except in time of war or during some other overriding emergency. We are not persuaded that the foreign relations of the United States were endangered by the travels to Communist China and Hungary in 1956 of William Worthy Jr., a newspaper reporter. Nor do we think that travel by Americans anywhere in the world at this time would harm the foreign relations of the United States (although it admittedly might bring pressure for some sort of acknowledgment of the existence of Communist China). If such travel would seriously damage relations with other countries, American foreign policy is indeed fragile.

Regardless of what one thinks of the merits of the unanimous Court of Appeals decision, Chief Judge E. Barrett Prettyman makes an important distinction in his opinion between the *Worthy* case and the *Kent* case of last year in which the Supreme Court held that the Secretary of State cannot refuse a passport to anyone because of his beliefs or associations. In the *Worthy* case the Appeals Court upheld the Secretary's right to prevent Americans from traveling in certain parts of the world.

"No restrictions are proposed upon Worthy's thinking or writing," Judge Prettyman notes. "The restrictions proposed are on his physical presence in specified zones in foreign countries. They are restrictions upon acts, *i.e.*, travel." Nevertheless, such regulations do have the indirect effect of restricting what a newspaperman may report. If a reporter is unable to go to Communist China, Hungary or any other country proscribed by the Secretary of State, the reporter's freedom is limited to a considerable degree. The Court's answer to this argument, which was raised by Mr. Worthy, is that no freedoms are absolute. This is of course true; still, it does not follow that one man, not even the Secretary of State, ought to have the power to restrict those freedoms, including specifically the right to travel or the freedom of the press to report the news.

Yet the decision in the *Worthy* case seems to give the Secretary of State wide latitude, in the absence of specific legislation, to restrict travel by Americans abroad, although Judge Prettyman points out that the restrictions must be "reasonable." The Court bluntly told Mr. Worthy, however, that he should take his argument "to the President or the Congress" because attempts by the courts to second guess the Secretary of State "would be a gross usurpation of Executive powers."

Mr. Worthy's argument may well be with Congress and the President, but we think that the issues that he has raised ought to be considered by the Supreme Court, too. His lawyers apparently will take the case to the Supreme Court. It seems to us that an individual's right to travel and the freedom of the press to report news wherever it happens are matters that need to be carefully balanced against the exigencies of foreign policy.

Liberties 1959

Civil Liberties Union To Seek Review Of Refusal Of Passport

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD JUN 1 8 1959

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA) — The American Civil Liberties Union said on June 10 it will seek a Supreme Court review of the decision of the United States Court of Appeals here that the refusal of a passport to a newspaper man was legally proper.

In an opinion by Chief Judge E. Barrett Prettyman, the State Department was upheld in its authority to deny passports for travel to areas it regards as potential trouble spots.

The unanimous decision of the three - judge court rejected the contention of William Worthy, Afro American correspondent, that he had a right to have his passport renewed.

The civil liberties organization has backed Worthy's test case since he was denied renewal of his passport for visiting Communist China and Hungary in 1957, despite the Government's ban on travel there.

BELIEF IN RIGHTS

Patrick Murphy Malin, ACLU director, stated in New York that "from the beginning of this case can citizen's right to travel is conwe have believed that an Ameristitutionally - protected and that the Secretary of State, barring actual wartime conditions, has no authority to deny the citizen his rights of free movement."

Continuing, Mr. Malin said: "In the Worthy case this constitutional principle has particular significance because there is also involved the right of the American people to receive information from newspapermen sent abroad.

"As the State Department has recently given passports to former New York Governor (Averell) Harriman and Vincent Sheehan for travel to Communist China, as 'legitimate reports,' the Department's refusal to allow Worthy, a foreign correspondent for the Baltimore Afro - American, to travel there also is rank discriminatory treatment."

CIRCUMSCRIPTION

In his opinion, Judge Prettyman noted that in the "posture of today's world of jets ..... and atomic power," the State Department may circumscribe a person's right to travel.

He added: "A blustering inquisitor avowing his own freedom to go and do as he pleases can throw the world international neighborhood into turmoil."

Atlanta Case Tests Probe Authority

Civil Lib. The Open Forum 1/59

The national ACLU last month posted $1,000 bond for Frank Wilkinson, former Los Angeles Housing Authority official, who was indicted by a federal grand jury in Atlanta, Ga., for refusing to answer questions concerning alleged Communist associations before the House Un-American Activities Committee last July.

The trial date in the test case challenging the constitutionality of the HUAC has been set for Jan. 19 in Atlanta. The U.S. Attorney in Georgia denied a Union request to postpone the case until the U.S. Supreme Court rules in the Barenblatt case, a parallel suit testing the validity of the House Committee's power to probe citizens' political beliefs and opinions.

Mandate Void

The Union emphasized that its interest in the Wilkinson case stemmed solely from its long-held belief that the mandate of the House Committee to investigate "un-American propaganda" is a violation of First Amendment guarantees under the Constitution.

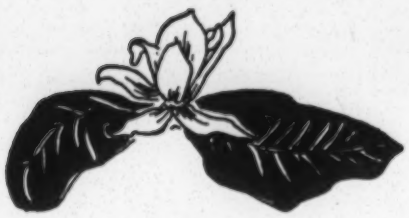
"Since the House Committee was organized in 1938, the ACLU repeatedly has voiced its opposition to the Committee's mandate as an intrusion into the citizen's right — guaranteed by the First Amendment — to engage in political association and to express political opinion. The U. S. Supreme Court, in recent decisions, has curbed the power of the House Committee, but has not ruled precisely on the fundamental issue of the mandate's constitutionality.

Civil Liberties Question

"As is the ACLU's rule in all its cases, the Wilkinson test case is undertaken only because of the civil liberties importance of this constitutional question, and in no way is an endorsement of, or in sympathy with, whatever Wilkinson's political opinions may be. The case will be handled by the ACLU alone, without the assistance of any other national organization," the Union stated.

Civil Liberties - 1959

Ckps - Civil Liberties
July 1959



McCarthyism under the Magnolias

by WILMA DYKEMAN & JAMES STOKELY

"AT A TIME when the South might well use a renewed vision of Robert E. Lee's virtue or Andy Jackson's vigor," a young Southern liberal said recently, "it seems a shame that we should choose to start reviving the spirit of Joe McCarthy."

An embattled social scientist in Atlanta summed up the situation during a conversation: "One trouble outsiders have in understanding our present difficulties is the culture-lag in the South. McCarthy never caught on down here back in his heyday, but as the last-ditch fight for segregation grows more desperate, all his ugly techniques are revived. At the end of the decade we're in the throes of an experience the rest of the country put behind it in the early Fifties."

One recent example came, perhaps with some appropriateness, in the legislative halls of the nation's capital. When Representative Dale Alford, newly elected Congressman from Arkansas, presented his maiden speech in the House in February, the proposed subject of his discourse was only slightly less sensational than the whirlwind eight-day paste-in campaign which had won him victory over veteran Representative Brooks Hays in last November's election.

Voicing alarm "at the complacency of some officials toward the menace of the Communist conspiracy . . . to make this great nation of ours part of a one-world government, operated from Moscow," Representative Alford then announced he would reveal the close alliance between Communism and "racial agitation" in the South.

The speech was founded largely on intricate webs of association and denunciations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the bi-racial Southern Regional Council, "renegade journalist" Harry Ashmore, "the Warren-Myrdal Supreme Court," and several less prominent individuals and groups. Its "revelations" were often without relevance.

Perhaps the whole performance of equating a controversial issue with Communism and then identifying as fellow travelers those people interested in confronting the issue seems anachronistic to Americans outside the South, where McCarthyism is only a bitter memory. But to many people in the South it is a significant thermometer reflecting the epidemic already in their midst, and a barometer suggesting the proportions of attacks yet to come.

As McCarthyism moves South under the magnolias, most of those against whom the search for subversives appears to be directed are not political Communists as much as racial non-conformists, people who seek a reasonable way of abiding by the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation of the public schools, while those who would subvert the law by defiance and maneuver designate themeselves the super-patriots and inquisitors. By their words the investigators are seeking out Southerners "soft on Communism;" by their acts they are singling out Southerners "soft on segregation."

Of course, the very fact that they feel this necessary indicates the absence of a monolithic South, and reveals that there are many Southerners who abhor the present dilemma and are willing to work for a solution. But the nature of this crisis, with its pull from the past and its emotional undertow, makes it especially susceptible to McCarthyism. In a time of tremendous change at the regional level (involving integration), and deep apprehension at the national level (involving Communism), where these regional racial tensions coincide with our national survival fears, there is created a no-man's land of uncertainty and suspicion. In such an atmosphere, threats and innuendo serve well to intimidate and immobilize creative thought and action on controversial problems.

In October, 1954, Circuit Court Judge Tom P. Brady of Mississippi made an address to the Indianola Citizens' Council. The judge gave a lengthy historical picture of the rise of the vertebrates, the various migrations, nations, and wars of mankind, and such "facts" of eugenics and biology as that "the Negro's brain pan seals and hardens quicker than the white man's." Seeking to explain how the Supreme Court had overlooked all this history and biology in its recent decisions, he cited the influence of the NAACP and the 87 "Communist-front organizations" behind it.

A year later the attempt to identify black leadership and the red cause received added impetus from Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia. In a talk entitled "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP," which was given saturation distribution as a printed pamphlet throughout the South, Cook sought to prove that through affiliations of some of its officers with other organizations, some of which were listed in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and because the Communist Party had an identical stated aim of "full racial equality," the NAACP had "allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states."

He closed with a warning which was both the most explicit and implicit of any as to what "do-gooder" community leaders might expect if they continued to participate in interracial groups. "Investigations currently are being made . . . the results of which will greatly embarrass those

WILMA DYKEMAN and JAMES STOKELY, native Southerners, are a husband-and-wife writing team whose recent book on the South, "Neither Black Nor White," won the 1958 Hillman Award and has now been issued in a paperback edition.

good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups . . . before they, their friends, and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean."

Such speeches, widely disseminated throughout the South by the segregationist Citizens' Councils, were only the prelude. In March, 1957, a special Louisiana state legislative committee (sometimes called the "watchdog" committee on segregation) held a three-day hearing in Baton Rouge to find "the causes of racial unrest in the South." As the testimony unfolded, however, it seemed that these causes had already been determined. The committee, headed by state Senator William Rainach, did not appear to seek from its six "cooperative" witnesses information as much as confirmation.

The Rainach Committee hearing marked the first appearance on the Southern scene of some of the old pros of the investigative road shows, refurbished now to play the Southern circuit. Manning Johnson, a Negro from New York and self-confessed former Communist, was the star. In 1954 Johnson was the principal denouncer in the loyalty investigation of United Nations Undersecretary Ralph J. Bunche. His accusations were discredited. He himself testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board that he believed "some things are more important than the truth," and in 1956 the Board expunged from the record of certain of its hearings what it called "tainted" testimony given by Harvey Matusow, the late Paul Crouch, and Manning Johnson.

Yet Johnson, who was reported to have earned up to $9,096 over a two-year period as a professional former Communist witness, appeared in Louisiana to castigate Judge William Hastie, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt ("somebody should muzzle her and put her in a cage"), Martin Luther King, Jr. ("I think Reverend King could stand a thorough investigation"), the respected Southern Regional Council, and the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

It was in testimony concerning these two organizations that Johnson's and the committee's irresponsibility became most evident. Having falsely asserted that the Southern Regional Council was founded by a Communist, Johnson compounded falsehood with guilt-by-association and reached from Louisiana over into Mississippi to discuss the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. He had no startling "revelations" about this state group but did take time to read into the record the names and addresses of the officers of the biracial organization.

The reason for publicizing these names and addresses was not made clear, but results came promptly. One board member named, along with the Catholic Bishop of Mississippi and other eminent clergymen, was the wife of a well-known Greenwood, Mississippi, cotton dealer. Six days after Johnson's testimony the dining room of their home was ripped by a bullet blast. A reporter later concluded, "It was not intended to kill but just to frighten."

These public proceedings did not nail down any specific Communist individual or group against which Louisiana and the federal government could move to lessen racial difficulties in the South. Assessments of guilt were conveniently general, emphasizing "racial nationalism," NAACP "dictation" to the Supreme Court and the President, and destruction of individual liberty by the "Communist timetable of world conquest."

Several subsequent investigations have arrived at similar conclusions. Hard on the heels of the disastrous developments in Little Rock, in October, 1957, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, moved into Memphis to study "Communism in the Mid-South." At the end of the two-day hearing, with 14 witnesses, seven had invoked the Fifth Amendment and one, a Little Rock housewife who had made news earlier that autumn by comforting one of the Negro girls in the school crisis, had been accused of affiliation with the Communist Party in 1945. The statement of conclusions, however, was still general: "Communist activity in the Mid-South is highly conspiratorial, deeply cloaked in secrecy." Without specific elaboration these deductions left room for intimidation, without risk of libel, when they asserted that the targets of the Red network were churches, parent-teacher associations, colleges, high schools, and labor organizations.

Three months later, in February, 1958, an investigation of racial agitation in Florida was undertaken by a joint legislative committee in Tallahassee. Senator C. E. Johnson, sponsor of segregation bills at two previous legislative sessions, was chairman. The star witness on this occasion was J. B. Matthews.

Billed as a one-time investigator for the late Senator McCarthy's Committee, it was not pointed out that Matthews had lasted as staff director for McCarthy less than a month. Although he asserted flatly that "Communists or Communist influence were directly involved in every major race incident of the past four years since the Supreme Court 'legislated' on the subject of integration," reports were forced to state that Matthews' further testimony was "general in nature."

The Tampa *Tribune* suggested that the committee's sessions had been "largely devoted to old charges and an intense study of the obvious." It stated that the committee's treatment of the treasurer of the Tallahassee Council on Human Relations "was repugnant to the American concept of fair play," and voiced the hope that in the future the committee might "have evidence which is current, and which is related to Communism."

The Human Relations Council treasurer to whom the paper referred was a respected furniture dealer, James Shaw. The episode involving him highlighted the most unsavory feature of such investigations and one frequently forgotten by many citizens. Equated in the public mind with a trial, these hearings are not bound by the rules of actual courts of law, and their arbitrary development of one point of view may make a mockery of justice.

Shaw was subpoenaed to present the financial records of the Tallahassee Human Relations Council to the committee. When he did so, he was refused the right to make a statement, although one member of the committee wished to hear him. Shaw later told the press: "I wanted to say that I presented the records under protest because I feel that being subpoenaed to bring them here created implications and insinuations about me and my organization. They could have called any officer of the organization and we would have been glad to turn over the records to them. Anyone could have attended any one of our meetings and realized there was nothing to investigate."

His summary of the council's aims and methods must seem modest enough to anyone removed from the total resistance atmosphere of much of the South today: "This organization is not secret. Most of our meetings have been held at the courthouse. One of the purposes of it is to create a line of communication between Negroes and whites. We have not done very much but we have tried to ease the tensions that have been created by statewide political campaigns."

The increasing all-out effort to discredit just these individuals and groups working to "create a line of

communication" and "ease the tensions" became even more evident during a recent investigation conducted in Arkansas. Attorney General Bruce Bennett, who examined witnesses for the state committee, said the hearing would serve "as an educational program more than anything else," and added, "most of our case will be tried at the bar of public opinion." He indicated that those called to testify would be friendly to the committee's purpose, which indeed proved to be true.

Manning Johnson and J. B. Matthews were the principals among these witnesses. Johnson repeated his summary of Communist history and strategy and restated his antagonism to the NAACP which he had voiced at the Rainach Committee hearing in Louisiana. Matthews went even farther than he had during his appearance before the Florida committee. He named as Communists four former residents of Arkansas, two of whom had left the state years before, two of whom had been in Little Rock until recently. The rest of his testimony was largely an effort to link together those groups interested in integration and smear them and their members with one sweeping assertion of witting or unwitting aid to Communism.

This was the same Matthews who wrote back in 1953: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." Virginia's Senator Harry F. Byrd promptly declared that Matthews "should give names and facts to sustain his charge or stand convicted as a cheap demagogue willing to blacken the character of his fellow Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain." Following a statement by President Eisenhower, Matthews resigned as staff director of the McCarthy Committee. It is not a history designed to inspire confidence in later accusations of Communist infiltration. Nevertheless, the committee proceeded with its televised probe featuring the testimony of these two men.

Since the hearings in Arkansas in December and Representative Alford's February speech to the House, Attorney General Bennett has branched out in his activities. In March he helped instigate and guide a legislative probe in the adjoining state of Tennesseee.

This exploration concerned the Highlander Folk School, founded and directed by Myles Horton, a native Tennessean. This school has been controversial since its establishment in 1934 by the very nature of its interests: labor organization and, more recently, racial integration. Endorsed by such national figures as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Reinhold Niebuhr, Monsignor John O'Grady, Harry Golden, and former TVA Chairman Gordon Clapp, the school had come under close federal scrutiny when its tax-exempt status was restored over a year ago. But federal clearance did not satisfy Arkansas' Bennett, who flew to Nashville to testify that in his opinion the school is subversive. "Run 'em out! Run 'em out!" he advised the committee members, referring to leaders of the school.

Many Tennesseans resented his advice, recalling a thought-control bill he had introduced in his own state's legislature, making it unlawful "to encourage nonconformance with the established traditions, customs, and usage of the state."

The Chattanooga *Times* commented: "We are neither patrons nor partisans of Highlander Folk School . . . . But unpopularity is not a sufficient reason for official harassment or intimidation. When one man's right to argue an unpopular course is assailed, another's right to advocate the opposite is threatened." Fourteen University of the South professors, who live only five miles from Highlander, in nearby Sewanee, came out in a public statement supporting the school and its "democratic ideals." The Nashville *Tennessean* battled against what it called a "witch hunt," warning that Tennessee did not need or deserve "the distinction of reviving McCarthyism."

Interspersed with the activities of these various official committees have been numerous other investigations, legislative proposals, printed and verbal attacks designed to obscure the black and white problem with the red menace. The NAACP has been under constant fire but other groups gaining increased attention include labor organizations, teachers, the clergy, and interracial councils. (It may be significant for the future that Manning Johnson, one of the favorite "friendly witnesses" of these hearings, wrote an article denouncing the NAACP in a recent issue of the violently anti-Semitic *Common Sense*.)

"The NAACP? Oh, you mean the National Association for the Advancement of the Communist Party." At filling stations and small-town stores in many parts of the South there is ready evidence of the easy acceptance of a scapegoat.

Yet J. Edgar Hoover, in his recent *Masters of Deceit,* a source widely quoted throughout the South on other aspects of Communism, and even praised by Representative Alford in that very speech he made to show red influences in the NAACP, came to the conclusion that NAACP leaders have consistently thwarted the Communist Party's "vigorous efforts" at infiltration. In 1953 Hoover stated: "The American Negro is not hoodwinked by these false messiahs."

Early in 1957 a bill was introduced in the Tennessee legislature providing that a teacher may be fired "if while within the buildings, he shall make pronouncements or engage in or promote discussions for the purpose of influencing students or other persons with reference to the problem of the integration of the races." This particular measure to gag the teachers died, but the spirit behind it did not.

Last year, when 63 Louisiana State University professors signed a Louisiana Civil Liberties Union petition opposing segregation bills which would permit closing of public schools, a legislative inquiry of the professors was launched. Members of the House were reported to feel that "Communism and integration walk hand in hand," and anyone, particularly university faculty members, who opposes legislation aimed at keeping Louisiana schools racially pure "must have subversive tendencies."

In December, 1958, University of Arkansas President J. T. Caldwell felt it necessary to "repudiate unequivocally the imputation that the University of Arkansas has been penetrated by Communists and express the fullest confidence in the members of our faculty." And when the Arkansas Education Association, a statewide organization of white teachers and school administrators, stated as policy a few months ago, "We can never compromise our conviction that the public school system is not expendable," the 21-member Legislative Council was so outraged that it suggested the Education Association members were innocent victims of subversive influence—and ordered an investigation by the Committee on Subversion in Education.

The National Council of Churches has borne much of the brunt of the smear attack on churchmen. One South Carolina editor has said the NCC "will shower respect on anarchists, Communists, and atheists but deny respect to Southerners whose only crime is that they believe in traditional American states rights."

One of the most consistently attacked organizations in the South recently has been the dignified and reasonable Southern Regional Council. This is understandable because it works by, with, and for Southerners of both races in a discussion and research effort to undergird integration with solid fact and lasting effectiveness. Its voice is calm, its work is

constructive, and its effect is cumulative. Unfortunately, much of its energy lately has been diverted in stamping out the leaf fires sparked by irresponsible incendiarists.

The SRC, under its knowledgeable young director, Harold Fleming, is filling a unique need in the region. Pitted against it is the testimony of —again—the ex-Communist, Manning Johnson, whose appearances before the Louisiana Rainach Committee provided the source for the subsequent attacks against SRC. A month after this hearing, in April, 1957, *The Firing Line,* published by the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, reported that Johnson's testimony "reflected the Council was formed by James E. Jackson, a Southern organizer of the Communist Party." The source of Johnson's information, in turn, was a boast in *The Daily Worker* on the many accomplishments of the said Jackson. But even the *Worker's* fantasy had not reached as far as Johnson's, for it claimed only that Jackson had "participated in the formation and building of the Southern Regional Council."

It is, of course, a matter of public record that the Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944; its distinguished incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution,* Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

The SRC was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which had been founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. Even so conservative and segregationist a newspaper as the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* felt moved in August of last year to clarify the issues in relation to the SRC: "As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a 'co-founder of the Southern Regional Council,' there is nothing to support this . . . he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The *Daily Worker's* statement that he was a 'founder' is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet."

In May, 1957, *The Firing Line* made another allegation which was to be widely circulated in segregation circles and at last repeated by Representative Alford in his recent speech. "Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization."

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is no longer in existence, but it once included in its "interrelationships" many prominent Southerners besides some who were later to be in the SRC. In 1938, at the Southern Conference meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, among those who were part of the proceedings were Governor-elect Burnett Maybank of South Carolina, Alabama's Senator John H. Bankhead, Bishop Robert Lucey of Texas, Governor Bibb Graves of Alabama, and others of equal prominence and reputation. In 1945 the Conference staged a dinner in Washington, D. C., honoring Justice Hugo Black. The toastmaster on this occasion was then Senator, later Vice-President Alben W. Barkley. At the speaker's table was the Honorable James F. Byrnes. Among the sponsors of the dinner were Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, and President Harry S. Truman. Surely guilt by association cannot include all these men.

SRC Director Fleming said not long ago: "The tragedy is that these self-appointed experts on 'subversion' show no understanding whatever of the real Communist movements. It thrives on white supremacy and noisy defiance of desegregation rulings. The Communists wouldn't trade one Governor Faubus for 10,000 new recruits to the Party. By contrast, there are no more effective anti-Communists than those Southerners who are working for orderly compliance with the law of the land. Ironically, these are the very people whom the segregationist vigilantes falsely label 'reds' and 'subversives.' "

Eleven prominent Southern church officials said in a statement in early April: "The time has come for the public to be made aware of the resurgence of McCarthyism in the South. If there is in fact a Communist threat, then Dr. Alford and others like him have a responsibility to report their knowledge to the FBI; if not, they have a duty to check their facts. Otherwise, they themselves are doing the real service to Communism, which battens on confusion, false charges, and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country."

Where inequities exist in our country, it is, indeed, not the Communist Manifesto but the American Constitution that fosters unrest and makes citizens work for change. The McCarthy cry of "Communist" in a time of transition is appealing for two reasons: it is simple and it is emotional. It reduces a complex situation, with many ramifications and subtleties and need for sober logic, to one single outside cause, and stirs a rope-and-fagot reflex.

Most citizens, along with the U.S. Senate, finally came to their senses about the sickness of McCarthyism. Slowly, as Southerners themselves work to replace emotional resistance and bigotry with reason and respect for the law of the land, McCarthyism can be uprooted under the magnolias.

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Outlawing Discrimination

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

When the mutual security authorization bill of 1959 was recently debated in the Senate, an amendment was proposed by Senator Wayne Morse to spell out "the sense of the Congress" that assistance under the law should be withheld from "any nation which as a matter of declared policy or practice * * * creates distinctions because of their race or religion among American citizens." This amendment was defeated by a very narrow margin—47 to 43. Civil Liberties

The matter is again before the Senate, the House having just adopted the mutual security appropriation bill and sent it to the upper chamber. It is hoped that the Senate will not hesitate to express itself bluntly on the subject of racial and religious discrimination against American citizens by countries which are the beneficiaries of our financial help. 8/4/59

A number of Senators, including Paul H. Douglas, Jacob K. Javits and Kenneth B. Keating, have expressed their intention to support an amendment to the appropriation bill, now before the Senate, to accomplish the same objective as Senator Morse's recently defeated proposal. In the past, this country's reaction to such affronts to American citizens has been clear-cut and positive; the same forthright position on the part of our Government is imperative today. N Y Times

The United States must take prompt steps to resist any and all stipulations and practices which draw distinctions between American citizens solely on the basis of race or religion. To do less is to surrender a precious right of our American heritage and to degrade the status of American citizenship.

HERBERT B. EHRMANN,
President, The American Jewish Committee. 8/4/59

New York, July 31, 1959.

Civil Liberties - 1959

BAR UNITS WIDEN RIFT ON LIBERTIES

2 Reports to National Group Clash on Passport Rights and U.S. Security Risks

AUG 15 1959

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, Aug. 14—New evidence of a deep conflict within the American Bar Association on civil liberties and subversion came to light today with the release of conflicting committee reports on passports and Federal employment.

The reports made public today followed another report earlier this week by the bar association's Committee on the Bill of Rights. That committee protested the action taken by the association's House of Delegates at its February meeting in Chicago, the association's headquarters.

The earlier report by the Bill of Rights Committee and the two reports released today set the stage for a fight at the forthcoming meeting as bitter as the one last February. That conflict was provoked when the House of Delegates criticized the Supreme Court's decisions on security risks and Communist activities as "unsound."

The House of Delegates is the 248-member policy making body for the 200,000 lawyers who are members of the Bar Association. Its forthcoming meeting will be held during the association's general convention in Miami Beach from Aug. 24 to 28.

This was the conflict that developed today:

¶The committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives urged that the American Bar Association call on Congress to restore to the State Department two powers. First, would be the power to deny passports to persons "knowingly engaged in subversive activities." Second, would be the right to use confidential information to refuse a passport if necessary.

¶The other committee, called the Committee on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security, said that freedom to travel abroad should be curtailed only when national security was "clearly" endangered.

Agrees With New York Bar

Expanding on this point, the Individual Rights Committee said that it had concurred with the findings of a special committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York on the same subject. The Individual Rights Committee went on:

"Travel should not be restrained and passports should not be denied solely on the basis of membership in any organization—even the Communist party—association with any individual group, adherence to unpopular views, or criticism of the United States or its domestic or foreign policies

Civil Liberties. 1959

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"Travel should not be restrained and passports should not be denied solely on the basis of membership in any organization—even the Communist party—association with any individual group, adherence to unpopular views, or criticism of the United States or its domestic or foreign policies.

"Thus," the Individual Rights Committee continued, "action hostile to the national security of the United States must be reasonably anticipated, as opposed to mere speech or the holding of opinions; there must be an evidentiary showing that travel of a particular individual will constitute a definable danger to the national security of the United States."

The issue arises because of decisions of the United States Supreme Court that put severe limitations on previous State Department procedures that had led to the denial of passports. The Supreme Court held that Congress had not given the State Department the power it had been exercising.

Need Is Called Urgent

On the other hand, the Committee on Communist tactics said that it was an "urgent necessity" to get new legislation, "narrow in scope," until more comprehensive legislation could be passed. The first step, this committee said, is to give the State Department power to "withhold passports in the few exceptional cases" where the granting of one would be "contrary to the peace and security of our nation."

"This committee is of the firm opinion," the report went on, "that the right to travel outside the United States is nto an individual right of the nature and character of those guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, but partakes more of the nature of a privilege. The duty of the Government to protect itself in those few cases, from those who would destroy it, is vital, not only in times of war and emergency, but at all times."

In the field of Federal employment, the two committees were also wide apart.

The Individual Rights Committee objected to the extension to all Federal employes of a 1950 law that authorized the summary suspension of persons considered to be security risks.

The Communist Tactics Committee recommended that the law apply to all governmental employes whether in "sensitive" or in "nonsensitive" jobs.

Wants 'Loyal' Employes

The Communist Tactics Committee said the Bar Association should pass a resolution declaring that:

"The American public is entitled to the services of loyal Americans in the employ of their Government, regardless of whether employed in positions described as 'sensitive 'or 'nonsensitive'."

The Communist Tactics Committee is headed by Peter Campbell Brown, a former corporation counsel of New York City. He also headed the committee that wrote the controversial resolutions on the Supreme Court last February.

The Individual Rights group is headed by Frederick A. Ballard of Washington. He is also president of the District of Columbia Bar Association.

Civil Liberties. 1959

Seek Overturn Of Conviction Of Racial Liberal

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD
AUG 18 1959

Civil Liberties

NEW ORLEANS, La. — The U. S. Court of Appeals here has been asked to overturn the conviction of Carl Braden, Southern integration worker, on a charge of contempt of Congress.

Braden was sentenced to a year in prison last February for refusing to answer certain questions asked of him by a subcommittee of the House Un-American Committee in Atlanta, Ga., in July, 1958. He challenged the committee's right to ask the questions.

Five distinguished attorneys

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 7)

Seek Overturn

(Continued from Page One)

joined in filing a brief in the Appeals Court charging that the committee did not call Braden before it for a bona fide legislative purpose.

"Instead," they declare, "the Committee's purpose was to interfere with his rights of free speech, association and petition under the First Amendment to the Constitution.

"More particularly, the Committee's objective was to continue to harass and expose appellant for his support of integration and civil rights, and his opposition to the Committee and to pending bills which he believed harmful to the best interest of the nation."

Civil Liberties 1959

ROBESON ~~TO DE~~FY CURB

~~NEW YORK TIMES~~

Plans 1960 Visit to Red China Despite Passport Ban

AUG 2 3 1959

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Aug. 22 (Reuters) — Paul Robeson said in an interview published here today that he would ignore United States passport restrictions and visit Communist China and Hungary to give concerts.

Mr. Robeson, who passed through Budapest earlier this week on his way to Rumania, told the Hungarian Communist paper Nepszabadsag:

"For ten years I have been a prisoner in my own country. I was not allowed to go abroad and I was prevented from meeting the European soldiers of the world peace movement."

Although the singer's passport was marked "not valid" for both Hungary and China, Mr. Robeson said he would visit China by March and pay two visits to Hungary, one for a few days this fall. Next year he plans to return to Hungary for a concert tour lasting several weeks, he said.

Civil Liberties

Civil Liberties. - 1959

Removal Of Discrimination Seen Most Pressing In U. S.

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD DEC 15 1959

NEW YORK — (UPI) — The American Civil Liberties Union said Sunday the removal of racial discrimination in both the North and South is the most "pressing unfinished business" facing the nation.

Only meager progress has been made in combatting bias, said Exe-Director Patrick Murphy Malin in an introduction to the ACLU's 39th annual report.

He said the filibuster rule was changed only slightly in the last session of Congress and the only legislation was the extension of the Civil Rights Commission. The commission's recent "admirable" report, he said, was chiefly remarkable for showing how little had been accomplished by the Civil Rights Division of the Department cf Justice.

"Moreover, despite the emphasis on non - discrimination in the recent report of the Republican Committee on Program and Progress, the exigencies of presidential politics are likel yto prevent Republicans and northern Democrats from producing in the 1960 congressional session more than a lot of grandiloqnence,' 'said Malin.

CHANGING OPINION BEST NEWS

"From the federal government, therefore, we can realistically expect only a continuation of admirable court decisions .... and gradually intensified executive action."

Malin said that the "biggest and best news" was the continuing change of opinion among white southerners on the issue of public school desegregation.

"The businessmen of Little Rock - typifying the chief influence at work all through the South — have taken the lead in re-opening its schools," he said. "Massive resistance 'has crumbled in Bellwether Virginia; former Gov. Arnall of Georgia has announced that unless the schools of his state are kept open - segregated or not - he will seek election on that platform in 1962.

"Alabama and Mississippi will soon be alone in futile defiance of the irresitible tide."

Those states, said Malin, are now "conspicuous, though by no means alone ,in the outrage to which the ACLU is currently trying to awaken state and local bar associations: the refusal of white lawyers to represent Negroes in even due-process or free-speech cases."

EXPRESSES CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM

Malin expressed cautious optimism concerning the outlook for civil liberties generally.

"Civil liberties can never be permanently 'out of the woods' but they are a lot better off than they were in 1954, when the ACLU was approaching its 35th birthday," he said.

Malin said it was to be hoped that the recent television quiz scandals would prompt the industry to improve its service in behalf of civil liberties through "greatly amplified and varied presentation of serious public question," such as the forthcoming 1960 presidential campaign.

"This would help stave off government censorship of specific program content, while preserving government responsibility for general public - interest operation of what is in fact a public utility," said Malin.

Segr. + Priv.

ARKANSAS GAZETTE DEC 14 1959

ACLU Calls Bias in U. S. Top Target

New York, Dec. 13 (AP). — The 39th annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union today called the removal of discrimination in both the North and the South the organization's most pressing unfinished business.

Summarizing the report, Patrick M. Malin, executive director of the organization, said progress has been made in civil liberties in the last five years. But, he added, a lot remains to be done.

He said the attitude toward public school segregation in the South is changing "not rapidly but steadily." Alabama and Mississippi, said Malin, "will soon be alone in futile defiance of the irresistible tide."

At the same time, "much remains to be done before the North can justifiably claim it has shouldered its own share of a national and international obligation," Malin declared.

The report among other items protested religious teaching in public schools, and opposed the National Defense Education Act of 1958 for requiring a loyalty oath from students asking an education loan and for granting increased authority to the U. S. commissioner on education.

Civil Liberties 1959

Civil Liberties

'OATHISM' ON THE CAMPUS . . by Kevin Sullivan

WHEN ON November 17 Harvard and Yale universities withdrew from the federal student-loan program because of the loyalty-affidavit requirement, there was a ripple of applause through academic groves and a murmur of approval from editorial corners. But whether the conscience, or even the attention, of the great public was caught by this action is more than doubtful; for in a culture where intellect is suspect, the subject of education—except as an assayable commodity—is food for bores. Yet the significance of the event was clear. Two major universities, following a lead marked out for them by Princeton and several of the country's smaller liberal arts colleges (Amherst, Swarthmore, Oberlin and others), had by their action openly repudiated the implication, embodied in the National Defense Education Act of 1958, that the American student, precisely because he is a student in need of financial aid, is potentially a greater security risk than his less talented or less ambitious or less impecunious fellow-citizen. This citizen, like some of his Senators, might wonder what all the hullabaloo is about—why *shouldn't* these kids sign an affidavit worth $1,000 or more a year to them?—and he is likely to dismiss the issue as an egghead quibble, a tempest in an egg cup.

It was not always so. Apathy and hysteria polarize the public's response to education, and the present apathy—if the vote on the New York school-bond issue may be read as a symptom—is far from the hysteria that shivered the scholastic air when, two years ago, to our wild amaze a crew of vulgar boatmen launched Sputnik into space. The threat, then literally swinging over our heads, was valid cause for alarm; but it seemed then, and it still seems, that the alarm was excited more by the threat to our *amour propre* than to our armor of defense. Surpassed—could anyone doubt it?—in technological skill, in that know-how we used to think peculiarly our own, Americans developed overnight a sense of shame as acute as their sense of danger; we were as anxious in those days to relieve the national embarrassment as to bolster national defense. It was natural, therefore, that when we looked around in democratic indignation for someone to blame, the culprit should finally prove to be not the administration that shaped our policy nor the military charged with our defense, but the schools to which we had entrusted the education of our youth. Invidious comparisons were made between Soviet and American education, the air was thick with unanswerable question and jittery accusation, the prevailing mood was one of gloomy urgency. Educators, for the most part, perhaps secretly gratified that they were at last receiving any kind of attention, took the punishment quietly, for there was now a hope that once the furor died down the end of talk would be the beginning of action. And they were almost right, though the action they got was not altogether to their liking.

BY SEPTEMBER 2, 1958, less than a year after the Russians burst into space, Congress had passed and the President signed into law the National Defense Education Act. Though in signing the President spoke of the act as "an emergency undertaking to be terminated after four years," it was evident that this was no ordinary crash program. General debate over federal aid to education had been going on for almost a quarter of a century — a desultory and inconclusive debate. Now at last a decision had been made and a principle established: federal aid to education was right and necessary, though of course in the application of that principle—how much aid and what kind and to whom—room still remained for further discussion. This there has been.

Immediately after passage of the act—only twice before in our history had there been any comparable federal action on education: the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Morrill Act of 1862 which established the land-grant colleges—the Administration, which had seen the bill pass smoothly through Congress (66 to 15 in the Senate, 212 to 85 in the House), was in a more optimistic, indeed a self-congratulatory mood. There was now a law which, according to the U. S. Office of Education, "authorizes something over one billion dollars in federal aid. In the swinging sweep of its ten titles it touches—and returns to touch again—every level of education, public and private, from the elementary school through the graduate." A month after its passage Lawrence G. Derthick, U. S. Commissioner of Education, expressed his gratification with "the broad sweep of approval" which the act had received across the country. Since then it has become increasingly clear that this was by no means a clean sweep.

Many educators, while acknowledging the act as generous, comprehensive and long past due, were troubled—chiefly, as the recent action by Harvard and Yale indicates, by the so-called loyalty-oath provision written into Title X, section 1001(f). This requires of all student applicants for a federal loan not only the usual oath of allegiance—few object seriously to this—but an affidavit to the effect that the student "does not *believe* in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that *believes* in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods." The italics are mine. The educators were not of course objecting to the rhetoric—though they might have itched to score this with blue pencil—but to the discriminatory implications of this particular disclaimer and to the practical and philosophical futility of all such oaths. The silence of the educators in the days of Sputnik now gave way to a collective—not, unfortunately, a concerted—chorus of dissent.

In the spring of this year, a Senate

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Subcommittee on Education provided them with a forum. Individual officers of education who could not appear personally had firmly worded statements read into the record, and groups and associations of every stripe—college faculties, university departments, student associations, chapters of the AAUP, spokesmen for the ACLS, the Association of American Colleges, even non-academic organizations such as the American Jewish Congress and the National Council of the Churches of Christ—joined common cause in opposition to the provisions of Title X. And the cause seemed notably advanced when Arthur Flemming appeared before the subcommittee and threw the weight of his Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the side of the dissidents.

THE NEXT three months were full of hope. Late in July, the Senate, despite competing claims of other national and international business, scheduled two days of debate on a bill (S.819), sponsored by Senators Kennedy of Massachusetts and Clark of Pennsylvania, which would eliminate both the disclaimer affidavit and the positive oath of loyalty. Since this bill had been reported out of committee by a 12-3 vote and had the demonstrated support—overwhelming but not unanimous—of the country's educators and other interested groups, it actually seemed for a short time that common sense was going to prevail. It did not. The debate on the floor of the Senate ended in a draw, with the Kennedy-Clark bill returned to committee, but in the two days of debate, despite the pettifoggery of some Claghorns, specific issues were defined and broader issues implied which have bearing not only on American education but on the American ethos.

There were four substantive points of debate: (1) the relation of "education" to "defense" in the title of the National Defense Education Act; (2) the distinction between "oath" and "affidavit" in Title X of the act; (3) the substitute amendment offered by Senator Mundt—in effect a "little Smith Act"; and (4) the discriminatory implications of section 1001(f), Title X.

Debate on the first issue quickly revealed that the original act passed through Congress as handily as it did not because it was an education bill, but because it was a defense measure. Without another twenty-five-year argument, this may have been the only way such a bill could have gained the assent of Congress, but it now raised as many problems as it had seemed to solve. Waterloo may have been won on the playing fields of Eton (though as good a case might be made for the ploughlands of Kerry or the plains of Prussia), but this was not because cricket pitches had been dug into obstacle courses. Education imparts skills which conceivably are immediately applicable to our first line of "defense," but at its best it also insinuates values which in a democracy must always remain the ultimate bulwark of defense. The National Defense Education Act, designed to encourage the production of scientists, engineers and experts in certain "language areas," emphasized skills to the neglect, many think, of values. A nuclear physicist fluent in Kalmuck-Mongolian may be a good man to have around in any future unpleasantness, but there is perhaps as great a need for men who remember Thermopylae and Runnymede and the plains of Troy.

THE supporters of the Kennedy-Clark bill recognized this weakness in the original act—the failure, in Senator Javits' unhappy trope, to allow education "to stand on its bottom as education." They realized, too, that the opponents of the bill had apparently a strong debating point in this coupling of "defense" with "education." For this reason, Javits later in the debate moved to amend the bill, continuing the elimination of the disclaimer affidavit, but preserving the positive oath of loyalty and attaching the standard penalties for perjury. This amendment squeaked through the Senate by a 46-45 vote.

It may or may not come as a surprise that there were Senators who saw, or professed to see, no distinction between a positive oath of loyalty and a negative statement of belief—the disclaimer affidavit. On this point there was pettifogging aplenty. But Senator Kennedy, who showed in sponsoring the bill a kind of courage he once wrote about, showed also patience and skill in countering what must have seemed deliberate dimwittedness. He agreed on the floor to retention of the oath, and when (in the form of the Javits amendment) the point was formally yielded, the Senate gave *de facto* recognition to the distinction between oath and affidavit. The attack then turned on what his opponents supposed was the indecision revealed by the concession.

Senator Mundt, accordingly, moved to amend the Kennedy-Clark bill by substituting for the disclaimer affidavit the standards and penalties of the Smith Act—in slightly different language of untested meaning:

> (f) (1) No person shall hereafter accept any funds, payment, loan, or other benefit made available under the authority of this Act if such person (A) advocates the overthrow of

the Government of the United States by illegal means, or (B) is a member of an organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by illegal means, knowing that such organization so advocates.

(2) Any person who violates paragraph (1) of this subsection shall be guilty of a felony, and shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year and a day, or both.

The Mundt maneuver was unsuccessful. When his supporters, admitting Senator Kennedy's claim that this was indeed no more than "a little Smith Act," argued that there was surely no harm in placing the same provisions on the statute books a second time, the Senator—quoting Lord Faulkner—answered with the most effective epigram of the debate: "When it is unnecessary to act, it is necessary not to act." There was also a question of the constitutionality of the Mundt amendment. "If a student," Senator Clark argued, "receiving benefits under the act has to disqualify himself because of ineligibility under the terms of the amendment, he is virtually admitting liability under the Smith Act and is forced to incriminate himself in violation of the Fifth Amendment." There was the possibility, too, that the broad prohibition against advocacy of overthrow of the government might violate the First Amendment. (The first amendment also seemed jeopardized by the original affidavit disclaimer, though this point was not made by any supporter of the Kennedy-Clark bill: while it is permissible and, on occasion, necessary for the government to exert control over the placing of any belief into action, the First Amendment clearly implies that no control may be exercised over the mere holding of an intellectual belief.)

The most effective arguments advanced by the anti-affidavit forces were on grounds of the discrimination against—the insult to—American students, especially needy students, implicit in the disputed provision of the act. Even the opponents of the bill admitted that neither oath nor affidavit was of any use in actually screening out a subversive student who, committed to a sinister ideology, would cheerfully sign anything—the more cheerfully, perhaps, since a little touch of perjury might provide him with a fine immunity from investigation. The Senators might have extended this line of reasoning a little further and concluded, with President Kirk of Columbia, that such an oath is not only useless but worse than useless since "A false sense of security is perhaps the most perilous of all putative assets a country can have."

The kind of discrimination found objectionable was made ludicrously plain by Senator Clark who, in a parliamentary maneuver that would have delighted W. S. Gilbert, moved still another substitute amendment to the effect that not only students, but farmers receiving price supports and businessmen accepting subsidies (at this point Senator McCarthy of Minnesota, getting into the swing of things, suggested that Clark also include school children who get free lunches)—that the whole kit and caboodle be compelled to swear a loyalty oath with one hand if, with the other, they were dipping into the public trough. This tactic cleared the air, but did not impress the Mundtmen across the aisle.

IN THE most lucid and compelling speech of the debate, Senator McCarthy then dissected the loyalty-affidavit requirement in terms of principle and propriety. The Senate was reminded—though the reminder seemed hardly necessary—that a fundamental concept of democratic government is the assumption that a citizen, insofar as crime is concerned, is innocent until proven guilty; that, insofar as his general behavior as a citizen is concerned, the assumption must also be that he is loyal until it has been proved that he is other than loyal. The assumption of the affidavit provision of the National Defense Education Act is just the reverse of this.

A second principle, less widely held perhaps, is that professional groups have the responsibility and the right to govern their own members—the authority of government intervention being reserved in a democracy to occasions when the common good is threatened by the failure of self-discipline in a particular profession. The integrity of the academic community — though apparently questioned — cannot be insured, nor can it be undermined, by the taking of oaths and affidavits. We in the teaching profession all have a lot of disagreeable things to put up with, but somehow students generally are able to hold their own against the faculty, the faculty survives despite the administration, the administration manages despite regents and trustees, and—in the case of state universities—the board of regents seems to survive despite the state legislatures. It cannot be said that as a community we have failed in self-discipline. Until substantial evidence to the contrary is produced, the government has no need nor, it would seem, any right to intervene with measures which purport to guarantee the loyalty of our students.

There is finally the question of propriety. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition of Western civilization, an oath has always had a special character, and the taking of an oath long considered an act of great religious as well as civil significance. Today there is reason to doubt that this is any longer so; the civil significance of an oath seems to have rubbed off with its sacred patina. So at least one might conclude from the massive perjury by some hundred respectable citizens called to testify before a grand jury in connection with the recent television nonsense. It is not enough to explain this away by the routine manner in which oaths are commonly administered. The individual citizen cannot abdicate his responsibility—to himself, or to his government, much less to his God, if he has one. Despite routine, an oath remains a matter of personal dignity and solemn affirmation. Its occasions are special. It will lose something of its luster and significance, as well as its effectiveness, if taken lightly or without due cause and ceremony. But making a loan to a college student is an ordinary contractual piece of business, trivial in itself, perfunctorily undertaken. It diminishes the dignity of the oath, in itself and possibly in the eyes of the student, to compel it on occasions of inconsequence. A man who takes his wife too much for granted may be laying the ground for adul-

tery; a student accustomed to taking an oath for granted—he must go through the routine at the beginning of each school year—may be unconsciously involved in remote preparation for perjury.

ON JULY 23, the Senate voted 49 to 42 to send the Kennedy-Clark bill back to committee for further study. Its sponsors intend to reintroduce it at the next session of Congress and they have well-grounded hopes of meeting with success on this second try. Their hopes are grounded in the arguments advanced during the debate of last July and are further supported, I think, by a detectable change in the intellectual atmosphere of the Senate itself.

It is inconceivable that when the National Science Foundation Act was discussed in the Senate a decade ago, such a debate as occurred in the past summer could have taken place. That was the dawn of the McCarthy era and Senators and citizens were already looking about for a shady place against the hour when the full heat of McCarthy's day should be upon them. The National Science Foundation does require a disclaimer affidavit, and no Senator at the time objected to it. This may have been because the provisions of the National Science Foundation embraced areas of nuclear research which, conceivably, touched closely on our national security. But this difference should also be noted: the affidavit was required of a *recipient* of an N.S.F. grant; the affidavit is now required of an *applicant* for a federal loan. The larger difference, however, is the less easily definable one—the change of air. There is perceptible impatience in the Senate these days with sloganized patriotism, anti-intellectual innuendo, the exploitation for home consumption of communism as a bugbear, and that game-legged rhetoric whose principal device seems to be the ruptured enthymeme.

Meanwhile, as the Senators settle down to their homework, educators might look again to their lessons. Originally only a handful of colleges and universities refused on principle to participate in the program. (At least one, it is reported, refused not on grounds of principle but because of the fuss, bother and expense of administering the law.) Most institutions have chosen to remain in the program while continuing to press for an amendment to the act such as that proposed in the Kennedy-Clark bill. This is an acceptable if expedient course. The dramatic action of Harvard and Yale in withdrawing from the program is perhaps more exemplary and, because of the prestige of these institutions, may be considered particularly effective.

But how much more effective it would be if, instead of Dr. Pusey phoning Dr. Griswold, a vast network of telephone conversations among presidents of American colleges and universities resulted in concerted action by leaders and spokesmen of American higher education. This is of course Utopian, a comfortable thought, in which we cannot as yet take comfort.

Moral Standards in Foreign Policy . . *by Robert Paul Wolff*

IN RECENT years the vocabulary of Ethics has been pre-empted in discussions of international relations by zealots who see the world situation as a death struggle between Western Christianity and Atheistic Communism. They endow every twist and turn of our foreign policy with the sanctity of divine law, confident that God is in their corner.

Many Americans have been repelled by the smug arrogance of this attitude. In a world of ideology, they are suspicious of all self-serving moralism, preferring to drop "right" and "good" from the language of foreign affairs. Typical is this statement by George Kennan, in his book *Realities of American Foreign Policy*:

> Morality, then, as the channel to individual self-fulfillment — yes. Morality as the foundation of civic virtue, and accordingly as a condition precedent to successful democracy—yes. Morality in governmental method, as a matter of conscience and preference on the part of our people — yes. But morality as a general criterion for the determination of the behavior of states and above all as a criterion for measuring and comparing the behavior of different states — no.

THIS view, in my opinion, is thoroughly mistaken, though I sympathize with the motives behind it. Amoralism in international affairs is as wrong as the moralizing against which Kennan protests. But it is not enough simply to say that Kennan is wrong. There are compelling arguments against the introduction of Ethics into foreign relations, and to rebut them it is necessary to go into the subject at some length. In this article I can only hope to touch on the main aspects of the problem.

First of all, we must clear up a recurrent confusion over two commonly used terms, "idealism" and "realism." Every time we ask what to do in a given situation we are really asking *two* questions. First of all, we look at the facts and ask, What *can* we do? If there is literally only one possibility, then we needn't go any further, for of necessity that is what we will do. (Remember that unpleasant alternatives are still alternatives. Even self-sacrifice is a possibility, as so many martyrs have taught us.) But if there are two or more courses open to us, then we must ask a second question, What *should* we do?

What things can we do? Which of them should we do? This is the structure of every human decision. Now some people ignore the first question. They make all sorts of

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DEC 14 1959

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Prejudices No. 1 Block, Group Says

Liberties Union Sees Long Fight

NEW YORK (AP)—The 39th annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union Sunday called the removal of discrimination in both the North and the South the organization's most pressing unfinished business.

Summarizing the report, Patrick M. Malin, executive director of the organization, said progress has been made in civil liberties in the last five years. But, he added, a lot remains to be done.

He said the attitude toward public school segregation in the South is changing "not rapidly but steadily." Alabama and Mississippi, said Malin, "will soon be alone in futile defiance of the irresistible tide."

At the same time, "much remains to be done before the North can justifiably claim it has shouldered its own share of a national and international obligation," Malin declared.

The report also, among other items:

Noted that organized labor is being criticized even by its friends for failure to end discrimination within unions.

Urged the television industry to amplify and give a greater variety of coverage of serious public issues.

Opposed the National Defense Education Act of 1958 for requiring a loyalty oath from students asking an education loan and for granting increased authority to the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

Williams' Attack

ARKANSAS GAZETTE

Character Assassination —And at Public Expense

Civil Liberties 5/29/59

From the Christian Century

Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi, extreme segregationist, a year ago placed in the Congressional Record a biased denunciation of the Methodist Church. Reprints of that piece have since been widely distributed by racist groups in the South. Now the public is again called upon the bear the expense and the indignity of Representative Williams' abuse of his privileges as a congressman. He has placed in the Congressional Record a scurrilous attack on the National Council of Churches and on many of the 600 Protestant clergymen and laymen who attended the Fifth World Order Study Conference held in Cleveland last November. He did this by incorporating into a short speech he gave on the floor of the House a mimeographed pamphlet, Recognize Red China? which was issued over the name of M. G. Lowman, head of the Circuit Riders, Inc., an organization with headquarters in Cincinnati. The pamphlet purports to show that 103 of the clergymen who attended the Cleveland conference have a "subversive record." It does this by the familiar device of trying to identify persons with organizations which "promote the Communist line." It is wildly inaccurate in its identifications of individuals and in its description of organizations. For example, it lists approximately 200 organizations as subversive, whereas only 30 of those it names are on the United States attorney general's list of subversive groups. Only 33 of the 103 persons named as promoters of the Communist line are identified as having anything to do with any of the organizations on the attorney general's list. Even these identifications are suspect; for instance, a man might have spoken out in behalf of the Spanish loyalists in the 1930s, or joined a Soviet-American friendship organization in the 1940s, or visited Yugoslavia in the 1950s. Any of these acts or others similarly innocent and blameless is made to serve as sufficient excuse for listing an individual and for identification of him with acts or groups which are held to be subversive but which more often than not are misrepresented. Now all this hate-mongering, suspicion-breeding and essentially untrue brew can be made available for wholesale distribution at public expense through use of a congressman's franking privilege. It is high time that Congress investigated and corrected the synical and extravagant abuse by a minority of its own members of the pages of the Congressional Record and of the free use of the mails.

Matrimonial Prospect

civil liberties 1959

A. Lyd. Weekly
Summer 1959

Civil Liberties and the Court

Not long ago, Professor Samuel A. Stouffer announced the results of a poll showing that some 60 percent of the people questioned opposed permitting an individual to speak against religion in their communities.

An even higher percentage replied negatively to the question: "Suppose an admitted Communist wanted to make a speech in your town, should he be allowed, or not?"

Two similar polls, taken by professors at the University of Wisconsin and at Northwestern, produced the same results. Less than two percent of those interviewed agreed with all of the provisions of the Bill of Rights.

The reactions of those polled indicate that while the Bill of Rights may be accepted from a theoretical standpoint, applied at the practical level, the civil liberties it seeks to insure are often condemned and criticized.

This was certainly true when a copy of the first ten Constitutional amendments was removed from a state house bulletin board because an official thought it "too controversial" for the state's employees. Although the amendments had been posted only as a reminder of Bill of Rights Day, they were not returned to the bulletin board until approved by the governor.

The trouble with civil liberties and civil rights is that they are too often abstractions. Cold war tensions abroad and desegregation decisions at home all too often overshadow philosophical beliefs and principles. Even when traditional liberties and rights are not forgotten altogether, they can be subordinated in the interest of seemingly more pressing problems.

Today, the question of relative importance as between individual liberties and internal security is being debated with only slightly less fervor than during the heyday of McCarthyism. What was once an attack on the legislative and executive branches of our federal government has now been transferred to the judicial arm.

Those who criticize the Supreme Court claim that since

1956, it has been "too soft on communism." They are joined by others whose distaste for the Court stems from its 1954 school integration decision. The attackers include extremists as well as responsible and honestly concerned men. Many are convinced that the Court has gone too far in protecting the individual at the potential expense of society. While the cries of the extremists are to be expected, the reasoning of prominent lawyers and legislators must be answered.

Early in February, the American Bar Association's House of Delegates adopted a series of resolutions calling on Congress to write new anti-subversive laws as the answer to recent Court decisions.

Long considered a bastion of conservatism, the ABA's action was unexpected only in that its resolutions were sharply critical of the Court's actions. In effect, the resolutions told the Court it was wrong in its judgment and urged Congress to amend internal security legislation to plug the loopholes used by the Court.

Harsh as the resolutions were, they proved to be weaker than a report supporting the resolutions that was presented to the ABA by a special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives.

The report—which was never actually endorsed by the delegates—contained little detailed criticism of individual cases and less in the way of specific suggestions on how the cases should have been decided. Instead, it contented itself with a general charge that the Court was too lax on subversion.

It asserted that "many cases have been decided in such a manner as to encourage an increase in communist activity. . . . The paralysis of our internal security grows largely from construction and interpretation centering around technicalities emanating from our judicial process which the Communists seek to destroy, yet use as a refuge to masquerade their diabolical objectives."

While the resolutions adopted by the House of Delegates sustained the criticism found in the report of the committee, they tried to make sure that this criticism would not become ready ammunition for those who would place restrictive limits on judicial review.

ABA Action

A preamble to the resolutions stated that the ABA disapproved "proposals to limit any jurisdiction vested in the U. S. Supreme Court by the Constitution." As if to show that the House of Delegates was not a reactionary body, before adjourning it elected as its new president, Whitney North Seymour, a lawyer who once successfully defended a Negro Communist before the nation's highest tribunal.

Despite the ABA's separation of the committee report from the resolutions it adopted, the interested public—based on press reports—failed to see any real difference. In Congress, the association's action was hailed as a "scathing criticism" of the Court and the committee report was twice reprinted in the *Congressional Record.*

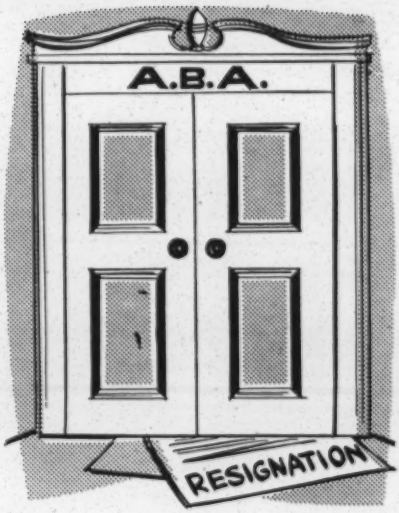
Local Groups

To combat this impression, a number of local and state bar groups have since publicly declared that they oppose curtailing Court jurisdiction.

Typical of such action was a statement made by the New York County Lawyers' Association that "if anybody construes the [ABA] resolution as an effort to curtail the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, we don't agree with the resolution.

A similar stand has been taken by Attorney General William P. Rogers, who defended the ABA's attitude toward the Court, claiming that "there is a lot of misunderstanding on this." Rogers told reporters that the ABA's president had assured him that the organization's call for new anti-subversive legislation did not attack the Court.

Rogers' view was apparently not shared by either Chief Justice Earl Warren or Warren Olney III, director of the administrative office of the U. S. Courts and former chief of the criminal division of the Justice Department. Chief Justice Warren resigned from the ABA late in 1957, presumably over the group's criticism of the Court, while Olney resigned this March after terming the ABA's Court resolutions "discreditable."



Six Decisions Opposed

The attack on the Court stems from six specific decisions. These are the opinions criticized by the ABA and by a number of Congressmen and Senators who have introduced legislation to correct the Court's actions and limit its jurisdiction. The decisions include:

- A ruling that only the federal government—not the states—may act against Communist subversion;
- A ruling that mere advocacy of violent overthrow of the government—as an abstract idea

—is not sufficient ground for conviction of a violation of the Smith Act;

• A ruling that confessions of a defendant cannot be admitted as trial evidence if the confession was made during a period of "unnecessary delay" between the arrest and arraignment of the defendant;

• A ruling that witnesses before Congressional committees cannot be convicted of contempt for refusing to answer questions if the committee has not spelled out its authority and its mandate from Congress;

• A ruling that government employees in non-sensitive jobs need not answer all loyalty questions asked by Congressional committees or by authorized officers of the executive or judicial branches of government;

• A ruling that an alien cannot be deported for Communist membership if he was not a member of the party after his last entry into the country.

In criticizing each of these decisions, the ABA—speaking for those who urge more effective control over communism — has urged remedial legislation.

Without questioning the integrity of the association's committee, it is interesting to note that a number of the committee's members were far from being disinterested spectators in these decisions. The chairman is a former member of the Subversive Activities Control Board and was also a counsel of record in one of the cases cited.

Another committee member was a counsel of record in two of the cases criticized and argued as an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) in a third case. Given these circumstances, it is hard to be objective.

The decision that aroused the greatest opposition involved the Court's ruling that only the federal government can act against subversion. Steve Nelson, a Pennsylvania Communist leader, was convicted of violating the state's sedition act. Under the language of the state law, he was charged with "bringing the government of this state or the United States into hatred or contempt" and sentenced to 20 years in prison and $23,000 in fines.

Although the state sedition act was so restrictive of free speech that its constitutionality was doubtful, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court did not consider the constitutional question. Instead, it reversed the conviction on the ground that the Smith Act had pre-empted the field of subversion for the federal government and made similar state statutes unenforceable. The U. S. Supreme Court upheld the state court's opinion.

Opponents of the Nelson decision have proposed two specific pieces of legislation. One bill—introduced by Senator Styles Bridges (R., N. H.)—would permit the states to enforce their

own laws against advocacy of the federal government's overthrow. The other bill—introduced by Representative Howard Smith (D., Va.)—would use the Nelson ruling as an excuse to prevent the Supreme Court from holding that Congress has pre-empted any field of legislation.

Smith's bill, H. R. 3, would not only narrow the jurisdiction of future courts, but it is written to be retroactive. Because of its natural appeal to the advocates of states' rights as well as the probability that it would drastically affect labor and welfare legislation, H. R. 3 passed the House last year by a 241 to 155 vote. It was defeated by only one vote, 41 to 40, in the Senate.

This year, H. R. 3 has again been introduced and has already been approved by the House Judiciary Committee. Despite Administration disapproval, 11 Republicans joined with eight Southern and border state Democrats in sending the measure to the Rules Committee.

Since the bill's chief sponsor is chairman of this committee, the measure is expected to receive prompt attention and provide the House with its first major test on anti-Supreme Court sentiment.

The Bridges proposal, with its less sweeping features, is considerably less controversial, but still raises important questions. Deputy Attorney General Lawrence E. Walsh—who opposes H. R. 3—has testified that he favors the Bridges bill because it permits more people to enter the anti-sedition fight. He admitted, however, that he does not know of any gap opened in our national security by the Nelson case and that he could think of no one deserving prosecution who had escaped as a result of the decision.

Constitutional Problems

Although Walsh could see no philosophical objection to the Bridges bill, civil liberties groups were quick to point out constitutional problems. These organizations charge that state prosecution brings with it an interference with an essentially federal responsibility and a real danger of the persecution of those who hold unpopular but harmless views.

The American Civil Liberties Union has asserted that "there has been no illuminating evidence that sedition can ever be a purely local concern which does not affect the nation as a whole and does not require united federal protective action.

Pointing to the past as well as the present, the ACLU has warned that the wave of post-World War I persecutions of unpopular opinions as well as the present Southern state statutes aimed at preventing desegregation are indications of what can and will happen when state sedition laws are given free rein.

As an example, the ACLU asserted that in the Carl Braden

case, a Kentucky citizen was prosecuted for sedition under state law after he sold a house in a "white area" to a Negro and defended the Negro's right to occupy the dwelling. "In view of the record of Southern legislatures in the last four years," the ACLU has said, "such laws . . . will be used as a serious deterrent to the implementation of the Fourteenth Amendment insofar as it applies to desegregation in the public schools and other facilities."

Even more dangerous in the ACLU's eyes is the proposal of the bar association to make illegal the "theoretical advocacy of government overthrow as well as the present prohibition against incitement to action."

Legislative measures to end the distinction between an expression of free speech and actual incitement spring from the Court's 1957 Yates decision. In this case, the Court held that the Smith Act could not be interpreted to ban theoretical opinion.

The ACLU has charged that the passage of any law crossing over the "danger zone into unconstitutionality" would seriously hamper free speech and association and would be "unwise" and "ineffective."

Other groups have taken a similar position in regard to the so-called "Mallory bill"—a measure designed to overcome the Court's objection to confessions obtained after "unnecessary delay." Such a bill, they declare, might make it easier for law enforcement agencies to apprehend criminals, but this help for the prosecution must be balanced against the denial of civil liberties to the accused.

Best Protection

The ACLU has asserted that its major objections to the suggested laws center on the deprivation of individual rights in the name of national security. Attacking the bar association's resolutions, the ACLU declared that "our real security might be weakened by being unnecessarily restrictive of our civil liberties. The best positive protection for our security is scrupulous observance of our Constitutional guarantees. . . ."

If this argument is to be denied, those who seek strong legislation at the expense of civil liberties must be able to show that the security of the nation demands such sacrifices.

The record proves, however, that such a position will not stand up. Early this year, Representative James Roosevelt (D., Calif.) analyzed the House Un-American Activities Committee's own report of achievements from 1941 through 1958.

Representative Roosevelt pointed out that of the 79 recommendations made by the committee, 34 were duplications of proposals made in various sessions of Congress. He said that of this net of 45 proposals, relevant leg-

islation was adopted in 35 instances.

After checking these 35 pieces of legislation, the California legislator concluded that "the only legislation . . . which it can be said that the House Un-American Activities Committee was directly responsible for, is the Internal Security Act of 1950 and 1954 amendments thereto."

While it is true that Representative Roosevelt's measuring rod is not the sole test of a committee's values, the passage of only one major bill during a 20-year period does indicate an extremely ineffective operation.

Balanced against this one bill is the hardly debatable fact that the committee's activities have seriously invaded the area of civil liberties and impaired the nation's prestige among the people of the free world.

The numerous witch-hunting expeditions of the House Committee, the sponsorship by its chairman—Representative Francis Walter (D., Pa.)—of an immigration law with racial preferences, and the similar tactics of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, have done little to convince the world that the United States is proud of its tradition of individual rights and liberties.

View from Abroad

Proposals to limit free speech in a nation that points with pride to its Bill of Rights appear paradoxical in the uncommitted countries that judge democracy and communism by what they see and read.

To these countries, a legislative move to permit the government to deport an individual who at one time, perhaps many years ago, entered the United States as a Communist, but who later returned to this nation as an anti-Communist, seems to defy logic. Such a bill, aimed at overcoming the Court's Bonetti decision, appears to discourage Communist defectors, not help them.

To the people of the free world, restrictions on civil liberties in a time of national emergency is nothing new. But while these people may be convinced democrats in the cold war, they understandably see few examples of the United States being threatened internally.

To date, Congress has refused to support the Supreme Court's

school desegregation decision—a decision made five years ago. Not only has it rejected all efforts to enact necessary civil rights legislation, it has harassed the Court with legislative proposals aimed at overcoming civil liberties as well as civil rights rulings. Such harassment has been termed both "scandalous" and "appalling" by lawyers who have argued civil liberties cases before the Supreme Court.

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., one such attorney, has declared that the assault on the Court is a "know-nothing attack" and that neither the desegregation decision nor the subversive decisions could "reasonably have been decided any other way."

Justice William O. Douglas has also voiced concern with the criticism of the Court. Speaking at the Columbia Law School, he warned that "despots dislike an independent judiciary." The Associate Justice stressed the importance of an independent judiciary holding the confidence of the people as essential to the continued success of American democracy.

No Back Seat

Douglas asserted that the Court "could not take a back seat" without disrupting the judicial check on executive and legislative action. He added that the American system has stability because the judiciary is viewed as a "great rock" unmoved by storms breaking over it, even when they lead to attempts at nullification."

Unfortunately, the logic of Justice Douglas is often swept aside by some who honestly believe their way of life is threatened. To these people, fear—based either on prejudice or a feeling of insecurity—overcomes the supposedly fundamental principles of civil liberties and rights.

Since the ABA's criticism and the reintroduction of H.R. 3, the Court has taken what the *Washington Evening Star* termed "a small turn to the right." Early in June, in two 5-4 decisions, the Court restricted the interpretation of two of its most controversial civil liberties rulings. Both of the new rulings amended decisions that had been under bitter attack.

In a case involving a state's right to enact laws prescribing state sedition, the Court upheld New Hampshire's right to convict Willard Uphaus of contempt for refusing to give its attorney general the guest list at a summer camp meeting of pacifists. The Court majority declared, in effect, that each state has an obligation to defend itself against subversion when such subversive activities are applied against the state rather than the federal government.

The second case involved the question of whether an individual could claim the first amendment as a constitutional reason for refusing to answer questions raised by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

In this case, Lloyd Barenblatt —a former Vassar psychology professor—was convicted of contempt for refusing to tell the committee whether he was then (1954) or had ever been a communist. In refusing to testify, Barenblatt claimed that under the First Amendment he could refuse to divulge his "religious" and "political" beliefs or any other "personal and private affairs" or his "associational activities."

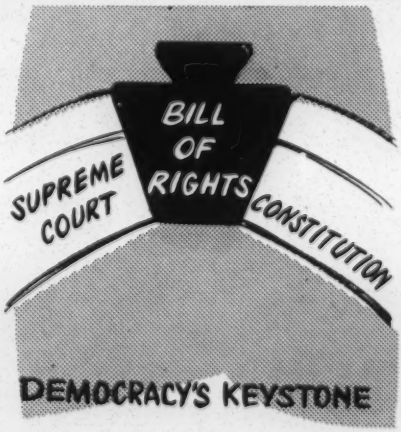
Without ruling on whether the Fifth Amendment would provide a witness with the Constitutional protection sought by Barenblatt, the Court held that it is necessary to strike a balance between the interests of the individual in remaining silent and the interests of the government in obtaining information which it might need for its own self-preservation. The Court majority made it clear, however, that its ruling in favor of the government was based on the circumstances of the Barenblatt case and was not to be construed as opening the door for unlimited Congressional investigations.

Despite these two decisions, the opponents of the Court have not noticeably eased up on their cry of "soft on subversion." Only days after the Court's Uphaus opinion, the 33-member House Republican Policy Committee endorsed H.R. 3 as "a logical vehicle for the elimination of the doctrine of presumed federal preemption of state sovereignty." Conservative Democrats also have reiterated their intention of continuing to fight for passage of the Smith bill.

The supporters of the Smith bill and other legislation aimed at restricting the Court fail to recognize that America's real security lies in its freedom. In the long run, curbing the Court can only destroy that freedom.

Once the nation begins to give up pieces of the Bill of Rights, it will have started down the bleak road of repression that leads to eventual totalitarianism. America needs above all else to understand that total security is the antithesis of freedom.

Civil liberties and civil rights can never be lightly modified. This, in essence, is the reasoning behind the Supreme Court's desegregation and subversion decisions. It would be well for those who condemn the Court to think twice before using national security as the axe that chips away at America's Bill of Rights.



ture of their [illegible]
in deception."

Progressive

The Cardinal and the ACLU

The American Civil Liberties Union, which serves the nation as the watchdog of the Bill of Rights, has been under frequent fire, but it has emerged with flying colors on just about every occasion. Sometimes its critics have been reduced to crying "Communist" or "fellow traveler."

[illegible]

[illegible] reply.

[illegible] Richard Cardinal Cushing, spokesman for the Catholic diocese of Boston, writing in the Boston *Evening American*, accused the ACLU of being "a pro-Communist front" and by way of documentation asserted that in *Masters of Deceit*, J. Edgar Hoover "relates a typical example of Red activity on the part of the ACLU."

The Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, under the chairmanship of the Reverend Gardiner M. Day of Cambridge, went into action immediately, pointing out that nowhere in his book did Hoover mention the ACLU. The Boston *Evening American* quickly retracted, agreeing not only that the ACLU was nowhere mentioned as a subversive organization but hastening on to point out that a number of Catholic publications and personalities had praised the work of the ACLU.

Cardinal Cushing's apology followed almost immediately. In a letter to the Reverend Day he wrote: "You are right, 100 per cent correct. The reference to the ACLU was a mistake. I apologize for it. I feel very upset about it, for it is my own fault—the copy was hurriedly prepared. . . . I feel awful about this matter. . . . I shall make amends in your behalf. Believe me please. Sorry, very sorry.

On a future occasion I certainly will be happy to commend the work of the American Civil Liberties Union. I beg God's choicest blessings upon you."

So ended the newest attack on the American Civil Liberties Union.

Murder in Defense

Much has been made of the government's purchase of the nation's sur-

Civil Liberties 1959

New South

MARTIN LUTHER KING

on

Love, Law and Civil Disobedience

BENJAMIN MUSE

on

Putnam's Anthropology

DECEMBER 1961

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

New South

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CONTENTS

Love, Law and Civil Disobedience 3

A Virginia View of Race and Reason 12

Strictly Subjective 2

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WE ALL SHARED in the surge of pride which coursed from Albany, Ga., to the Justice Department in Washington when that rich and pleasant little city weathered demonstrations and arrests of more than 700 Negroes with impeccable policing and no blood in the streets.

Here was the first Negro uprising, an unique one of resolute Negroes of all ages and classes welcoming jail by the hundreds, in the dread deeps of South Georgia. The week-long demonstrations were appeased and halted without mob violence, police brutality or the long-predicted flow of blood in the streets. Indeed, the spacious and sunny streets of Albany, festooned with silver for Christmas business, remained quite unspattered by gore and unlittered with dead bodies. The proud relief of one and all over this happy circumstance moved Robert Kennedy to congratulate the Mayor of Albany and inspired the able young Police Chief Laurie Pritchett to observe that while his roots are deep in the South, he knows that times are changing and he proposes to meet them with law and order.

Only one white drunk raised a hostile fist over kneeling Negroes around the city hall, sang Dixie and was promptly popped into the pokey for exercising this ancient right of a Dixie drunk. One city jail guard hit a Negro prisoner and was immediately fired.

Still, as happy as we all are that Albany refrained from drawing blood, I think perhaps our pride may be excessive. I suggest that the Attorney-General nearly insults South Georgia with his congratulations to the city and disregard of appeals from jailed Negroes of the Albany movement.

I think we can expect better of

(Continued on Page 11)

Love, Law and Civil Disobedience

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

(A transcript of Dr. King's address to the annual meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, November 16 in Atlanta.)

MEMBERS of the Fellowship of the Concerned, of the Southern Regional Council, I need not pause to say how very delighted I am to be here today, and to have the opportunity of being a little part of this very significant gathering. I certainly want to express my personal appreciation to Mrs. Tilly and the members of the Committee, for giving me this opportunity. I would also like to express just a personal word of thanks and appreciation for your vital witness in this period of transition which we are facing in our Southland, and in the nation, and I am sure that as a result of this genuine concern, and your significant work in communities all across the South, we have a better South today and I am sure will have a better South tomorrow with your continued endeavor and I do want to express my personal gratitude and appreciation to you of the Fellowship of the Concerned for your significant work and for your forthright witness.

Now, I have been asked to talk about the philosophy behind the student movement. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that we confront a crisis in race relations in the United States. This crisis has been precipitated on the one hand by the determined resistance of reactionary forces in the South to the Supreme Court's decision in 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools. And we know that at times this resistance has risen to ominous proportions. At times we find the legislative halls of the South ringing loud with such words as interposition and nullification. And all of these forces have developed into massive resistance. But we must also say that the crisis has been precipitated on the other hand by the determination of hundreds and thousands and millions of Negro people to achieve freedom and human dignity. If the Negro stayed in his place and accepted discrimination and segregation, there would be no crisis. But the Negro has a new sense of dignity, a new self respect, and new determination. He has re-evaluated his own intrinsic worth. Now this new sense of dignity on the part of the Negro grows out of the same longing for freedom and human dignity on the part of the oppressed people all over the world; for we see it in Africa, we see it in Asia, and we see it all over the world. Now we must say that this struggle for freedom will not come to an automatic halt, for history reveals to us that once oppressed people rise up against that oppression, there is no stopping point short of full freedom. On the other hand, history reveals to us that those who oppose the movement for freedom are those who are in privileged positions who very seldom give up their privileges without strong resistance. And they very seldom do it voluntarily. So the sense of struggle

will continue. The question is how will the struggle be waged.

Now there are three ways that oppressed people have generally dealt with their oppression. One way is the method of acquiescence, the method of surrender; that is, the individuals will somehow adjust themselves to oppression, they adjust themselves to discrimination or to segregation or colonialism or what have you. The other method that has been used in history is that of rising up against the oppressor with corroding hatred and physical violence. Now of course we know about this method in western civilization, because in a sense it has been the hallmark of its grandeur, and the inseparable twin of western materialism. But there is a weakness in this method because it ends up creating many more social problems than it solves. And I am convinced that if the Negro succumbs to the temptation of using violence in his struggle for freedom and justice, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness. And our chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos.

But there is another way, namely the way of non-violent resistance. This method was popularized in our generation by a little man from India, whose name was Mohandas K. Gandhi. He used this method in a magnificent way to free his people from the economic exploitation and the political domination inflicted upon them by a foreign power.

This has been the method used by the student movement in the South and all over the United States. And naturally whenever I talk about the student movement I cannot be totally objective. I have to be somewhat subjective because of my great admiration for what the students have done. For in a real sense they have taken our deep groans and passionate yearnings for freedom, and filtered them in their own tender souls, and fashioned them into a creative protest which is an epic known all over our nation. As a result of their disciplined, non-violent, yet courageous struggle, they have been able to do wonders in the South, and in our nation. But this movement does have an underlying philosophy, it has certain ideas that are attached to it, it has certain philosophical precepts. These are the things that I would like to discuss for the few moments left.

I would say that the first point or the first principle in the movement is the idea that means must be as pure as the end. This movement is based on the philosophy that ends and means must cohere. Now this has been one of the long struggles in history, the whole idea of means and ends. Great philosophers have grappled with it, and sometimes they have emerged with the idea, from Machiavelli on down, that the end justifies the means. There is a great system of thought in our world today, known as Communism. And I think that with all of the weaknesses and tragedies of Communism, we find its greatest tragedy right here, that it goes under the philosophy that the end justifies the means that are used in the process. So we can read or we can hear the Lenins say that lying, deceit, or violence, that many of these things justify the ends of the classless society.

This is where the student movement and the non-violent movement that is taking place in our nation would break with Communism and any other system that would argue that the end justifies the means. For in the long run, we must see that the end represents the means in process and the ideal in the making. In other words, we cannot believe, or we cannot go with the idea

that the end justifies the means because the end is pre-existent in the means. So the idea of non-violent resistance, the philosophy of non-violent resistance, is the philosophy which says that the means must be as pure as the end, that in the long run of history, immoral destructive means cannot bring about moral and constructive ends.

There is another thing about this philosophy, this method of non-violence which is followed by the student movement. It says that those who adhere to or follow this philosophy must follow a consistent principle of non-injury. They must consistently refuse to inflict injury upon another. Sometimes you will read the literature of the student movement and see that, as they are getting ready for the sit-in or stand-in, they will read something like this, "if you are hit do not hit back, if you are cursed do not curse back." This is the whole idea, that the individual who is engaged in a non-violent struggle must never inflict injury upon another. Now this has an external aspect and it has an internal one. From the external point of view it means that the individuals involved must avoid external physical violence. So they don't have guns, they don't retaliate with physical violence. If they are hit in the process, they avoid external physical violence at every point. But it also means that they avoid internal violence of spirit. This is why the love ethic stands so high in the student movement. We have a great deal of talk about love and non-violence in this whole thrust.

Now when the students talk about love, certainly they are not talking about emotional bosh, they are not talking about merely a sentimental outpouring; they're talking something much deeper, and I always have to stop and try to define the meaning of love in this context. The Greek language comes to our aid in trying to deal with this. There are three words in the Greek language for love, one is the word Eros. This is a beautiful type of love, it is an aesthetic love. Plato talks about it a great deal in his dialogue, the yearning of the soul for the realm of the divine. It has come to us to be a sort of romantic love, and so in a sense we have read about it and experienced it. We've read about it in all the beauties of literature. I guess in a sense Edgar Allan Poe was talking about Eros when he talked about his beautiful Annabelle Lee, with the love surrounded by the halo of eternity. In a sense Shakespeare was talking about Eros when he said "Love is not love which alters when alteration finds, or bends with the remover to remove; O, no! it is an ever fixed mark that looks on tempest and is never shaken, it is the star to every wandering bark." (You know, I remember that because I used to quote it to this little lady when we were courting; that's Eros.) The Greek language talks about Philia which was another level of love. It is an intimate affection between personal friends, it is a reciprocal love. On this level you love because you are loved. It is friendship.

Then the Greek language comes out with another word which is called the Agape. Agape is more than romantic love, agape is more than friendship. Agape is understanding, creative, redemptive, good will to all men. It is an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. Theologians would say that it is the love of God operating in the human heart. So that when one rises to love on this level, he loves men not because he likes them, not because their ways appeal to him, but he loves every man because God loves him. And he rises to the point of loving the person

who does an evil deed while hating the deed that the person does. I think this is what Jesus meant when he said "love your enemies." I'm very happy that he didn't say like your enemies, because it is pretty difficult to like some people. Like is sentimental, and it is pretty difficult to like someone bombing your home; it is pretty difficult to like somebody threatening your children; it is difficult to like congressmen who spend all of their time trying to defeat civil rights. But Jesus says love them, and love is greater than like. Love is understanding, redemptive, creative, good will for all men. And it is this idea, it is this whole ethic of love which is the idea standing at the basis of the student movement.

There is something else: that one seeks to defeat the unjust system, rather than individuals who are caught in that system. And that one goes on believing that somehow this is the important thing, to get rid of the evil system and not the individual who happens to be misguided, who happens to be misled, who was taught wrong. The thing to do is to get rid of the system and thereby create a moral balance within society.

Another thing that stands at the center of this movement is another idea: that suffering can be a most creative and powerful social force. Suffering has certain moral attributes involved, but it can be a powerful and creative social force. Now, it is very interesting at this point to notice that both violence and non-violence agree that suffering can be a very powerful social force. But there is this difference: violence says that suffering can be a powerful social force by inflicting the suffering on somebody else; so this is what we do in war, this is what we do in the whole violent thrust of the violent movement. It believes that you achieve some end by inflicting suffering on another. The non-violent say that suffering becomes a powerful social force when you willingly accept that violence on yourself, so that self-suffering stands at the center of the non-violent movement and the individuals involved are able to suffer in a creative manner, feeling that unearned suffering is redemptive, and that suffering may serve to transform the social situation.

Another thing in this movement is the idea that there is within human nature an amazing potential for goodness. There is within human nature something that can respond to goodness. I know somebody's liable to say that this is an unrealistic movement if it goes on believing that all people are good. Well, I didn't say that. I think the students are realistic enough to believe that there is a strange dichotomy of disturbing dualism within human nature. Many of the great philosophers and thinkers through the ages have seen this. It caused Ovid the Latin poet to say, "I see and approve the better things of life, but the evil things I do." It caused even St. Augustine to say "Lord, make me pure, but not yet." So that that is in human nature. Plato, centuries ago said that the human personality is like a charioteer with two headstrong horses, each wanting to go in different directions, so that within our own individual lives we see this conflict and certainly when we come to the collective life of man, we see a strange badness. But in spite of this there is something in human nature that can respond to goodness. So that man is neither innately good nor is he innately bad; he has potentialities for both. So in this sense, Carlyle was right when he said, that "there are depths in man which go down to the lowest hell, and heights which reach the highest heaven, for are not both

heaven and hell made out of him, everlasting miracle and mystery that he is?" Man has the capacity to be good, man has the capacity to be evil.

And so the non-violent resister never lets this idea go, that there is something within human nature that can respond to goodness. So that a Jesus of Nazareth or a Mohandas Ghandi, can appeal to human beings and appeal to that element of goodness within them, and a Hitler can appeal to the element of evil within them. But we must never forget that there is something within human nature that can respond to goodness, that man is not totally depraved, to put it in theological terms, the image of God is never totally gone. And so the individuals who believe in this movement and who believe in non-violence and our struggle in the South, somehow believe that even the worst segregationist can become an integrationist. Now sometimes it is hard to believe that this is what this movement says, and it believes it firmly, that there is something within human nature that can be changed, and this stands at the top of the whole philosophy of the student movement and the philosophy of non-violence.

It says something else. It says that it is as much a moral obligation to refuse to cooperate with evil as it is to cooperate with good. Non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as the cooperation with good. So that the student movement is willing to stand up courageously on the idea of civil disobedience. Now I think this is the part of the student movement that is probably misunderstood more than anything else. And it is a difficult aspect, because on the one hand the students would say, and I would say, and all the people who believe in civil rights would say, obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 and at the same time, we would disobey certain laws that exist on the statutes of the South today.

This brings in the whole question of how can you be logically consistent when you advocate obeying some laws and disobeying other laws. Well, I think one would have to see the whole meaning of this movement at this point by seeing that the students recognize that there are two types of laws. There are just laws and there are unjust laws. And they would be the first to say obey the just laws, they would be the first to say that men and women have a moral obligation to obey just and right laws. And they would go on to say that we must see that there are unjust laws. Now the question comes into being, what is the difference, and who determines the difference, what is the difference between a just and an unjust law?

Well, a just law is a law that squares with a moral law. It is a law that squares with that which is right, so that any law that uplifts human personality is a just law. Whereas that law which is out of harmony with the moral is a law which does not square with the moral law of the universe. It does not square with the law of God, so for that reason it is unjust and any law that degrades the human personality is an unjust law.

Well, somebody says that that does not mean anything to me; first, I don't believe in these abstract things called moral laws and I'm not too religious, so I don't believe in the law of God; you have to get a little more concrete, and more practical. What do you mean when you say that a law is unjust, and a law is just? Well, I would go on to say in more concrete terms that an unjust law is a code that the majority inflicts on the minority that is not

binding on itself. So that this becomes difference made legal. Another thing that we can say is that an unjust law is a code which the majority inflicts upon the minority, which that minority had no part in enacting or creating, because that minority had no right to vote in many instances, so that the legislative bodies that made these laws were not democratically elected. Who could ever say that the legislative body of Mississippi was democratically elected, or the legislative body of Alabama was democratically elected, or the legislative body even of Georgia has been democratically elected, when there are people in Terrell County and in other counties because of the color of their skin who cannot vote? They confront reprisals and threats and all of that; so that an unjust law is a law that individuals did not have a part in creating or enacting because they were denied the right to vote.

Now the same token of just law would be just the opposite. A just law becomes saneness made legal. It is a code that the majority, who happen to believe in that code, compel the minority, who don't believe in it, to follow, because they are willing to follow it themselves, so it is saneness made legal. Therefore the individuals who stand up on the basis of civil disobedience realize that they are following something that says that there are just laws and there are unjust laws. Now, they are not anarchists. They believe that there are laws which must be followed; they do not seek to defy the law, they do not seek to evade the law. For many individuals who would call themselves segregationists and who would hold on to segregation at any cost seek to defy the law, they seek to evade the law, and their process can lead on into anarchy. They seek in the final analysis to follow a way of uncivil disobedience, not civil disobedience. And I submit that the individual who disobeys the law, whose conscience tells him it is unjust and who is willing to accept the penalty by staying in jail until that law is altered, is expressing at the moment the very highest respect for law.

This is what the students have followed in their movement. Of course there is nothing new about this, they feel that they are in good company and rightly so. We go back and read the Apology and the Crito, and you see Socrates practicing civil disobedience. And to a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience. The early Christians practiced civil disobedience in a superb manner, to a point where they were willing to be thrown to the lions. They were willing to face all kinds of suffering in order to stand up for what they knew was right even though they knew it was against the laws of the Roman Empire.

We could come up to our own day and we see it in many instances. We must never forget that everything that Hitler did in Germany was "legal." It was illegal to aid and comfort a Jew, in the days of Hitler's Germany. But I believe that if I had the same attitude then as I have now I would publicly aid and comfort my Jewish brothers in Germany if Hitler were alive today calling this an illegal process. If I lived in South Africa today in the midst of the white supremacy law in South Africa, I would join Chief Luthuli and others in saying break these unjust laws. And even let us come up to America. Our nation in a sense came into being through a massive act of civil disobedience, for the Boston Tea Party was nothing but a massive act of civil disobedience. Those who stood up against the slave laws, the abolitionists, by

1 large practiced civil disobedience. I think these students are in good npany, and they feel that by prac-ing civil disobedience they are in line with men and women through the ages who have stood up for something that is morally right.

Now there are one or two other things that I want to say about this student movement, moving out of the philosophy of non-violence, something about what it is a revolt against. On the one hand it is a revolt against the negative peace that has encompassed the South for many years. I remember when I was in Montgomery, Ala., one of the white citizens came to me one day and said—and I think he was very sincere about this—that in Montgomery for all of these years we have been such a peaceful community, we have had so much harmony in race relations and then you people have started this movement and boycott, and it has done so much to disturb race relations, and we just don't love the Negro like we used to love them, because you have destroyed the harmony and the peace that we once had in race relations. And I said to him, in the best way I could say and I tried to say it in non-violent terms, we have never had peace in Montgomery, Ala., we have never had peace in the South. We have had a negative peace, which is merely the absence of tension; we've had a negative peace in which the Negro patiently accepted his situation and his plight, but we've never had true peace, we've never had positive peace, and what we're seeking now is to develop this positive peace. For we must come to see that peace is not merely the absence of some negative force, it is the presence of a positive force. True peace is not merely the absence of tension, but it is the presence of justice and brotherhood. I think this is what Jesus meant when he said, I come not to bring peace but a sword. Now Jesus didn't mean he came to start war, to bring a physical sword, and he didn't mean, I come not to bring positive peace. But I think what Jesus was saying in substance was this, that I come not to bring an old negative peace, which makes for stagnant passivity and deadening complacency, I come to bring something different, and whenever I come, a conflict is precipitated, between the old and the new, whenever I come a struggle takes place between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. I come not to bring a negative peace, but a positive peace, which is brotherhood, which is justice, which is the Kingdom of God.

And I think this is what we are seeking to do today, and this movement is a revolt against a negative peace and a struggle to bring into being a positive peace, which makes for true brotherhood, true integration, true person-to-person relationships. This movement is also revolt against what is often called tokenism. Here again many people do not understand this, they feel that in this struggle the Negro will be satisfied with tokens of integration, just a few students and a few schools here and there and a few doors open here and there. But this isn't the meaning of the movement and I think that honesty impels me to admit it everywhere I have an opportunity, that the Negro's aim is to bring about complete integration in American life. And he has come to see that token integration is little more than token democracy, which ends up with many new evasive schemes and it ends up with new discrimination, covered up with such niceties of complexity. It is very interesting to discover that the movement has thrived in many communities

that had token integration. So this reveals that the movement is based on a principle that integration must become real and complete, not just token integration.

It is also a revolt against what I often call the myth of time. We hear this quite often, that only time can solve this problem. That if we will only be patient, and only pray—which we must do, we must be patient and we must pray—but there are those who say just do these things and wait for time, and time will solve this problem. Well, the people who argue this do not themselves realize that time is neutral, that it can be used constructively or destructively. At points the people of ill will, the segregationists, have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. So individuals in the struggle must come to realize that it is necessary to aid time, that without this kind of aid, time itself will become an ally of the insurgent and primitive forces of social stagnation. Therefore, this movement is a revolt against the myth of time.

There is a final thing that I would like to say to you, this movement is a movement based on faith in the future. It is a movement based on a philosophy, the possibility of the future bringing into being something real and meaningful. It is a movement based on hope. I think this is very important. The students have developed a theme song for their movement, maybe you've heard it. It goes something like this, "we shall overcome, deep in my heart, I do believe, we shall overcome," and then they go on to say another verse, "we are not afraid, we are not afraid today, deep in my heart I do believe, we shall overcome." So it is out of this deep faith in the future that they are able to move out and adjourn the councils of despair, and to bring new light in the dark chambers of pessimism. I can remember the times that we've been together, I remember that night in Montgomery, Ala., when we had stayed up all night, discussing the Freedom Rides, and that morning came to see that it was necessary to go on with the Freedom Rides, that we would not in all good conscience call an end to the Freedom Rides at that point. And I remember the first group got ready to leave, to take a bus for Jackson, Miss., we all joined hands and started singing together. "We shall overcome, we shall overcome." And something within me said, now how is it that these students can sing this, they are going down to Mississippi, they are going to face hostile and jeering mobs, and yet they could sing," We shall overcome." They may even face physical death, and yet they could sing, "We shall overcome." Most of them realized that they would be thrown into jail, and yet they could sing, "We shall overcome, we are not afraid." Then something caused me to see at that moment the real meaning of the movement. That students had faith in the future. That the movement was based on hope, that this movement had something within it that says somehow even though the arc of the moral universe is long, it bends toward justice. And I think this should be a challenge to all others who are struggling to transform the dangling discords of our Southland into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. There is something in this student movement which says to us, that we shall overcome. Before the victory is won some may have to get scarred up, but we shall overcome. Before the victory of brotherhood is achieved, some will maybe face physical death, but we shall overcome. Before the victory is won, some will lose jobs, some will be

called Communists, and reds, merely because they believe in brotherhood, some will be dismissed as dangerous rabblerousers and agitators merely because they're standing up for what is right, but we shall overcome. That is the basis of this movement, and as I like to say, there is something in this universe that justifies Carlyle in saying no lie can live forever. We shall overcome because there is something in this universe which justifies William Cullen Bryant in saying truth crushed to earth shall rise again. We shall overcome because there is something in this universe that justifies James Russell Lowell in saying, truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne. Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown standeth God within the shadows, keeping watch above His own. With this faith in the future, with this determined struggle, we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man, into the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice. Thank you.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from Page 2)

South Georgia, which is, to be sure, burdened with many deprived and ignorant Negroes and many deprived, ignorant and race-proud whites. But in every community there are ministers preaching that all humans are equal children of God, business men jealous of their prosperity, literally Christian churchwomen, lonely thinkers on the rights of man and plain people pondering the revolution which occupies us.

Albany is the very gem of Southwest Georgia, a city so handsome, prosperous and progressive with industry and military payrolls, surrounding rich farms and retail and wholesale trade, and the rationality and humanity which attends these blessings, that on reflection it seems the city failed rather than triumphed in its lawful and unjust punishment of its gently demanding and self-sacrificing Negroes.

Can we really cherish pride that 737 Negroes, representing what they say is 90 per cent of their people and 43 per cent of Albany's citizenry, were jailed for peaceably, mildly and prayerfully walking their own streets to protest arrest of Freedom Riders testing a "desegregated" railroad waiting room, and refusal of their elected officials to hear them?

Albany has the prettiest and widest streets in South Georgia, maybe in the United States, ample to accommodate a march of Negroes, two by two, or hundreds kneeling or singing before the city hall. Is there not room here for such assembly to remain peaceful, with careful policing? Isn't there room for citizens to walk on such streets without civic and business paralysis? Apparently white bystanders of Albany and from long-dreaded nearby counties—the so-called "violent" element which has intimidated the decent South—apparently these allegedly brutal racists thought there was room. At least they were not moved by the "explosive" spectacles to race rioting.

So, it seems that Albany maintained the peace at needless expense to brave and respectable men, women and children clapped into jail for free assembly, peaceful demonstration and natural demands on arrogant, if law-abiding, white officials.

I think Albany, and its neighboring counties, can do better than the leadership of its cynical newspaper, *The*

(Continued on Page 16)

A Virginia View of "Race and Reason"

By Benjamin Muse

SOME OF THE misinformation and scientific error which we have to combat in Virginia and the South I find gathered together in handy form in a book which descended upon us last summer entitled *Race and Reason.* This book is written in a scholarly style; it is redolent with erudition and crowded with impressive allusions. But in substance it is like the exhortation of a Ku Klux Kleagle who has exchanged his bed sheet for an academic cap and gown. If the reader has abundant patience and a strong stomach, it can serve a useful purpose as a compendium of current misinformation on the subject of race.

A casual reader who is new to the subject, or whose reading has been confined to the Citizens Council type of commentary, might guess from the text that the author had devoted a long career to scientific studies related to the races of man. But the author is Mr. Carleton Putnam, a former airlines executive, who retired six years ago and turned first to writing biography — a biography of Theodore Roosevelt. His career as an anthropologist started three years ago, and that more or less by accident.

Mr. Putnam is a Northerner, a "Yankee,' as the cover of his book proclaims—which lends a flavor of generous comradeship and dramatic emphasis to his message. He was seized with a feeling that the segregationists of the South were getting the runaround in the national controversy, and he resolved to bring his superior talents to their rescue. "I could not but believe," he explained in his book, "that so far as it lay within my powers my purpose should be to embolden their anthropologists and relieve their consciences."

It was an article by our own Virginius Dabney and an editorial rebuttal, which appeared in *Life Magazine* in September, 1958, which kindled the flame in Mr. Putnam's bosom. He rallied to the segregationist cause in a letter to *Life,* then a longer one to President Eisenhower and one to Attorney General Rogers. The first two of these letters received only perfunctory acknowledgment and the third was not acknowledged. But copies of the so-called "Putnam letters" were widely circulated and published in the South. A committee in Birmingham, Alabama, raised upwards of $40,000 and had the letter to the President reprinted as advertising in various Northern newspapers. Though the letters and their author were thunderously ignored in the rest of the nation, Carleton Putnam was hailed in the South as a "Daniel come to judgment." He was "overwhelmed," to use his own words, "with courtly expressions of gratitude."

The demand for a more extensive expression of Mr. Putnam's views was obvious; hence *Race and Reason.* The author worked with a celerity which

(Author, journalist, politician and traveler, Mr. Muse is now director of SRC's Southern Leadership Project)

was remarkable. By the following August the book was practically written; on August 3 he addressed a manuscript to various persons, among whom I had the honor of being included, for possible comment. Where lesser men had spent a lifetime in laborious pursuit of anthropological truth, Mr. Putnam in ten months had exhausted the accumulation of pertinent scientific knowledge and found the answers. He came down from the mountain with the final peremptory truth locked in his handsome brief case.

I met the author at a dinner while the book was incubating, and let me say that Mr. Putnam is a gentleman of distinguished presence and impeccable courtesy. He is sincere, I think, in his belief that he has uncovered a transcendental truth that others who have dabbled in anthropology have been unable to grasp. I was surprised, however, when he asked me to recommend some books on the race problem, as he hadn't read much in this field.

In our brief conversation, Mr. Putnam was obsessed with what he calls "equalitarianism." He argued from the unshakable premise that the opponents of segregation are trying to make all men equal.

In a brief correspondence which we had, I wrote to Mr. Putnam:

"I might go farther than you in advocating discrimination, in the sense of selectivity, in education. I submit that your basic error lies in using race as a criterion."

It seems as simple as that. But the "equalitarianism" confusion runs all the way through *Race and Reason,* and its segregationist readers are given a long new word to apply to their opponents. "Equalitarians" are denounced with monotonous redundancy.

I don't know any equalitarians; none of us seeks to make all men equal in personal attainment, or imagines that such a thing would be possible. But, though "equalitarianism" may be a new word to some, the idea which it vaguely suggests is familiar to all of us, and it is one of the major stumbling blocks on the road to interracial understanding. Mr. Putnam's confusion is the confusion of thousands of even well-meaning Southerners. Integration is envisioned as a process of bringing poor, ignorant and uncouth Negroes in to have dinner with educated white people, or into the Country Club. Many a white person is afraid that his expensive restaurant will be invaded by Negro janitors; it never seems to occur to him that white share-croppers never visit his restaurant.

All of us believe in deference to intellect and ability. No one wants to see an unskilled laborer, whether white or colored, accorded the same respect, rewards and privileges as the president of Harvard University, for instance — or the president of Howard University. The monstrous error lies, of course, in judging any individual by his race.

Mr. Putnam is apparently prepared to stand or fall on the proposition that Negroes are inferior in innate ability to whites, but he has gathered together in *Race and Reason* a few odds and ends not directly related to his anthropological thesis. He doesn't raise this unpleasant subject himself, but when a correspondent asks the question, he says: "The Communists have made the integration movement a part of their conspiracy."

We have heard that smear *ad nauseum,* and we have found that those who throw it around are rarely capable of rational cogitation. But one comment occurs to me in passing. The Communists *do* pose as enemies of race discrimination, and, by the apparent rule-of-thumb, we should be against

anything the Communists are for and for anything the Communists are against. Now I read that the Communists are taking measures against alcoholism and that they are sternly in favor of sexual morality. It seems obvious that those who are completely hostile to Communism should go on an alcoholic binge. And, if sexual morality is a part of the Communist conspiracy, where does that leave the red-blooded superpatriot?

Another one of the simple-minded people who provided Mr. Putnam with questions asked:

"It makes my blood boil every time I see a Southerner bully, humiliate or exploit a Negro. How can anyone take sides with such people?"

The thought doesn't make Mr. Putnam's blood boil. His answer:

"Two wrongs don't make a right. The fact that it is wrong to bully, humiliate or exploit a Negro does not make it right to integrate him. . . ."

It is obvious that the white man who bullies a Negro is not on the point of integrating him, and we are left with the essential answer: "Two wrongs don't make a right."

That would not be the Ku Klux Klan answer; it is a cut above that. The Klansman views bullying Negroes as a wholly righteous exercise and, if the Negro doesn't resist, he sees no wrong on either side. The two-wrongs comment is an apt illustration of the attitude of the more decorous Citizens Councils and of a shockingly large element of the white public. It is evidenced in the common practice of arresting Negro victims and allowing white bullies to go free. After interracial violence, however orderly and passive and irreproachable the behavior of the Negro victims may have been in the face of white aggression, we hear the unctuous comment: "There are two sides to the question." — or: "Both sides were at fault."

When a white man bullies a Negro, it is not one wrong but two. The Negro is also wrong. He is wrong just by being a Negro, and, when he is unhappy with segregation his sin is compounded.

Mr. Putnam probably didn't mean to be as blunt as that. A strain of lofty benevolence runs through most of his book. Following a familiar practice of racist propagandists, he calls great and good men to the witness stand however remote in time or place their range of vision may have been from the situation to which his argument is addressed. The author quotes voluminously from Lincoln's reflections on the situation which he observed over a century ago, and to be perfectly fair he quotes also from Lincoln's debating contemporary, Stephen A. Douglas; he cites the comment of Lord Bryce on conditions existing in 1880; he brings in observations of the saintly Albert Schweitzer on the savages of Lambaréné as if that great humanitarian were talking about the Negro American; he even invokes the noble eloquence of William Ewart Gladstone. The English statesman made no reference whatever to the subject of race, but it was nice to have him associated with Mr. Putnam and his book.

At the same time other famous names are withered with the Putnam frown. Arnold Toynbee is demolished with a wisecrack. Franz Boas is browbeaten without mercy; the world had a high opinion of Boas as an authority on the races of man, but the retired airlines executive met him in his own field and laid him low.

The thesis which Mr. Putnam pursues with such devastating vigor is the notion, once widely held among schol-

ars, that the Negro is limited by his racial origin and is innately inferior to the white man. That notion is still widely held, admittedly or subconsciously, by an enormous element of the white public. It is the very essence of race prejudice in so far as race prejudice has a rational basis. In recent years that theory has been blasted in many quarters by the sheer demonstration of Negro capability, and I think in not many more years the weight of such evidence against the theory of Negro inferiority will be overwhelming. As educational and employment opportunities are opened to him, the Negro American is rushing forward in intellectual, cultural and economic achievement.

In the entire 19th Century fewer than 2,500 Negroes graduated from college in the United States. In 1930, 27,141 Negro Americans were in college, and in 1956, 196,000. With increasing integration, accurate estimates are no longer available but the number must now have gone over 200,000. The image of the Negro American is changing all the time and it will change mightily with each new class of Negro college graduates which enters the stream of our national life.

Scientists have long since repudiated the theory of innate inferiority. Dr. Oscar Handlin, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and Harvard professor, who traced the rise and collapse of the racist theory in his *Race and Nationality in American Life,* said: "By 1940 it was difficult to find a serious, reputable exponent of the racist views once so widely held."

That, of course, was written in 1957, before Mr. Putnam turned his attention to anthropology. Other reputable exponents seem to have come forward. Dr. Wesley Critz George, a retired professor of zoology, anatomy, etc. at the University of North Carolina, 73 years of age, spent last summer in a study of "what science has revealed with regard to racial differences," and will shortly publish his report. What science revealed to Dr. George has not been publicly stated, but, as he was paid $3,000 for the undertaking from the emergency fund of Governor John Patterson of Alabama, there is little doubt as to the kind of revelations which were ordered.

Mr. Putnam recommended a reading of an article by Dr. Frank C. J. McGurk, which appeared in *United States News and World Report* in 1956. But he neglected to recommend the reading of a public statement from eighteen of the nation's leading anthropologists and psychologists which followed the McGurk article. In the latter statement it was noted that the American Anthropological Association and the division of the American Psychological Association concerned with social issues, among others, had placed themselves on record as opposed to the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics. Then these 18 scientists from the nation's leading universities stated flatly that "any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance any individual child, Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified."

Mr. Putnam states that Southerners "talk of states' rights when they should be talking anthropology." Perhaps he is right. Ten days ago the anthropologists of the United States issued a resounding statement. It is pertinent to note that this was not the expression of a few eccentrics, of a "leftist" faction, or any faction. The resolution was adopted by the American Anthropolog-

(Continued on Page 16)

New South

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from Page 11)

Herald, its arrogant mayor and city commission and its lawfully unimpeachable police chief suggests.

Surely when the "truce" is over, these people will see, talk to, understand and deal with the just demands of Negroes in a more civilized, South Georgia and American manner.

A Virginia View

(Continued from Page 15)

ical Association by a vote of 192 to 0, and it read:

"The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

"The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

Bearing witness to the truth is basic to all that we do in the movement for equality of all Southerners and Americans. All that we do to eliminate discrimination in its practical manifestations is an expression of the truth, a reconciliation of the American ideal with truth, in the matter of race. And just as widespread error has clouded the controversy and produced a degree of intellectual debasement in many quarters, it is the truth which ultimately will make us free.

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